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THE
PLAYS AND POEMS

OF
WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

PART II.

THE
PLAYS AND POEMS
OF
WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

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C O N T A I N I N G

HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH STAGE.

THE TEMPEST.

THE TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA.

THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR.

LONDON: PRINTED BY H. BALDWIN,

For J. Rivington and Sons, L. Davis, B. White and Son, T. Longman,
B. Law, H. S. Woodfall, C. Dilly, J. Robson, J. Johnson, T. Vernor,
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PLAYS AND POEMS

157.386

May, 1873

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

VOLUME THE FIRST

PART II

CONTAINING

HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH STAGE.
THE TEMPEST.
THE TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA.
THE MERRY WIVES OF WINCHESTER.

LONDON: PRINTED BY HENRY DODD.

By Mr. John Wilson Croker, Esq. F.R.S. &c. &c. &c.
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M.DCCC.

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF
THE RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE
ENGLISH STAGE,
AND OF
THE ECONOMY AND USAGES OF OUR
ANCIENT THEATRES.

THE drama before the time of Shakspeare was so little cultivated, or so ill understood, that to many it may appear unnecessary to carry our theatrical researches higher than that period. Dryden has truly observed, that he “found not, but created first the stage;” of which no one can doubt, who considers, that of all the plays issued from the press antecedent to the year 1592, when there is reason to believe he commenced a dramatick writer, the titles are scarcely known, except to antiquaries; nor is there one of them that will bear a second perusal. Yet these, contemptible and few as they are, we may suppose to have been the most popular productions of the time, and the best that had been exhibited before the appearance of Shakspeare¹.

¹ There are but thirty-eight plays, (exclusive of mysteries, moralities, interludes, and translated pieces,) now extant, written antecedent to, or in, the year 1592. Their titles are as follows:

<i>Acolastus</i>	-	1540	<i>Appius and Virginia</i>	}	1575
<i>Ferrex and Porrex</i>	-	1561	<i>Gammer Gurton's Needle</i>		
<i>Damon and Pythias</i>	-	1562	<i>Promos and Cassandra</i>	-	1578
<i>Tancred and Gismund</i>	-	1568	<i>Arraignement of Paris</i>	}	1584
<i>Cambyfes</i> , no date, but probably written before	-	1570	<i>Sappho and Phao</i>		
			<i>Alexander and Campaspe</i>		
			<i>Misfortunes of Arthur</i> ,		1587
VOL. I. Part II.			* B	A minute	

A minute investigation, therefore, of the origin and progress of the drama in England, will scarcely repay the labour of the inquiry. However, as the best introduction to an account of the internal economy and usages of the English theatres in the time of Shakspeare, (the principal object of this dissertation,) I shall take a cursory view of our most ancient dramatick exhibitions, though I fear I can add but little to the researches which have already been made on that subject.

<i>Hieronimo</i>	}	1588	<i>Orlando Furioso</i>	}	
<i>Spanish Tragedy, or</i>			<i>Alphonfus king of Arragon</i>		
<i>Hieronimo is mad again</i>			<i>James IV. king of Scotland</i>		
<i>Tamburlaine</i>					
<i>Titus Andronicus</i>	-	1589			
<i>King Henry V. in or before</i>		1589	<i>A Lookingglass for</i>		
<i>Contention between the</i>			<i>London and England</i>		
<i>Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, in or before</i>	-	1590	<i>Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay</i>		before 1592
<i>King John, in two parts,</i>	}	1591	<i>Jew of Malta</i>	}	
<i>Endymion</i>			-		<i>Dr. Faustus</i>
<i>Soliman and Perseda</i>			<i>Edward II.</i>		
<i>Midas</i>	}	in or before	<i>Lust's Dominion</i>	}	
<i>Galathea</i>					<i>Massacre of Paris</i>
<i>Arden of Feversham</i>		1592	<i>Dido</i>		

Between the years 1592 and 1600, the following plays were printed or exhibited; the greater part of which, probably, were written before our author commenced play-wright.

<i>Cleopatra</i>	}	1593	<i>Woman in the Moon</i>	}	1597
<i>Edward I.</i>			<i>Mucedorus</i>		
<i>Battle of Alcazar</i>	}		<i>The virtuous Octavia</i>	}	1598
<i>Wounds of Civil War</i>			<i>Blind Beggar of Alexandria</i>		
<i>Selymus, Emperor of the Turks</i>			<i>Every Man in his Humour</i>		
<i>Cornelia</i>			<i>Pinner of Wakefield</i>		
<i>Mother Bombie</i>	}	1594	<i>Warning for fair Women</i>	}	
<i>The Cobler's Prophecy</i>			<i>David and Bethsabe</i>		
<i>The Wars of Cyrus</i>			<i>Two angry women of Abingdon</i>		
<i>King Leir</i>			<i>The Case is altered</i>		1599
<i>Taming of a Shrew</i>			<i>Every Man out of his Humour</i>		
<i>An old wives Tale</i>			<i>The Trial of Chevalry</i>		
<i>Maid's Metamorphoses</i>			<i>Humorous day's mirth</i>		
<i>Love's Metamorphoses</i>			<i>Summer's last Will and Testament</i>		
<i>Pedler's Prophecy</i>					
<i>Antoniuss</i>	}	1595			
<i>Edward III.</i>					
<i>Wily Beguiled</i>					

Mr. Warton in his elegant and ingenious *History of English Poetry* has given so accurate an account of our earliest dramattick performances, that I shall make no apology for extracting from various parts of his valuable work, such particulars as suit my present purpose.

The earliest dramattick entertainments exhibited in England, as well as every other part of Europe, were of a religious kind. So early as in the beginning of the twelfth century, it was customary in England on holy festivals to represent, in or near the churches, either the lives and miracles of saints, or the most important stories of Scripture. From the subject of these spectacles, which, as has been observed, were either the miracles of saints, or the more mysterious parts of holy writ, such as the incarnation, passion, and resurrection of Christ, these scriptural plays were denominated *Miracles*, or *Mysteries*. At what period of time they were first exhibited in this country, I am unable to ascertain. Undoubtedly, however, they are of very great antiquity; and Riccoboni, who has contended that the Italian theatre is the most ancient in Europe, has claimed for his country an honour to which it is not entitled. The era of the earliest representation in Italy², founded on holy writ, he has placed in the year 1264, when the fraternity *del Gonfalone* was established; but we had similar exhibitions in England above 150 years before that time. In the year 1110, as Dr. Percy and Mr. Warton have observed, the Miracle-play of *Saint Catharine*, written by Geoffrey, a learned Norman, (afterwards Abbot of St. Alban's,) was acted, probably by his scholars, in the abbey of Dunstable; perhaps the first spectacle of this kind exhibited in England³. William Fitz-Stephen, a monk of Canterbury, who according

² The French theatre cannot be traced higher than the year 1398, when the Mystery of the Passion was represented at St. Maur.

³ "Apud Dunestapliam—quendam ludum de sancta Katerina (quem MIRACULA vulgariter appellamus) fecit. Ad quæ decoranda, petiit a sacrista sancti Albani, ut sibi capæ chorales accommodarentur, et obtinuit." Vitæ Abbat. ad calc. Hist. Mat. Paris, folio, 1639. p. 56.

to the best accounts composed his very curious work in 1174, about four years after the murder of his patron Archbishop Becket, and in the twenty-first year of the reign of King Henry the second, mentions, that “ London, for its theatrical exhibitions, has religious plays, either the representations of miracles wrought by holy confessors, or the sufferings of martyrs 4.”

Mr. Warton has remarked, that “ in the time of Chaucer Plays of Miracles appear to have been the common resort of idle gossips in Lent:”

4 “ *Lundonia pro spectaculis theatralibus, pro ludis scenicis, ludos habit sanctiores, repræsentationes miraculorum quæ sancti confessores operati sunt, seu repræsentationes passionum, quibus claruit constantia martyrum.*” *Descriptio nobilissimæ civitatis Lundoniæ.* Fitz-Stephen’s very curious description of London is a portion of a larger work, entitled *Vita sancti Thomæ, Archiepiscopi et Martyris*, i. e. Thomas a Becket. It is ascertained to have been written after the murder of Becket in the year 1170, of which Fitz-Stephen was an ocular witness, and while King Henry II. was yet living. A modern writer with great probability supposes it to have been composed in 1174, the author in one passage mentioning that the church of Saint Paul’s was formerly metropolitical, and that it was thought it would become so again, “ should the citizens return into the island.” In 1174 King Henry II. and his sons had carried over with them a considerable number of citizens to France, and many English had in that year also gone to Ireland. See Dissertation prefixed to Fitz-Stephen’s *Description of London, newly translated, &c.* 4to. 1772, p. 16.—Near the end of his Description is a passage which ascertains it to have been written before the year 1182: “ *Lundonia et modernis temporibus reges illustros magnificosque peperit; imperatricem Matildam, Henricum regem tertium, et beatum Thomam*” [Thomas Becket]. Some have supposed that instead of *tertium* we ought to read *secundum*, but the text is undoubtedly right; and by *tertium*, Fitz-Stephen must have meant Henry, the second son of Henry the Second, who was born in London in 1156-7, and being heir apparent, after the death of his elder brother William, was crowned king of England in his father’s life-time, on the 15th of July, 1170. He was frequently styled *rex filius, rex juvenis*, and sometimes he and his father were denominated *Reges Angliæ*. The young king, who occasionally exercised all the rights and prerogatives of royalty, died in 1182. Had he not been living when Fitz-Stephen wrote, he would probably have added *nuper defunctum*. Neither Henry II. nor Henry III. were born in London. See the *Dissertation* above-cited, p. 12.

“ Therefore

- " Therefore made I my visitations
 " To vigilies and to processions ;
 " To prechings eke, and to thise pilgrimages,
 " To *playes of miracles*, and mariages^s, &c. "

" And in Pierce Plowman's Creed, a piece perhaps prior to Chaucer, a friar Minorite mentions these Miracles as not less frequented than market-towns and fairs:

- " We haunten no taverns, ne hobelen about,
 " At markets and Miracles we meddle us never."

The elegant writer, whose words I have just quoted, has given the following ingenious account of the origin of this rude species of dramattick entertainment :

" About the eighth century trade was principally carried on by means of fairs, which lasted several days. Charlemagne established many great marts of this sort in France, as did William the Conqueror, and his Norman successors, in England. The merchants who frequented these fairs in numerous caravans or companies, employed every art to draw the people together. They were therefore accompanied by jugglers, minstrels, and buffoons; who were no less interested in giving their attendance, and exerting all their skill on these occasions. As now but few large towns existed, no publick spectacles or popular amusements were established; and as the sedentary pleasures of domestick life and private society were yet unknown, the fair-time was the season for diversion. In proportion as these shews were attended and encouraged, they began to be set off with new decorations and improvements: and the arts of buffoonery being rendered still more attractive, by extending their circle of exhibition, acquired an importance in the eyes of the people. By degrees the clergy observing that the entertainments of dancing, musick, and mimicry, exhibited at these protracted annual celebrities, made the people less religious, by promoting idleness and a love of festivity, proscribed

5 The Wif of Bathes Prologue, v. 6137. Tyrwhitt's edit.

these sports, and excommunicated the performers. But finding that no regard was paid to their censures, they changed their plan, and determined to take these recreations into their own hands. They turned actors; and instead of profane mummeries, presented stories taken from legends or the bible. This was the origin of sacred comedy. The death of Saint Catharine, acted by the monks of saint Dennis, rivalled the popularity of the professed players. Musick was admitted into the churches, which served as theatres for the representation of holy farces. The festivals among the French, called *La fete de Foux, d l'Ane, and des Innocens*, at length became greater favourites, as they certainly were more capricious and absurd, than the interludes of the buffoons at the fairs. These are the ideas of a judicious French writer now living, who has investigated the history of human manners with great comprehension and sagacity."

"Voltaire's theory on this subject is also very ingenious, and quite new. Religious plays, he supposes, came originally from Constantinople⁶; where the old Grecian stage continued to flourish in some degree, and the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides were represented, till the fourth century. About that period, Gregory Nazianzen, an archbishop, a poet, and one of the fathers of the church, banished pagan plays from the stage at Constantinople, and introduced stories from the old and new Testament. As the ancient Greek tragedy was a religious spectacle, a transition was made on the same plan; and the chorusses were turned into Christian hymns. Gregory wrote many sacred dramas

⁶ "At Constantinople" (as Mr. Warton has elsewhere observed,) "it seems that the stage flourished much, under Justinian and Theodora, about the year 540: for in the Basilical codes we have the oath of an actress, *μη αναχωρειν της πορνειας*. Tom. vii. p. 682. edit. Fabrot. Græco-Lat. The ancient Greek fathers, particularly saint Chrysostom, are full of declamation against the drama; and complain, that the people heard a comedian with much more pleasure than a preacher of the gospel." Warton's *Hist of E. P. I.* 244. n.

for this purpose, which have not survived those inimitable compositions over which they triumphed for a time: one, however, his tragedy called *Χριστός πασχων*, or *Christ's Passion*, is still extant. In the prologue it is said to be an imitation of Euripides, and that this is the first time the Virgin Mary had been introduced on the stage. The fashion of acting spiritual dramas, in which at first a due degree of method and decorum was preserved, was at length adopted from Constantinople by the Italians; who framed, in the depth of the dark ages, on this foundation, that barbarous species of theatrical representation called MYSTERIES, or sacred comedies, and which were soon after received in France. This opinion will acquire probability, if we consider the early commercial intercourse between Italy and Constantinople: and although the Italians, at the time when they may be supposed to have imported plays of this nature, did not understand the Greek language, yet they could understand, and consequently could imitate, what they saw."

"In defence of Voltaire's hypothesis, it may be further observed, that *The feast of fools* and of *the Ass*, with other religious farces of that sort, so common in Europe, originated at Constantinople. They were instituted, although perhaps under other names, in the Greek Church, about the year 990, by Theophylact, patriarch of Constantinople, probably with a better design than is imagined by the ecclesiastical annalists; that of weaning the minds of the people from the pagan ceremonies, by the substitution of christian spectacles partaking of the same spirit of licentiousness.—To those who are accustomed to contemplate the great picture of human follies which the unpolished ages of Europe hold up to our view, it will not appear surprising, that the people who were forbidden to read the events of the sacred history in the bible, in which they were faithfully and beautifully related, should at the same time be permitted to see them represented on the stage, disgraced with the grossest improprieties, corrupted with inventions and additions of the most ridiculous kind, sullied with

impurities, and expressed in the language of the lowest farce."

"On the whole, the *Mysteries* appear to have originated among the ecclesiasticks; and were most probably first acted with any degree of form by the monks. This was certainly the case in the English Monasteries⁷. I have already mentioned the play of Saint Catharine performed at Dunstable Abbey by the novices in the eleventh century, under the superintendence of Geoffrey a Parisian ecclesiastick: and the exhibition of the *Passion* by the mendicant friers of Coventry and other places. Instances have been given of the like practice among the French. The only persons who could now read, were in the religious societies; and various circumstances, peculiarly arising from their situation, profession, and institution, enabled the Monks to be the sole performers of these representations."

"As learning encreased, and was more widely disseminated, from the monasteries, by a natural and easy transition, the practice migrated to schools and universities, which were formed on the monastick plan, and in many respects resembled the ecclesiastical bodies⁸."

Candlemas Day, or *The Slaughter of the Innocents*, written by Ihan Parfre in 1512, *Mary Magdalene*, produced in the same year⁹, and *The Promises of God*, written by John Bale, and printed in 1538, are curious specimens of this early species of drama. But the most ancient as well as most complete collection of this kind is, *The Chester Mysteries*, which were written by Ralph Higden, a Monk of the Abbey of Chester, about the year 1328¹, of which a particular account will be found below.

7 "In some regulations given by Cardinal Wolsey to the monasteries of the Canons regular of Saint Austin, in the year 1519, the brothers are forbidden to be *lufores* aut *mimici*, players or mimicks. But the prohibition means that the monks should not go abroad to exercise these arts in a secular and mercenary capacity. See *Annal. Burtonenses*, p. 437."

In 1589, however, an injunction made in the MEXICAN COUNCIL was ratified at Rome, to prohibit all clerks from playing in the *Mysteries* even on Corpus Christi day. See *HIST. OF E. P.* II. 201.

⁸ Warton's *HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY*, II. pp. 366, *et seq.*

⁹ Mss. Digby, 133. Bibl. Bodl.

¹ Mss. Harl. 2013, &c. "Exhibited at Chester in the year 1327,
at

below. I am tempted to transcribe a few lines from the third of these pageants, *The Deluge*, as a specimen of of the ancient Mysteries.

at the expence of the different trading companies of that city: *The Fall of Lucifer*, by the Tanners. *The Creation*, by the Drapers. *The Deluge*, by the Dyers. *Abraham, Melchisedech, and Lot*, by the Barbers. *Moses, Balak, and Balaam*, by the Cappers. *The Salvation and Nativity*, by the Wrightes. *The Shepherds feeding their flocks by night*, by the Painters and Glaziers. *The three Kings*, by the Vintners. *The Oblation of the three Kings*, by the Mercers. *The killing of the Innocents*, by the Goldsmiths. *The Purification*, by the Blacksmiths. *The Temptation*, by the Butchers. *The last Supper*, by the Bakers. *The blind Men and Lazarus*, by the Glovers. *Jesus and the Lepers*, by the Corvesarys. *Christ's Passion*, by the Bowyers, Fletchers, and Ironmongers. *Descent into Hell*, by the Cooks and Innkeepers. *The Resurrection*, by the Skinners. *The Ascension*, by the Taylors. *The Election of S. Mathias, sending of the Holy Ghost, &c.* by the Fishmongers. *Antichrist*, by the Clothiers. *Day of Judgement*, by the Websters. The reader will perhaps smile at some of these combinations. This is the substance and order of the former part of the play. God enters creating the world; he breathes life into Adam, leads him into Paradise, and opens his side while sleeping. Adam and Eve appear naked, and *not ashamed*, and the old serpent enters lamenting his fall. He converses with Eve. She eats of the forbidden fruit, and gives part to Adam. They propose, according to the stage-direction, to make themselves *subligacula a foliis quibus tegamus pudenda*. Cover their nakedness with leaves, and converse with God. God's curse. The serpent *exit* hissing. They are driven from Paradise by four angels and the cherubim with a flaming sword. Adam appears digging the ground, and Eve spinning. Their children Cain and Abel enter: the former kills his brother. Adam's lamentation. Cain is banished," &c. Warton's *HIST. OF E. P. I.* 243.

Mr. Warton observes in a note in his first volume, p. 180, that "if it be true that these *Mysteries* were composed in the year 1328, and there was so much difficulty in obtaining the Pope's permission that they might be presented in English, a presumptive proof arises, that all our *Mysteries* before that period were in Latin. These plays will therefore have the merit of being the first English interludes."

Polydore Virgil mentions in his book *de Rerum Inventoribus*, Lib. v. c. 2, that the *Mysteries* were in his time in English. "*Solemus vel more priscorum spectacula edere populo, ut ludos, venationes, —recitare comædias, item in templis vitas divorum ac martyria repræsentare, in quibus, ut cunctis par sit voluptas, qui recitant, vernaculam linguam tantum usurpant.*" The first three books of Polydore's work were published in 1499; in 1517, at which time he was in England, he added five more.

The

The first scenical direction is,—“ *Et primo in aliquo supremo loco, sive in nubibus, si fieri poterat, loquatur DEUS ad Noe, extra archam existente cum tota familia sua.*” Then the ALMIGHTY, after expatiating on the sins of mankind, is made to say :

Man that I made I will destroye,
 Beast, worme, and fowle to fley,
 For one earth the doe me nye,
 The folke that are herone.
 It harmes me fore hartefully
 The malice that doth nowe multiplye,
 That fore it greeves me inwardlie
 That ever I made man.
 Therefore, Noe, my servant free,
 That righteous man arte, as I see,
 A shipp soone thou shalt make thee
 Of trees drye and lighte.
 Litill chambers therein thou make,
 And byndinge slytche also thou take,
 Within and without ney thou flake
 To anoynte yt through all thy mighte, &c.

After some dialogue between Noah, Sem, Ham, Japhet, and their wives, we find the following stage-direction: “ Then Noe with all his family shall make a signe as though the wrought uppon the shippe with divers instruments, and after that God shall speake to Noe:

Noe, take thou thy meanye,
 And in the shipp hie that ye be,
 For non so righteous man to me
 Is nowe on earth livinge.
 Of clean beastes with the thou take
 Seven and seven, or thou flake,
 He and she, make to make,
 By live in that thou bring, &c.

“ Then Noe shall goe into the arke with all his familie, his wife excepte. The arke must be boarded round

round aboute, and uppon the bordes all the beastes and fowles hereafter rehearsed must be painted, that there wordes maye agree with the pictures."

SEM. Sier, here are lions, libardes, in,
Horfes, mares, oxen and swyne,
Neates, calves, sheepe and kyne,
Here sitten thou maye see, &c.

After all the beasts and fowls have been described, Noah thus addresseth his wife :

NOE. Wife, come in, why standes thou there?
Thou art ever froward, that dare I swere,
Come in on Godes halfe ; tyme it were,
For fear lest that wee drowne.

WIFE. Yea, sir, set up your saile,
And rowe forth with evil haile,
For withouten anie saile
I wil not oute of this toun ;
But I have my goffepes everich one,
One foote further I will not gone :
They shal not drown by St. John,
And I may save ther life.
They loved me full well by Christ :
But thou will let them in thie chist,
Ellis rowe forth, Noe, when thou list,
And get thee a newe wife.

At length Sem and his brethren put her on board by force, and on Noah's welcoming her, " Welcome, wife, into this boate," she gives him a box on the ear: adding, " Take thou that for thy note²."

Many licentious pleasantries, as Mr. Warton has observed, were sometimes introduced in these religious representations. " This might imperceptibly lead the way to subjects entirely profane, and to comedy ; and perhaps earlier than is imagined. In a Mystery of

² It is obvious that the transcriber of these ancient Mysteries, which appear to have been written in 1328, represents them as they were exhibited at Chester in 1600, and that he has not adhered to the original orthography.

*The Massacre of the Holy Innocents*³, part of the subject of a sacred drama given by the English fathers at the famous Council of Constance, in the year 1417, a low buffoon of Herod's court is introduced, desiring of his lord to be dubbed a knight, that he might be properly qualified to *go on the adventure* of killing the mothers of the children of Bethlehem. This tragical business is treated with the most ridiculous levity. The good women of Bethlehem attack our knight-errant with their spinning-wheels, break his head with their distaffs, abuse him as a coward and a disgrace to chivalry, and send him to Herod as a recreant champion with much ignominy.—It is certain that our ancestors intended no sort of impiety by these monstrous and unnatural mixtures. Neither the writers nor the spectators saw the impropriety, nor paid a separate attention to the comick and the serious part of these motley scenes; at least they were persuaded that the solemnity of the subject covered or excused all incongruities. They had no just idea of decorum, consequently but little sense of the ridiculous: what appears to us to be the highest burlesque, on them would have made no sort of impression. We must not wonder at this, in an age when courage, devotion, and ignorance, composed the character of European manners; when the knight going to a tournament, first invoked his God, then his mistress, and afterwards proceeded with a safe conscience and great resolution to engage his antagonist. In these Mysteries I have sometimes seen gross and open obscenities. In a play of *The Old and New Testament* Adam and Eve are both exhibited on the stage naked⁴, and conversing about their nakedness; this very pertinently introduces the next scene; in which they have coverings of fig-leaves. This extraordinary spectacle was beheld by a numerous assembly of both sexes with great composure: they had the authority of scripture for such a

³ Mss. Digby 134. Bibl. Bodl.

⁴ This kind of primitive exhibition was revived in the time of King James the First, several persons appearing almost entirely naked in one of the Masks, which was represented before him, his queen, and a large assembly of the ladies of the court. It is, if I recollect right, described by Winwood.

representation, and they gave matters just as they found them in the third chapter of Genesis. It would have been absolute heresy to have departed from the sacred text in personating the primitive appearance of our first parents, whom the spectators so nearly resembled in simplicity; and if this had not been the case, the dramatists were ignorant what to reject and what to retain⁵."

"I must not omit," adds Mr. Warton⁶, "an anecdote entirely new, with regard to the mode of playing the *Mysteries* at this period, [the latter part of the fifteenth century,] which yet is perhaps of much higher antiquity. In the year 1487, while Henry the seventh kept his residence at the castle of Winchester, on occasion of the birth of prince Arthur, on a Sunday, during the time of dinner, he was entertained with a religious drama called *Christi Descensus ad inferos*, or *Christ's descent into Hell*. It was represented by the *Pueri Eleemosynarii*, or choir-boys, of Hyde Abbey, and Saint Swithin's priory, two large monasteries at Winchester. This is the only proof I have ever seen of choir-boys acting in the old *Mysteries*: nor do I recollect any other instance of a royal dinner, even on a festival, accompanied with this species of diversion⁷. The story of this interlude, in which the chief characters were Christ, Adam, Eve, Abraham, and John the Baptist, was not uncommon in the ancient religious drama, and I believe made a part of what is called the *LUDUS PASCHALIS*, or *Easter Play*. It occurs in the *Coventry Plays* acted on Corpus Christi day⁸, and in the Whitsun

⁵ Warton's HIST. OF ENGLISH POETRY. I. pp. 242, *et seq.*

⁶ HIST. OF E. P. II. p. 206.

⁷ "Except, that on the first Sunday of the magnificent marriage of king James of Scotland with the princess Margaret of England, daughter of Henry the seventh, celebrated at Edinburgh with high splendour, "after dynnar a MORALITE was played by the said Master Inglyshe and hys companions in the presence of the kyng and qweene." On one of the preceding days, "after soupper the kyng and qweene beyng togader in hyr grett chamber, John Inglysh and hys companions *plaid*." This was in the year 1503. Apud Leland, coll. iii. p. 300. Append. edit. 1770."

⁸ See an account of the *Coventry Plays* in Stevens's *Monasticon*, vol. I. p. 238. "Sir W. Dugdale, speaking of the Gray-friars or Franciscans

Whitsun-plays at Chester, where it is called the **HARROWING OF HELL**. The representation is, Christ entering hell triumphantly, delivering our first parents, and

Franciscans at Coventry, says, before the suppression of monasteries this city was very famous for the pageants that were played therein upon Corpus-Christi day; which pageants being acted with mighty state and reverence by the friers of this house, had theatres for the several scenes, very large and high, placed upon wheelles, and drawn to all the eminent parts of the city, for the better advantage of the spectators.—An ancient manuscript of the same is now to be seen in the Cottonian Library, sub. effig. Vesp. D. 8. Sir William cites this manuscript by the title of *Ludus Coventriæ*; but in the printed catalogue of that library, p. 113, it is named thus: A collection of plays in old English metre; h. e. *Dramata sacra, in quibus exhibentur historiæ Veteris & N. Testamenti, introduciis quasi in scenam personis illic memoratis, quas secum invicem colloquentes pro ingenio fingit poeta. Videntur olim coram populo, sive ad instruendum, sive ad placendum, a fratribus mendicantibus repræsentata*. It appears by the latter end of the prologue, that these plays or interludes were not only played at Coventry, but in other towns and places upon occasion. And possibly this may be the same play which Stow tells us was played in the reign of King Henry IV. which lasted for eight days. The book seems by the character and language to be at least 300 years old. It begins with a general prologue, giving the arguments of forty pageants or gesticulations, (which were as so many several acts or scenes,) representing all the histories of both testaments, from the creation to the chusing of St. *Matbias* to be an apostle. The stories of the New Testament are more largely expressed, viz. The Annunciation, Nativity, Visitation; but more especially all matters relating to the Passion very particularly, the Resurrection, Ascension, the choice of St. *Matbias*: after which is also represented the Assumption, and last Judgment. All these things were treated of in a very homely stile, as we now think, infinitely below the dignity of the subject: But it seems the gust of that age was not nice and delicate in these matters; the plain and incurious judgment of our ancestors, being prepared with favour, and taking every thing by the right and easiest handle: For example, in the scene relating to the Visitation:

Maria. But husband of on thyng pray you most mekeley,
I have knowing that our cosyn Elizabeth with childe is,
That it please yow to go to her hastyly,
If ought we myth comfort her, it wer to me blys.

Josepb. A Gods sake, is she with child, sche?
Than will her husband Zachary be mery.
In Mōtana they dwelle, fer hence, so mory the,
In the city of Juda, I know it verily;

and the most sacred characters of the old and new testaments, from the dominion of Satan, and conveying them into paradise.—The composers of the Mysteries did not think the plain and probable events of the new testament sufficiently marvellous for an audience who wanted only to be surprised. They frequently selected their materials from books which had more of the air of romance. The subject of the Mysteries just mentioned was borrowed from the *Pseudo-Evangelium*, or the *fabulous Gospel*, ascribed to Nicodemus: a book, which together with the numerous apocryphal narratives, containing infinite innovations of the evangelical history, and forged at Constantinople by the early writers of the Greek church, gave birth to an endless variety of legends concerning the life of Christ and his apostles; and which, in the barbarous ages, was better esteemed than the genuine gospel, on account of its improbabilities and absurdities.”

“ But whatsoever was the source of these exhibitions, they were thought to contribute so much to the information

It is hence, I trowe, myles two a fifty;
We ar like to be wery or we come at the same.
I wole with a good will, bleffyd wyff Mary;
Now go we forth then in Goddys name, &c.

A little before the resurrection.

Nunc dormient milites, & veniet anima Christi de inferno, cum Adam & Eva, Abraham, John Baptist, et aliis.

Anima Christi. Come forth, Adam, and Eve with the,
And all my fryndes that herein be,
In paradys come forth with me
In blyffe for to dwelle.
The fende of hell that is yowr foo,
He shall be wrappyd and woundyn in woo;
Fro wo to welth now shall ye go,
With myrth ever mor to melle.

Adam. I thank the, Lord, of thy grete grace,
That now is forgiven my gret trespase,
Now shall we dwellyn in blysfyl place, &c.

The last scene or pageant, which represents the day of Judgment, begins thus:

Michael.

tion and instruction of the people on the most important subjects of religion, that one of the popes granted a pardon of one thousand days to every person who resorted peaceably to the plays performed in the Whitsun week at Chester, beginning with the creation, and ending with the general judgment; and this indulgence was seconded by the bishop of the diocese, who granted forty days of pardon: the pope at the same time denouncing the sentence of damnation on all those incorrigible sinners who presumed to disturb or interrupt the due celebration of these pious sports*. It is certain that they had their use, not only in teaching the great truths of scripture to men who could not read the bible, but in abolishing the barbarous attachment to military games, and the bloody contentions of the tournament, which had so long prevailed as the sole species of popular amusement. Rude and even ridiculous as they were, they softened the manners of the people, by diverting the public attention to spectacles in which the mind was concerned, and by creating a regard for other arts than those of bodily strength and savage valour."

I may add, that these representations were so far from being considered as indecent or profane, that even a supreme pontiff, Pope Pius the Second, about the year 1416, composed and caused to be acted before him on Corpus Christi day, a Mystery, in which was represented the *court of the king of heaven*⁹.

These religious dramas were usually represented on holy festivals in or near churches. "In several of our old scriptural plays," says Mr. Warton, "we see

*Michael. Surgite, All men aryse,
Venite ad Judicium;
For now is set the High Justice,
And hath assignyd the day of dome;
Kepe you redyly to this grett assyse,
Both gret and small, all and sum,
And of your answer you now advise,
What you shall say when that yow com," &c.*

Historia Histrionica, 8vo. 1699, pp. 15, 17, 18, 19.

* Mss. Harl. 2124. 2013.

⁹ *Histrionastix*, 4to. 1633, p. 112.

some of the scenes directed to be represented *cum cantu et organis*, a common rubrick in a missal. That is, because they were performed in a church where the choir assisted. There is a curious passage in Lambarde's Topographical Dictionary¹, written about the year 1570, much to our purpose, which I am therefore tempted to transcribe. "In the dayes of ceremonial religion, they used at Wytney (in Oxfordshire) to set fourthe yearly in maner of a shew or interlude, the resurrection of our Lord, &c. For the which purposes, and the more lyvely heareby to exhibite to the eye the hole action of the resurrection, the priestes garnished out certain small puppettes, representing the persons of Christ, the Watchman, Marie, and others; amongest the which, one bore the parte of a wakinge watchman, who espiinge Christe to arrise, made a continual noyce like to the sound that is caused by the metynge of two stickes, and was therefore commonly called *Jack Snacker of Wytney*. The like toye I myself, beinge then a childe, once sawe in Powles church, at London, at a feast of Whitsuntyde; wheare the comynge downe of the Holy Ghost was set forthe by a white pigeon, that was let to fly out of a hole that yet is to be sene in the mydst of the roofe of the great ile, and by a longe censer² which descendinge out of the same place almost to the verie grounde, was swinged up and downe at such a lengthe, that it reached with thone swepe almost to the west-gate of the church, and with the other to the quyre staires of the same; breathinge out over the whole church and companie a most pleasant perfume of such swete things as burned therein. With the like doome-shews they used everie where to furnish sondrye parts of their church service, as by their spectacles of the nativitie, passion, and ascension³," &c.

¹ P. 459, edit. 1730. 4to.

² This may serve to explain a very extraordinary passage in Stowe's *Annales*, p. 690, edit. 1605: "And on the morrowe hee [King Edward the Fourth] went crowned in Paul's church in London, in the honor of God and S. Paule, and there an *Angell came downe, and censed him.*"

³ Warton's *HIST. OF E. P.* Vol. I. p. 240.

In a preceding passage Mr. Warton has mentioned that the singing boys of Hyde Abbey and St. Swithin's Priory at Winchester performed a Mystery before king Henry the Seventh in 1487; adding, that this is the only instance he has met with of choir-boys performing in Mysteries; but it appears from the accompts of various monasteries that this was a very ancient practice, probably co-eval with the earliest attempts at dramatick representations. In the year 1378, the scholars, or choristers of Saint Paul's cathedral, presented a petition to king Richard the second, praying his Majesty to prohibit some ignorant and unexperienced persons from acting the HISTORY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, to the great prejudice of the clergy of the church, who had expended considerable sums for a publick presentation of that play at the ensuing Christmas. About twelve years afterwards, the Parish Clerks of London, as Stowe informs us, performed spiritual plays at Skinner's Well for three days successively, in the presence of the king, queen, and nobles of the realm. And in 1409, the tenth year of king Henry IV. they acted at Clerkenwell for eight days successively a play, which "was matter from the creation of the world," and probably concluded with the day of judgment, in the presence of most of the nobility and gentry of England⁴.

We are indebted to Mr. Warton for some curious circumstances relative to these Miracle-plays, which "appear in a roll of the Churchwardens of Bassingborne in

4 Probably either the Chester or Coventry Mysteries. "In the ignorant ages the Parish-clerks of London might justly be considered as a literary society. It was an essential part of their profession not only to sing, but to read; an accomplishment almost wholly confined to the clergy; and, on the whole, they seem to come under the character of a religious fraternity. They were incorporated into a guild or fellowship by king Henry the third about the year 1240, under the patronage of saint Nicholas.—Their profession, employment, and character, naturally dictated to this spiritual brotherhood the representation of plays, especially those of the scriptural kind: and their constant practice in shews, processions, and vocal musick, easily accounts for their address in detaining the best company which England afforded in the fourteenth century, at a religious farce, for more than one week." Warton's HIST. OF E. P. Vol. II. p. 396.

Cambridgeshire, which is an accompt of the expences and receptions for acting the play of SAINT GEORGE at Basingborne, on the feast of saint Margaret, in the year 1511. They collected upwards of four pounds in twenty-seven neighbouring parishes for furnishing the play. They disbursed about two pounds in the representation. These disbursements are to four minstrels, or waits, of Cambridge, for three days, vs. vjd. To the players, in bread and ale, ijs. ijd. To the *garnement-man* for *garnements* and *propyrts*⁵, that is, for dresses, decorations, and implements, and for play-books, xxs. To John Hobard, *brotherhoode preefte*, that is, a priest of the guild in the church, for the *play-book*, ijs. viiij. For the *crofte*, or field in which the play was exhibited, js. For *propyrte-making*, or furniture, js. ivd. For fish and bread, and to setting up the stages, ivd. For painting three *fanchoms* and four *tormentors*, words which I do not understand, but perhaps *fantoms* and devils - - - . The rest was expended for a feast on the occasion, in which are recited 'Four chicken for the gentlemen, ivd.' It appears by the manuscript of the Coventry plays, that a temporary scaffold only was erected for these performances⁶."

5 "The property-room," as Mr. Warton has observed, "is yet known at our theatres."

The following list of the properties used in a Mystery formed on the story of Tobit in the Old Testament, which was exhibited in the Broadgate, Lincoln, in July 1563, (6 Eliz.) appeared in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1787:

"Lying at Mr. Norton's house in tenure of William Smart.

"First Hell-mouth, with a nether chap. Item, A prison, with a covering. It. Sarah's chamber."

"Remaining in St. Switbin's church.

"It. A great Idol. It. A tomb with a covering. It. The cyty of Jerusalem with towers and pinacles. It. The cyty of Rages, with towers and pinacles. It. The city of Nineveh. It. The kings palace of Nineveh. It. Old Tobys house. It. The kyngs palace at Laches. It. A firmament with a firey cloud, and a double cloud, in the custody of Thomas Fulbeck, Alderman."

⁶ HIST. OF E. P. Vol. III. p. 326. "Strype, under the year 1559, says, that after a grand feast at Guildhall, "the same day was a scaffold set up in the hall for a play." Ann. Ref. I. 197. edit. 1725.

In the ancient religious plays the Devil was very frequently introduced. He was usually represented with horns, a very wide mouth, (by means of a mask) staring eyes, a large nose, a red beard, cloven feet, and a tail. His constant attendant was the Vice, (the buffoon of the piece,) whose principal employment it was to belabour the Devil with his wooden dagger, and to make him roar, for the entertainment of the populace⁷.

As the *Mysteries* or *Miracle-plays* “ frequently required the introduction of allegorical characters, such as Charity, Sin, Death, Hope, Faith, or the like, and as the common poetry of the times, especially among the French, began to deal much in allegory, at length plays were formed entirely consisting of such personifications. These were called MORALITIES. The *Miracle-plays* or MYSTERIES were totally destitute of invention and plan: they tamely represented stories, according to the letter of the scripture, or the respective legend. But the MORALITIES indicate dawnings of the dramattick art: they contain some rudiments of a plot, and even attempt to delineate characters, and to paint manners. From hence the gradual transition to real historical personages was natural and obvious⁸. ”

Dr. Percy in his account of the English Stage has given an Analysis of two ancient Moralities, entitled *Every Man*, and *Lusty Juventus*, from which a perfect notion of this kind of drama may be obtained. *Every Man* was written in the reign of king Henry the Eighth, and *Lusty Juventus* in that of king Edward the Sixth. As Dr. Percy’s curious and valuable collection of ancient English Poetry is in the hands of every scholar, I shall content myself with merely referring to it. Many other Moralities are yet extant, of some of which I

⁷ “ It was a pretty part in the old church-plays,” says Bishop Harfenet, “ when the nimble Vice would skip up’nimbly like a Jacke-anapes into the Devil’s necke, and ride the devil a course, and belabour him with his wooden dagger, till he made him roar, whereat the people would laugh to see the Devil so Vice-haunted.” Harfenet’s *Declaration of Popish Impostures*, &c. 4to. 1603.

⁸ Warton’s *HIST. OF E. P. I.* p. 242. Percy’s *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, Vol. I. p. 128.

shall give the titles below⁹. Of one, which is not now extant, we have a curious account in a book entitled "*Mount Tabor, or Private Exercises of a Penitent Sinner*, by R. W. [R. Willis.] *Esqr. published in the year of his age 75, Anno Domini, 1639;*" an extract from which will give the reader a more accurate notion of the old Moralities than a long dissertation on the subject.

" UPON A STAGE-PLAY WHICH I SAW WHEN
I WAS A CHILD.

" In the city of Gloucester the manner is, (as I think it is in other like corporations,) that when players of enterludes come to towne, they first attend the Mayor, to enforme him what noble-mans servants they are, and so to get licence for their publike playing; and if the Mayor like the actors, or would shew respect to their lord and master, he appoints them to play their first play before himself and the Aldermen and Common-Counsell of the city; and that is called *the Mayors play*: where every one that will, comes in without money, the Mayor giving the players a reward as hee thinks fit to shew respect unto them. At such a play, my father tooke me with him, and made me stand between his leggs, as he sate upon one of the benches, where we saw and heard very well. The play was called *The Cradle of Security*¹, wherein was personated a king or some great prince, with his courtiers of several kinds, among which three ladies were in special grace with him; and they keeping him in delights and pleasures, drew him from his graver counsellors, hearing of sermons, and

⁹ *Magnificence*, written by John Skelton; *Impatient Poverty*, 1560; *The Life and Repentance of Marie Magdalene*, 1567; *The Trial of Treasure*, 1567; *The Nice Wanton*, 1568; *The Disobedient Child*, no date; *The Marriage of Wit and Science*, 1570; *The Interlude of Youth*, no date; *The longer thou livest, the more Fool thou art*, no date; *The Interlude of Wealth and Health*, no date; *All for Money*, 1578; *The Conflict of Conscience*, 1581; *The three Ladies of London*, 1584; *The three Lords of London*, 1590; *Tom Tyler and his Wife*, &c.

¹ *The Cradle of Securitie* is mentioned with several other Moralities, in a play which has not been printed, entitled *Sir Thomas More*, MS. Harl. 3768.

listening to good counsell and admonitions, that in the end they got him to lye down in a cradle upon the stage, where these three ladies, joyning in a sweet song, rocked him asleepe, that he snorted againe; and in the meane time closely conveyed under the cloaths where-withall he was covered, a vizard, like a swines snout, upon his face, with three wire chains fastened thereunto, the other end whereof being holden severally by those three ladies; who fall to singing againe, and then discovered his face, that the spectators might see how they had transformed him, going on with their singing. Whilst all this was acting, there came forth of another doore at the farthest end of the stage, two old men; the one in blew, with a serjeant at armes his mace on his shoulder; the other in red, with a drawn sword in his hand, and leaning with the other hand upon the others shoulder; and so they two went along with a soft pace round about by the skirt of the stage, till at last they came to the cradle, when all the court was in the greatest jollity; and then the foremost old man with his mace stroke a fearfull blow upon the cradle; where-with all the courtiers, with the three ladies, and the vizard, all vanished; and the desolate prince starting up bare-faced, and finding himself thus sent for to judgement, made a lamentable complaint of his miserable case, and so was carried away by wicked spirits. This prince did personate in the Morall, the wicked of the world; the three ladies, Pride, Covetousness, and Luxury; the two old men, the end of the world, and the last judgement. This sight took such impressiion in me, that when I came towards mans estate, it was as fresh in my memory, as if I had seen it newly acted²."

The writer of this book appears to have been born in the same year with our great poet (1564). Supposing him to have been seven or eight years old when he saw this interlude, the exhibition must have been in 1571 or 1572.

² *Mount Tabor, &c.* 8vo. 1639, pp. 110, et seq. With this curious extract I was favoured, several years ago, by the Rev. Mr. Bowle of Idmiston near Salisbury.

I am unable to ascertain when the first Morality appeared, but incline to think not sooner than the reign of king Edward the Fourth (1460). The publick pageants of the reign of king Henry the Sixth were uncommonly splendid³; and being then first enlivened by the introduction of speaking allegorical personages properly and characteristically habited, they naturally led the way to those personifications by which Moralities were distinguished from the simpler religious dramas called Mysteries. We must not however suppose, that, after Moralities were introduced, Mysteries ceased to be exhibited. We have already seen that a Mystery was represented before king Henry the Seventh at Winchester in 1487. Sixteen years afterwards, on the first Sunday after the marriage of his daughter with king James of Scotland, a Morality was performed⁴. In the early part of the reign of king Henry the

³ See Warton's *HIST. OF E. P.* Vol. II. p. 199.

⁴ Sir James Ware in his *Annales*, folio, 1664, after having given an account of the Statute, 33 Henry VIII. c. 1. by which Henry was declared king of Ireland, and Ireland made a kingdom, informs us, that the new law was proclaimed in St. Patrick's church, in the presence of the Lord Deputy St. Leger, and a great number of peers, who attended in their parliament robes. "It is needless," (he adds,) "to mention the feasts, comedies, and sports, which followed." "*Epulas, comœdias, et certamina ludicra, quæ sequebantur, quid attinet dicere?*" The mention of *comedies* might lead us to suppose that our sister kingdom had gone before us in the cultivation of the drama; but I find from a Ms. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, that what are here called *comedies*, were nothing more than *pageants*. "In the parliament of 1541," (says the author of the memoir,) "wherein Henry VIII. was declared king of Ireland, there were present the earls of Ormond and Desmond, the lord Barry, M'Gilla Phædrig, chieftaine of Ossory, the son of O'Bryan, M'Carthy More, with many Irish lords; and on Corpus Christi day they rode about the streets in their parliament-ropes, and the NINE WORTHIES was played, and the Mayor bore the mace before the deputy on horseback."

Two of Bale's Mysteries, *God's Promises*, and *St. John Baptist*, we have been lately told, were acted by young men at the market-cross in Kilkenny, on a Sunday, in the year 1552. See Walker's *Essay on the Irish Stage*, 4to. 1789, and *Collect. de Rebus Hiber.* Vol. II. p. 388: but there is a slight error in the date. Bale has himself informed us, that he was consecrated Bishop of Ossory, February 2, 1552-3, (not on the 25th of March, as the writer of Bale's Life in *Biographia Britannica* asserts,) and that he soon afterwards went to his palace in Kilkenny.

the Eighth they were perhaps performed indiscriminately; but Mysteries were probably seldom represented after the statute 34 and 35 Henry VIII. c. 1. which was made, as the preamble informs us, with a view that the kingdom should be purged and cleansed of all *religious plays, interludes, rhymes, ballads, and songs, which are*

kenny. These Mysteries were exhibited there on the 20th of August, 1553, the day on which Queen Mary was proclaimed, as appears from his own account: "On the xx daye of August was the ladye Marye with us at Kilkennye proclaimed Quene of England, &c.—The yonge men in the forenone played a tragedye of *Gods Promises in the old lawe*, at the market-crosse, with organe-plainges and songes, very aptely. In the afternone agayne they played a comedie of *Sanct Joban Baptistes* preachinges, of Christes baptisyng, and of his temptacion in the wilder nesse; to the small contentacion of the prestes and other papistes there." *The Vocacyon of Joban Bale*, &c. 16mo. no date, sign. C 8.

The only theatre in Dublin in the reign of queen Elizabeth was a booth (if it may be called a theatre) erected in Hoggin Green, now College Green, where Mysteries and Moralities were occasionally performed. It is strange, that so lately as in the year 1600, at a time when many of Shakspeare's plays had been exhibited in England, and lord Montjoy, the intimate friend of his patrons, lord Essex and lord Southampton, was Deputy of Ireland, the old play of *Gorboduck*, written in the infancy of the stage, (for this piece had been originally presented in 1562, under the name of *Ferrex and Porrex*,) should have been performed at the Castle of Dublin: but such is the fact, if we may believe Chetwood the prompter, who mentions that old Mr. Ashbury had seen a bill dated the 7th of September 1601, (queen Elizabeth's birth-day,) "*for wax tapers for the play of Gorboduck done at the Castle, one and twenty shillings and two groats.*" Whether any plays were represented in Dublin in the reign of James the First, I am unable to ascertain. Barnaby Riche, who has given a curious account of Dublin in the year 1610, makes no mention of any theatrical exhibition. In 1635, when lord Strafford was Lord Lieutenant, a theatre, probably under his patronage, was built in Werburgh-street; which, under the conduct of the well known John Ogilby, Master of the Revels in Ireland, continued open till October 1641, when it was shut up by order of the Lords Justices. At this theatre Shirley's *Royal Master* was originally represented in 1639, and Burnel's *Landgartba* in 1641. In 1662 Ogilby was restored to his office, and a new theatre was erected in Orange-street, (since called Smock-Alley) part of which fell down in the year 1671. *Agrippa, King of Alba*, a tragedy translated from the French of Quinault, was acted there before the duke of Ormond, in 1675; and it continued open, I believe, till the death of king Charles the Second. The disturbances which followed in Ireland put an end for a time to all theatrical entertainments.

equally

equally *pestiferous* and *noysome* to the commonweal. At this time both Moralities and Mysteries were made the vehicle of religious controversy; Bale's *Comedy of the three Lawes of Nature*, printed in 1538, (which in fact is a Mystery,) being a disguised satire against popery; as the Morality of *Lusty Juventus* was written expressly with the same view in the reign of king Edward the Sixth³. In that of his successor queen Mary, Mysteries were again revived, as appendages to the papistical worship. "In the year 1556," says Mr. Warton, "*a goodly stage-play of the Passion of Christ* was presented at the Grey-friars in London, on Corpus-Christi day, before the Lord-Mayor, the Privy-council, and many great estates of the realm. Strype also mentions, under the year 1557, a stage-play at the Grey-friars, of the Passion of Christ, on the the day that war was proclaimed in London against France, and in honour of that occasion. On Saint Olave's day in the same year, the holiday of the church in Silver-street which is dedicated to that saint, was kept with much solemnity. At eight of the clock at night, began a stage-play of *goodly matter*, being the miraculous history of the life of that saint, which continued four hours, and concluded with many religious songs⁴." No Mysteries, I believe, were represented during the reign of Elizabeth, except such as were occasionally performed by those who were favourers of the popish religion⁵, and those already mentioned,

known

³ "This mode of attack" (as Mr. Warton has observed) "was seldom returned by the opposite party: the catholick worship founded on sensible representations afforded a much better hold for ridicule, than the religion of some of the sects of the reformers, which was of a more simple and spiritual nature." HIST. OF E. P. Vol. II. p. 378, n. The interlude, however, called *Every Man*, which was written in defence of the church of Rome, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, is an exception. It appears also from a proclamation promulgated early in the reign of his son, of which mention will be made hereafter, that the favourers of popery about that time had levelled several dramatick invectives against Archbishop Cranmer, and the doctrines of the reformers.

⁴ HIST. OF E. P. Vol. III. p. 326.

⁵ That Mysteries were occasionally represented in the early part of queen Elizabeth's reign appears from the assertions of the controver-

sial

known by the name of the Chester Myſteries, which had been originally compoſed in 1328, were revived in the time of king Henry the Eighth, (1533,) and again performed at Cheſter in the year 1600. The laſt Myſtery, I believe, ever repreſented in England, was that of *Chriſt's Paſſion*, in the reign of king James the Firſt, which Prynne tells us was “performed at Elie-Houſe in Holborne, when Gundomar lay there, on Good-friday at night, at which there were thouſands preſent⁶.”

In France the representation of Myſteries was forbid in the year 1548, when the fraternity associated under the name of *The Actors of our Saviour's Paſſion*, who had received letters patent from king Charles the Sixth in 1402, and had for near 150 years exhibited religious plays, built their new theatre on the ſite of the duke of Burgundy's houſe; and were authoriſed by an Arret of parliament to act, on condition that “they ſhould meddle with none but profane ſubjects, ſuch as are lawful and honeſt, and not repreſent any ſacred Myſteries⁷.” Representations founded on holy writ continued to be exhibited in Italy till the year 1660, and the Myſtery of Chriſt's Paſſion was repreſented at Vienna ſo lately as the early part of the preſent century.

Having thus occaſionally mentioned foreign theatres, I take this opportunity to obſerve, that the ſtages of France ſo lately as in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign were entirely unfurniſhed with ſcenery or any kind of decoration, and that the performers at that time remained on the ſtage the whole time of the exhibition; in which mode perhaps our Myſteries in England were repreſented. For this information we are indebted to the elder Scaliger, in whoſe *Poeticks* is the following curious paſſage. “*Nunc in Gallia ita agunt fabulas, ut*

ſial writers. “They play” (ſays one of them,) “and counterſeite the whole Paſſion ſo trimly, with all the ſeven ſorowes of our lady, as though it had been nothing elſe but a ſimple and plain enterlude, to make boyes laugh at, and a little to recreate ſorowful harts.” *Be-bive of the Romiſhe Church*, 1580, p. 207. See alſo *ſupra*, p. 19, n. 5.

⁶ *Hiſtriomaſtix*, quarto, 1633, p. 117. n.

⁷ Riccoboni's *Account of the Theatres of Europe*, 8vo. 1741, p. 124.

omnia in conspectu sint; UNIVERSUS APPARATUS dispositis sublimibus sedibus. Personæ ipsæ nunquam discedunt: qui silent pro absentibus habentur. At enimvero perridiculum, ibi spectatorem videre te audire, et te videre teipsum non audire quæ alius coram te de te loquatur; quasi ibi non sis, ubi es: cum tamen maxima poetæ vis sit, suspendere animos, atque eos facere semper expectantes. At hic tibi novum fit nihil; ut prius satietas subrepat, quam obrepat fames. Itaque recte objecit Æschylo Euripides apud Aristophanem in Ranis, quod Niobem et Achillem in scenam introduxisset capite co-operto; neque nunquam ullum verbum qui sint loquuti⁸." That is, "At present in France [about the year 1556] plays are represented in such a manner, that nothing is withdrawn from the view of the spectator. The whole apparatus of the theatre consists of some high seats ranged in proper order. The persons of the scene never depart during the representation: he who ceases to speak, is considered as if he were no longer on the stage. But in truth it is extremely ridiculous, that the spectator should see the actor listening, and yet he himself should not hear what one of his fellow-actors says concerning him, though in his own presence and within his hearing: as if he were absent, while he is present. It is the great object of the dramatick poet to keep the mind in a constant state of suspense and expectation. But in our theatres, there can be no novelty, no surprize: inso-

⁸ Jul. Cæs. Scaligeri *Poetices Libri Septem*. Folio, 1561. l. 1. c. 21. Julius Cæsar Scaliger died at Agen, in the province of Guienne in France, on the 21st of October, 1558, in the 75th year of his age. He wrote his *Poeticks* in that town a few years before his death.

Riccoboni gives us the same account in his *History of the French Theatre*. "In the representations of the Mysteries, the theatre represented paradise, hell, heaven, and earth, all at once; and though the action varied, there was no change of the decorations. After an actor had performed his part, he did not go off the stage, but retired to a corner of it, and sat there in full view of all the spectators." *Historical and Critical Account of the Theatres in Europe*, octavo, 1741, p. 118. We shall presently see that at a much later period, and long after the Mysteries had ceased to be exhibited, "though the action changed, there was no change of decoration," either in France or England.

much

much that the spectator is more likely to be fatiated with what he has already seen, than to have any appetite for what is to come. Upon this ground it was, that Euripides objected to Æschylus, in *The Frogs* of Aristophanes, for having introduced Niobe and Achilles as mutes upon the scene, with a covering which entirely concealed their heads from the spectators."

Another practice, equally extraordinary, is mentioned by Bulenger in his treatise on the Grecian and Roman theatres. In his time, so late as in the year 1600, all the actors employed in a dramattick piece came on the stage in a troop, before the play began, and presented themselves to the spectators, in order, says he, to raise the expectation of the audience. "*Putem tamen (quod bodieque fit) omnes actores antequam singuli agerent, confestim et in turba in proscenium prodiisse, ut sui expectationem commoverent*."

I know not whether this was ever practised in England. Instead of raising, it should seem more likely to repress, expectation. I suppose, however, this writer conceived the audience would be animated by the *number* of the characters, and that this display would operate on the gaping spectators like some of our modern enormous play-bills; in which the length of the show sometimes constitutes the principal merit of the entertainment.

Mr. Warton observes that Moralities were become so fashionable a spectacle about the close of the reign of Henry the Seventh, that "John Rastall, a learned typographer, brother-in-law to Sir Thomas More, extended its province, which had been hitherto confined either to moral allegory, or to religion blended with buffoonery, and conceived a design of making it the vehicle of science and philosophy. With this view he published *A new INTERLUDE and a mery, of the nature of the iiij. Elements, declaring many proper points of philosophy naturall, and dyvers straunge landys, &c.* In the cosmographical part of the play, in which the poet professes to treat of

⁹ Bulengeri de *Theatro*, 8vo. 1600, l. i. p. 60. b.

dyvers straunge landys, and of the new-found landys, the tracts of America recently discovered, and the manners of the natives, are described. The characters are, a Messenger, who speaks the prologue, Nature, Humanity, Studious Desire, Sensual Appetite, a Taverner, Experience, and Ignorance¹."

As it is uncertain at what period of time the ancient Mysteries ceased to be represented as an ordinary spectacle for the amusement of the people, and Moralities were substituted in their room, it is equally difficult to ascertain the precise time when the latter gave way to a more legitimate theatrical exhibition. We know that Moralities were exhibited *occasionally* during the whole of the reign of queen Elizabeth, and even in that of her successor, long after regular dramas had been presented on the scene²; but I suspect that about the year 1570 (the 13th year of queen Elizabeth) this species of drama began to lose much of its attraction, and gave way to something that had more the appearance of comedy and tragedy. *Gammer Garton's Needle*, which was written by Mr. Sill, (afterwards bishop of Bath and Wells,) in the 23d year of his age, and acted at Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1566, is pointed out by the ingenious writer of the tract entitled *Historia Histrionica*, as the first piece "that looks like a regular comedy;" that is, the first play that was neither Mystery nor Morality, and in which some humour and discrimination of character may be found. In 1561-2 Thomas Sackville lord Buckhurst, and Thomas Norton, joined in writing the tragedy

¹ HIST. OF E. P. Vol. II. p. 364. "Dr. Percy supposes this play to have been written about the year 1510, from the following lines:

" — Within this xx yere

" Westwarde he found new landes

" That we never harde tell of before this."

The West-Indies were discovered by Columbus in 1492." Ibid.

² The licence granted in 1603 to Shakspeare and his fellow-comedians, authorises them to play comedies, tragedies, histories, interludes, *morals*, pastorals, &c. See also *The Guls Hornebooke*, 1609: " — if in the middle of his play, (bee it pastoral or comedie, *moral* or tragedie,) you rise with a shrewd and discontented face," &c.

of *Ferrex and Porrex*, which was exhibited on the 18th of January in that year by the Students of the Inner Temple, before queen Elizabeth at Whitehall. Neither of these pieces appears to have been acted on a publick theatre, nor was there at that time any building in London constructed solely for the purpose of representing plays. Of the latter piece, which, as Mr. Warton has observed, is perhaps "the first specimen in our language of an heroick tale written in verse, and divided into acts and scenes, and cloathed in all the formalities of a regular tragedy," a correct analysis may be found in the HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY³, and the play itself within these few years has been accurately reprinted.

It has been justly remarked by the same judicious writer, that the early practice of performing plays in schools and universities greatly contributed to the improvement of our drama. "While the people were amused with Skelton's *Trial of Simony*, Bale's *God's Promises*, and *Christ's Descent into Hell*, the scholars of the times were composing and acting plays on historical subjects, and in imitation of Plautus and Terence. Hence ideas of legitimate fable must have been imperceptibly derived to the popular and vernacular drama⁴."

In confirmation of what he has suggested, it may be observed, that the principal dramattick writers, before Shakspeare appeared, were scholars. Greene, Lodge, Peele, Marlowe, Nashe, Lily, and Kyd, had all a regular university education. From whatever cause it may have arisen, the dramattick poetry about this period certainly assumed a better, though still an exceptionable, form. The example which had been furnished by Sackville was quickly followed, and a great number of tragedies and historical plays was produced between the years 1570 and 1590; some of which are still extant, though by far the greater part is lost. This, I appre-

³ Vol. III. pp. 355, et seq.

⁴ HIST. OF E. P. II. p. 388.

hend, was the great era of those bloody and bombastick pieces, which afforded subsequent writers perpetual topicks of ridicule: and during the same period were exhibited many *Histories*, or historical dramas, formed on our English Chronicles, and representing a series of events simply in the order of time in which they happened. Some have supposed that Shakspeare was the first dramatick poet that introduced this species of drama; but this is an undoubted error. I have elsewhere observed that every one of the subjects on which he constructed his historical plays, appears to have been dramatized, and brought upon the scene, before his time⁵.

⁵ See Vol. VI. p. 426.

Goffon in his *Plays Confuted in five actions*, printed about the year 1580, says, "In playes either those things are fained that never were, as *Cupid and Psyche*, plaid at Pauls; [he means, in Paul's school,]—or if a true *historie* be taken in hand, it is made like our shavelings, longest at the rising and falling of the sunne." From the same writer we learn, that many preceding dramatick poets had travelled over the ground in which the subjects of several of Shakspeare's other plays may be found. "I may boldly say it, (says Goffon) because I have seene it, that *the Palace of Pleasure*, the *Golden Asse*, the *Æthiopian Historie*, *Amadis of Fraunce*, the *Round table*, bawdie comedies in Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish, have beene *thoroughly ransackt* to furnish the play-houses in London." Signat. D 5. b.

Lodge, his antagonist in this controversy, in his *Play of plays and pastimes*, a work which I have never seen, urges, as Prynne informs us, in defence of plays, that "they dilucidate and well explain many darke obscure *histories*, imprinting them in men's minds in such indelible characters that they can hardly be obliterated." *Histrionastix*, p. 940. See also Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, 1612: "Plays have made the ignorant more apprehensive, taught the unlearned the knowledge of many famous *histories*; instructed such as cannot reade, in the discovery of our *English Chronicles*: and what man have you now of that weake capacity that cannot discourse of any notable thing recorded, even from *William the Conqueror*, nay from the landing of Brute, untill this day, being possesse of their true use?"—In Florio's dialogues in Italian and English, printed in 1591, we have the following dialogue:

"G. After dinner we will goe see a play.

H. The plaies that they play in England are not right comedies.

T. Yet they do nothing else but plaie every daye.

H. Yea, but they are neither right comedies, nor right tragedies.

C. How would you name them then?

M. Representations of *histories*, without any decorum."

The

The historical drama is by an elegant modern writer supposed to have owed its rise to the publication of *The Mirrour for Magistrates*, in which many of the most distinguished characters in English history are introduced, giving a poetical narrative of their own misfortunes⁶. Of this book three editions, with various alterations and improvements, were printed between 1563 and 1587.

At length (about the year 1591) the great luminary of the dramattick world blazed out, and our poet produced those plays which have now for two hundred years been the boast and admiration of his countrymen.

Our earliest dramas, as we have seen, were represented in churches or near them by ecclesiasticks: but at a very early period, I believe, we had regular and established players, who obtained a livelihood by their art. So early as in the year 1378, as has been already noticed, the singing-boys of St. Paul's represented to the king, that they had been at considerable expence in preparing a stage representation at Christmas. These, however, cannot properly be called comedians, nor am I able to point out the time when the profession of a player became common and established. It has been supposed that the license granted by queen Elizabeth to James Burbage and others, in 1574, was the first regular license ever granted to comedians in England; but this is a mistake, for Heywood informs us that similar licenses had been granted by her father king Henry the Eighth, king Edward the Sixth, and queen Mary. Stowe records, that "when king Edward the Fourth would shew himself in state to the view of the people, he repaired to his palace at St. John's, where he was accustomed to see the *City Actors* 7." In two books in the Remembrancer's-office in the

⁶ Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, Vol. I. p. 166.

⁷ *Apology for Actors*, 4to. 1612, Signat. E 1. b. "Since then," adds Heywood, "that house by the princes free gift hath been longed to the office of the Revels, where our court playes have been in late dayes yearely rehearsed, perfected, and corrected, before they come to the publike view of the prince and the nobility." This house must

the Exchequer, containing an account of the daily expences of king Henry the Seventh, are the following articles; from which it appears that at that time players, both French and English, made a part of the appendages of the court, and were supported by regal establishment.

“ *Item*, to Hampton of Worcester for making of ballades, 20s. *Item*, to my ladie the kings moders poete, 66s. 8d. *Item*, to a Welsh Rymer, in reward, 13s. 4d. *Item*, to my Lord Privie-Seals sole, in rew. 10s. *Item*, to Pachye the sole, for a rew. 6s. 8d. *Item*, to the foolish duke of Lancafter, 3s. *Item*, to Dix the soles master, for a months wages, 10s. *Item*, to the King of Frances sole, in rew. 4l. *Item*, to the Frenshe players, in rew. 20s. *Item*, to the tumbler upon the ropes, 20s. *Item*, for heling of a feke maid, 6s. 8d. [Probably the piece of gold given by the king in touching for the evil.] *Item*, to my lord princes organ-player, for a quarters wages at Michell. 10s. *Item*, to the players of London, in reward, 10s. *Item*, to Master Barnard, the blind poete, 100s. *Item*, to a man and woman for strawberries, 8s. 4d. *Item*, to a woman for a red rose, 2s.”

The foregoing extracts are from a book of which almost every page is signed by the king's own hand, in the 13th year of his reign. The following are taken from a book which contains an account of expences in the 9th year of his reign. “ *Item*, to Cart for writing of a boke, 6s. 8d. *Item*, payd for two playes in the hall, 26s. 8d. *Item*, to the kings players for a reward, 100s. *Item*, to the king to play at cardes, 100s. *Item*, lost to my lord Moring at buttes, 6s. 8d. *Item*, to Harry Pyning, the king's godson, in reward, 20s. *Item*, to the players that begged by the way, 6s. 8d*.”

Some of these articles I have preserved as curious, though they do not relate to the subject immediately before us. This account ascertains, that there was then not only a regular troop of players in London, but also

must have been chosen on account of its neighbourhood to Whitehall, where the royal theatre then was. The regular office of the Revels at that time was on St. Peter's hill, near the Blackfriars' playhouse.

* For these extracts I am indebted to Francis Grose, esq. to whom every admirer of the venerable remains of English antiquity has the highest obligations.

a royal company. The intimate knowledge of the French language and manners which Henry must have acquired during his long sojourn in foreign courts, (from 1471 to 1485,) accounts for the article relative to the company of French players.

In a Manuscript in the Cottonian library in the Museum, a narrative is given of the shews and ceremonies exhibited at Christmas in the fifth year of this king's reign, 1490. "This Cristmass I saw no disgyfyngs, and but *right few pley*s; but ther was an abbot of mis-rule, that made much sport, and did right well his office.— On Candell Mass day, the king, the qwen, my ladye the kings moder, with the substance of al the lordes temporell present at the parlement, &c. wenten a proceffion from the chapell into the hall, and soo into Westmynster Hall:— The kyng was that day in a riche gowne of purple, pirled with the gold, furred wythe fabuls.—At nyght the king, the qwene, and my ladye the kyngs moder, came into the Whit hall, and ther had *a pley*."—"On New-yeeres day at nyght, (says the same writer, speaking of the year 1488,) ther was a goodly disgyfing, and also this Cristmass ther wer *many and dyvers playes*⁸."

A proclamation which was issued out in the year 1547 by king Edward the Sixth, to prohibit for about two months the exhibition of "any kind of interlude, play, dialogue, or other matter set forth in the form of a play, in the English tongue," describes plays as a familiar entertainment, both in London, and in the country⁹, and the profession of an actor as common and established. "Forasmuch as a great number of those that be *common*

⁸ Leland. Collect. Vol. IV. Append. pp. 235, 256. edit. 1774.

⁹ Itinerant companies of actors are probably coeval with the first rise of the English stage. King Henry the Seventh's bounty to some strolling players has been mentioned in the preceding page. In 1556, the fourth year of queen Mary, a remonstrance was issued from the privy-council to the lord President of the North, stating, "that certain lewd [wicked or dissolute] persons, naming themselves to be the servants of Sir Francis Lake, and wearing his livery or badge on their sleeves, have wandered about these north parts, and representing certain plays and interludes, reflecting on the queen and her consort, and the formalities of the mass." Strype's *Memorials*, Vol. III. Append. III. p. 185.

players of interludes and playes, as well within the city of London as elsewhere within the realme, doe for the most part play such interludes as contain matter tending to sedition¹," &c. By *common* players of interludes here mentioned, I apprehend, were meant the players of the city, as contradistinguished from the king's own servants. In a Manuscript which I saw some years ago, and which is now in the Library of the Marquis of Lansdown, are sundry charges for the players belonging to king Edward the Sixth; but I have not preserved the articles. And in the household-book of queen Mary, in the Library of the Antiquarian Society, is an entry which shews that she also had a theatrical establishment: "Eight players of interludes, each, 66s. 8d.—26l. 13s. 4d."

It has already been mentioned that originally plays were performed in churches. Though Bonner bishop of London issued a proclamation to the clergy of his diocese in 1542, prohibiting "all manner of common plays, games, or interludes, to be played, set forth, or declared within their churches, chapels," &c. the practice seems to have been continued occasionally during the reign of queen Elizabeth; for the author of *The Third Blast of retrait from plays and players* complains, in 1580, that "the players are permitted to publish their mammetrie in every temple of God, and that throughout England;" &c. and this abuse is taken notice of in one of the Canons of King James the First, given soon after his accession in the year 1603. Early however in Queen Elizabeth's reign the established players of London began to act in temporary theatres constructed in the yards of inns²; and about the year 1570, I imagine, one or two

¹ Fuller's *Church Hist.* B. VII. p. 390.

² "In process of time it [playing] became an occupation, and many there were that followed it for a livelihood, and, what was worse, it became the occasion of much sin and evil; great multitudes of people, especially youth, in queen Elizabeth's reign, resorting to these plays: and being commonly acted on sundays and festivals, the churches were forsaken, and the playhouses thronged. Great inns were used for this purpose, which had secret chambers and places, as well as open stages and galleries." Strype's *Additions to Stowe's Survey*, folio, 1720. Vol. I. p. 247.

regular playhouses were erected³. Both the theatre in Blackfriars and that in Whitefriars were certainly built before 1580; for we learn from a puritanical pamphlet published in the last century, that soon after that year, “many goodly citizens and well disposed gentlemen of London, considering that play-houses and dicing-houses were traps for young gentlemen, and others, and perceiving that many inconveniences and great damage would ensue upon the long suffering of the same,—acquainted some pious magistrates therewith,—who thereupon made humble suite to Queene Elizabeth and her privy-councell, and obtained leave from her majesty to thrust the players out of the citty, and to pull down all playhouses and dicing-houses within their liberties; which accordingly was effected, and the playhouses in Gracious-street, Bishopsgate-street, that nigh Paul’s, that on Ludgate-hill, and the White-friers, were quite pulled down and suppressed by the care of these religious senators⁴.” The theatre in Blackfriars, not being within the liberties of the city of London, escaped the fury of these fanaticks. Elizabeth, however, though she yielded in this instance to the frenzy of the time, was during the whole course of her reign a favourer of the stage, and a frequent attendant upon plays. So early as in the year 1569, as we learn from another puritanical writer, the children of her chapel, (who are described as “her majesty’s unfledged minions,”) “flaunted it in their filkes and fattens,” and acted plays on profane subjects in

3 “In playes either those things are fained that never were, as *Cupid and Psyche*, played at Paules, [the school-room of St. Paul’s,] and a great many comedies more at *the Blackfriars*, and in every playhouse in London, which for brevity sake I over-skippe; or,” &c. *Plays confuted, in five Actions*, by Stephen Gosson, no date, but printed about the year 1580.

4 Richard Reulidge’s *Monster lately found out and discovered, or the scourging of Tipplers*, 1628, pp. 2, 3, 4. What he calls the theatres in Gracious-street, Bishopsgate-street, and Ludgate-hill, were the temporary scaffolds erected at the Cross-Keys Inn in Gracechurch-street, the Bull in Bishopsgate-street, and the Bell-Savage on Ludgate-hill. “That nigh Paul’s,” was St. Paul’s school-room, behind the Convocation-house.

the chapel-royal⁵. In 1574 she granted a licence to James Burbage, probably the father of the celebrated tragedian, and four others, servants to the earl of Leicester, to exhibit all kind of stage-plays, during pleasure, in any part of England, "as well for the recreation of her loving subjects, as for her own solace and pleasure when she should think good to see them⁶;" and in the year 1583, soon after a furious attack had been made

on

⁵ "Even in her majesties chapel do these pretty upstart youthes prophane the Lordes-day by the lascivious writhing of their tender limbs, and gorgeous decking of their apparell, in feigning bawdie fables, gathered from the idolatrous heathen poets," &c. *The Children of the Chapel stript and whipt*, 1569, fol. xiii. b. These children acted frequently in Queen Elizabeth's reign at the theatre in Whitefriars.

⁶ For the notice of this ancient theatrical licence we are indebted to Mr. Steevens. It is found among the unpublished collections of Rymer, which were purchased by parliament, and are deposited in the British Museum. Ascough's Catalogue of Sloanian and other manuscripts, N^o. 4625.

"*Pro Jacobo Burbage et aliis, de licentia speciali.*

"Elizabeth by the grace of God, queene of England, &c. To all justices, mayors, sheriffes, baylyffes, head constables, under constables, and all other oure officers and mynisters, gretinge.

Know ye, that we of our especiall grace, certen knowledge, and mere motion, have licensed and auctorised, and by these presents do lycense and auctorise our lovinge subjectes James Burbage, John Perkyne, John Lanham, William Johnson, and Robert Wilson, servaunts to our trustie and well beloved cosen and counseyllour the Earle of Leycester, to use, exerceyse and occupie the arte and facultye of playenge commedies, tragedies, enterludes, stage-playes, and suche other like as they have alredie used and studied, or hereafter shall use and studie, as well for the recreation of our lovinge subjectes as for our solace and pleasure when we shall thinke good to see them, as also to use and occupie all suche instrumentes as they have alredie practised or hereafter shall practise, for and duringe our pleasure; and the said commedies, tragedies, enterludes, and stage-plaies, together with their musicke, to shew, publishe, exercise and occupie to their best commoditie, during all the terme aforesaide, as well within the liberties and freedomes of anye our cities, townes, bouroughs, &c. whatsoever, as without the same, thoroughoute our realme of England. Wyllinge and commaundinge yowe and every of you, as ye tender our pleasure, to permit and suffer them herein withoute anye lettes, hynderaunce, or molestation, duringe the terme aforesaide, any acte, statute, or proclamation or commaundement heretofore made or hereafter to be made notwythstandynge; provyded that the saide commedies, tragedies, enterludes and stage-playes be by the Master of our Revells for the tyme beyng before sene and allowed; and that the same be not published or shewen in the tyme of common prayer,

on the stage by the puritans, twelve of the principal comedians of that time, at the earnest request of Sir Francis Walsingham, were selected from the companies then subsisting under the licence and protection of various noblemen⁷, and were sworn her majesty's servants⁸,

Eight

or in the tyme of greate and common plague in our saide citey of London. In wytnes whereof, &c.

Wytnes our selfe at Westminster the 10th daye of Maye. [1574.]

Per breve de privato sigillo."

Mr. Steevens supposed that Mr. Doddsley was inaccurate in saying in the preface to his Collection of Old Plays, p. 22, that "the first company of players we have any account of in history are the children of Paul's in 1578," four years subsequent to the above licence. But the figures 1578 in that page are merely an error of the press for 1378, as may be seen by turning to a former page of Mr. Doddsley's preface, to which, in page 22, he himself refers.

⁷ The servants of the earls of Derby, Pembroke, and Essex; those of the Lord Chamberlain; the servants of the Lord Admiral (Nottingham); those of Lord Strange, Lord Suffex, Lord Worcester, &c.—By the statute 39 Eliz. c. 4. noblemen were authorised to license players to act both in town and country; the statute declaring "that all common players of interludes *wandering abroad*, other than players of interludes belonging to anie baron of this realme, or anie other honourable personage of greater degree, to be authorised to play under the hand and seale of arms of such baron or personage, shall be adjudged and deemed rogues and vagabonds."

This statute has been frequently mis-stated, by Prynne and others, as if it declared *all* players (except noblemen's servants) to be rogues and vagabonds: whereas it was only made against *strolling* players.

Long after the playhouses called the Theatre and the Curtain had been built, and during the whole reign of Elizabeth, the companies belonging to different noblemen, acted occasionally at the Cross-Keys in Gracechurch-street, and other inns, and also in the houses of noblemen at weddings and other festivals.

⁸ "Comedians and stage-players of former time were very poor and ignorant in respect of these of this time; but being now [in 1583] growne very skilfull and exquisite actors for all matters, they were entertained into the service of divers great lords; out of which compagies there were twelve of the best chosen, and, at the request of Sir Francis Walsingham, they were sworne the queenes servants, and were allowed wages and liveries as groomes of the chamber: and untill this yeare 1583, the queene had no players. Among these twelve players were two rare men, viz. Thomas Wilson, for a quicke, delicate, refined, extemporall witt, and Richard Tarleton for a wondrous plentifull pleasant extemporall wit, he was the wonder of his tyme.—He lieth buried in Shoreditch church." "He was so beloved," adds the writer in a

note,

Eight of them had an annual stipend of 3l. 6s. 8d. each⁹. At that time there were eight companies of comedians, each of which performed twice or thrice a week¹.

King James the First appears to have patronized the stage with as much warmth as his predecessor. In 1599, while he was yet in Scotland, he solicited queen Elizabeth (if we may believe a modern historian) to send a company of English comedians to Edinburgh; and very soon after his accession to the throne, granted the following licence to the company at the Globe, which is found in Rymer's *Fædera*.

note, "that men use his picture for their signes." Stowe's Chron. published by Howes, sub. ann. 1583, edit. 1615.

The above paragraph was not written by Stowe, not being found in the last edition of his Chronicle published in his life-time, 4to. 1605: and is an interpolation by his Continuator, Edmund Howes.

Richard Tarleton, as appears by the register of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, was buried there, September the third, 1588.

The following extract from Strype shews in how low a state the stage was at this time:

"Upon the ruin of Paris Garden, [the fall of a scaffold there in January 1583-4] suit was made to the Lords [of the Council] to banish plays wholly in the places near London: and letters were obtained of the Lords to banish them on the Sabbath days.

Upon these orders against the players, the *Queen's players* petitioned the Lords of the Council, That whereas the time of their service drew very near, so that of necessity they must needs have exercise to enable them the better for the same, and also for their better keep and relief in their poor livings, the season of the year being past to play at any of the houses without the city: Their humble petition was, that the Lords would vouchsafe to read a few articles annexed to their supplication, and in consideration [that] the matter contained the very stay and state of their living, to grant unto them confirmation of the same, or of as many as should be to their honours good liking; and withal, their favourable letters to the Lord Maior, to permit them to exercise within the city; and that their letters might contain some orders to the justices of Middlesex in their behalf." Strype's *Additions* to Stowe's *Survey*, Vol. I. p. 248.

⁹ Household-book of Queen Elizabeth in 1584, in the Museum, Mss. Sloan. 3194. The Continuator of Stowe says, she had no players before, (see n. 8,) but I suspect that he is mistaken, for Q. Mary, and K. Edward the Sixth, both had players on their establishments. See p. 35.

¹ "For reckoning with the leaste the gaine that is reaped of eight ordinarie places in the citie, (which I know) by playing but once a weeke, (whereas many times they play twice, and sometimes thrice,) it amounteth to two thousand pounds by the year. *A Sermon preached at Paules Crosse*, by John Stockwood, 1578.

“ PRO LAURENTIO FLETCHER & WILLIELMO SHAKESPEARE & aliis.

A. D. 1603. *Pat.*

1. Jac. P. 2, m. 4. James by the grace of God, &c. to all justices, maiors, sheriffs, constables, headboroughs, and other our officers and loving subjects, greeting. Know you that wee, of our special grace, certaine knowledge, and meer motion, have licensed and authorized, and by these presentes doe licence and authorize theise our servaunts, Laurence Fletcher, WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, Richard Burbage, Augustine Philippes, John Hemings, Henrie Condell, William Sly, Robert Armin, Richard Cowly, and the rest of their associates, freely to use and exercise the arte and faculty of playing comedies, tragedies, histories, interludes, morals, pastorals, stage-plaies, and such like other as theie have alreadie studied or hereafter shall use or studie, as well for the recreation of our loving subjects, as for our solace and pleasure when we shall thincke good to see them, during our pleasure: and the said comedies, tragedies, histories, interludes, morals, pastorals, stage-plaies, and such like, to shew and exercise publicquely to their best commoditie, when the infection of the plague shall decrease, as well within theire nowe usuall house called the Globe, within our county of Surrey, as also within anie toun-halls or moute-halls, or other convenient places within the liberties and freedom of any other citie, universitie, toun, or boroughe whatsoever, within our said realmes and dominions. Willing and commanding you and everie of you, as you tender our pleasure, not onlie to permit and suffer them herein, without any your letts, hindrances, or molestations, during our pleasure, but also to be aiding or assistinge to them if any wrong be to them offered, and to allow them such former curtesies as hathe bene given to men of their place and quallitie; and also what further favour you shall shew to theise our servaunts for our sake, we shall take kindlie at your handes. In witness whereof, &c.

Witness our selfe at Westminster, the nynteenth daye of Maye.

Per Breve de privato sigillo.”

HAVING now, as concisely as I could, traced the history of the English Stage, from its first rude state to the period of its maturity and greatest splendour, I shall endeavour to exhibit as accurate a delineation of the internal form and economy of our ancient theatres, as the distance at which we stand, and the obscurity of the subject, will permit.

The most ancient English playhouses of which I have found any account, are, the playhouse in *Blackfriars*, that in *Whitefriars*¹, the *Theatre*, of which I am unable

¹ There was a theatre in Whitefriars, before the year 1580. See p. 36. *A Woman's a Weathercock* was performed at the private playhouse in Whitefriars in 1612. This theatre was, I imagine, either in Salisbury-court or the narrow street leading into it. From an extract taken by Sir Henry Herbert from the office-book of Sir George Buc, his predecessor in the office of Master of the Revels, it appears that the theatre in Whitefriars was either rebuilt in 1613, or intended to be rebuilt. The entry is: "July 13, 1613, for a license to erect a new play-house in the White-friers, &c. £20." I doubt however whether this scheme was then carried into execution, because a new playhouse was erected in Salisbury-court in 1629. That theatre probably was not on the site of the old theatre in Whitefriars, for Prynne speaks of it as then *newly built*, not *re-built*; and in the same place he mentions the *re-building* of the Fortune and Red Bull theatres.—Had the old theatre in Whitefriars been pulled down and re-built, he would have used the same language with respect to them all. *The Rump*, a comedy by Tatham, was acted in 1669, in the theatre in Salisbury-court (that built in 1629). About the year 1670 a new theatre was erected there, (but whether on the site of that last mentioned I cannot ascertain,) known by the name of the Theatre in Dorset Gardens, to which the Duke of York's Company under the conduct of Sir William D'Avenant's widow removed from Lincoln's-Inn fields in 1671. The former play-house in Salisbury-court could hardly have fallen into decay in so short a period as forty years; but I suppose was found too small for the new scenery introduced after the Restoration. The Prologue to Wycherley's *Gentleman Dancing-Master*, printed in 1673, is addressed "To the city, newly after the removal of the Duke's Company from Lincoln's-Inn fields to their new theatre near Salisbury-court."

Maitland in his *History of London*, p. 963, after mentioning Dorset Stairs, adds, "near to which place stood the theatre or play-

able to ascertain the situation², and *The Curtain* in Shoreditch³. *The Theatre*, from its name, was probably the first building erected in or near the metropolis purposely for scenick exhibitions.

In the time of Shakspeare there were seven principal theatres; three private houses, namely, that in *Blackfriars*, that in *Whitefriars*, and *The Cockpit* or *Phoenix*⁴, in Drury-Lane; and four that were called publick theatres; viz. *The Globe* on the Bankside, *The*

play-house, a neat building, having a curious front next the Thames, with an open place for the reception of coaches."

² It was probably situated in some remote and privileged place, being, I suppose, hinted at in the following passage of a sermon by John Stockwood, quoted below, and preached in 1578: "Have we not houses of purpose built with great charges for the maintenance of them, [the players,] and that *without the liberties*, as who shall say, there, let them say what they will, we will play. I know not how I might, with the godly-learned especially, more discommend the gorgeous playing-place erected in the fields, than to term it, as they please to have it called, a *Theatre*."

³ *The Theatre* and *The Curtain* are mentioned in "A Sermon preached at Paules Crosse on St. Bartholomew day, being the 24th of August, 1578, by John Stockwood," and in an ancient *Treatise against Idleness, vaine Plaies and Interludes*, by John Northbrook, bl. l. no date, but written apparently about the year 1580. Stubbes, in his *Anatomy of Abuses*, p. 90, edit. 1583, inveighs against *Theatres* and *Curtaines*, which he calls *Venus' Palaces*. Edmund Howes, the continuator of Stowe's *Chronicle*, says, (p. 1004,) that before the year 1570, he "neither knew, heard, nor read of any such theatres, set stages, or play-houses, as have been purposely built within man's memory."

⁴ This theatre had been originally a Cockpit. It was built or re-built not very long before the year 1617, in which year we learn from Camden's *Annals* of King James the First, it was pulled down by the mob: "1617. Martii 4. Theatrum ludionum nuper erectum in Drury-Lane à furente multitudine dirigitur, et apparatus dilaceratur." I suppose it was sometimes called *The Phoenix* from that fabulous bird being its sign. It was situated opposite the Castle-tavern in Drury-Lane, and was standing some time after the Restoration. The players who performed at this theatre in the time of King James the First, were called the Queen's Servants, till the death of Queen Anne in 1619. After her death they were, I think, for some time denominated the Lady Elizabeth's Servants; and after the marriage of King Charles the first, they regained their former title of the Queen's players.

Curtain

*Curtain*⁵ in Shoreditch, *The Red Bull* at the upper end of St. John's-street, and *The Fortune*⁶ in White-crofs-street.

⁵ See *Skialetbeia*, an old collection of Epigrams, and Satires, 16mo. 1598:

" ——— if my dispose

" Persuade me to a play, I'll to the Rose,

" Or *Curtain*,—."

The *Curtain* is mentioned in Heath's Epigrams, 1610, as being then open; and *The Hector of Germany* was performed at it by a company of young men in 1615. The original sign hung out at this playhouse (as Mr. Steevens has observed) was the painting of a curtain striped. The performers at this theatre were called *The Prince's Servants*, till the accession of King Charles the First to the crown. Soon after that period it seems to have been used only by prize-fighters.

⁶ The *Fortune* theatre, according to Maitland, was the oldest theatre in London. It was built or re-built in 1599 by Edward Alleyn, the player, (who was also proprietor of the *Bear-Garden* from 1594 to 1610,) and cost 520l. as appears from the following memorandum in his hand-writing:

What *The Fortune* cost me, Nov. 1599.

First for the leas to Crest, - - - 240.

Then for building the play-hous, - - - 520.

For other privat buildings of myn owne, - - - 120.

So that it hath cost me for the lease, - £. 880."

It was a round brick building, and its dimensions may be conjectured from the following advertisement in *The Mercurius Politicus*, Tuesday Feb. 14, to Tuesday Feb. 21, 1661, for the preservation of which we are indebted to Mr. Steevens: "The *Fortune* play-house situate between Whitecrofs-street and Golding-lane, in the parish of Saint Giles, Cripplegate, with the ground thereto belonging, is to be lett to be built upon; where twenty-three tenements may be erected, with gardens; and a street may be cut through for the better accomodation of the buildings."

The Fortune is spoken of as a playhouse of considerable size, in the prologue to the *Roaring Girl*, a comedy which was acted there, and printed in 1611:

" A roaring girl, whose notes till now ne'er were,

" Shall fill with laughter our vast theatre."

See also the concluding lines of Shirley's prologue to *The Doubtful Heir*, quoted below.

Howes in his continuation of Stowe's *Chronicle*, p. 1004, edit. 1631, says, it was burnt down in or about the year, 1617: "About foure yeares after, [i. e. after the burning of the Globe,] a fayre strong new-built play-house near Golden-lane, called the *Fortune*, by negligence of a candle was cleane burnt to the ground, but shortly after re-built

street. The last two were chiefly frequented by citizens⁷. There were however, but six companies of comedians; for the playhouse in Blackfriars, and the Globe, belonged to the same troop. Beside these seven theatres, there were for some time on the Bankside three other publick theatres; *The Swan*, *The Rose*⁸, and *The Hope*⁹: but *The Hope* being used chiefly as a bear-

re-built far fairer." He is however, mistaken as to the time, for it was burnt down in December, 1621, as I learn from a letter in Dr. Birch's collection in the Museum, from Mr. John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated Dec. 15, 1621, in which is the following paragraph: "On sunday night here was a great fire at *The Fortune* in Golding-lane, the first play-house in this town. It was quite burnt downe in two hours, and all their apparell and play-books lost, whereby those poore companions are quite undone. There were two other houses on fire, but with great labour and danger were saved." Mss. Birch, 4173. It does not appear whether this writer, by "the first play-house in this town," means the first in point of size or dignity, or the oldest. I doubt much its being the oldest, though that is the obvious meaning of the words, and though Maitland has asserted it: because I have not found it mentioned in any of the tracts relative to the stage, written in the middle of Elizabeth's reign.

Prynne says that the *Fortune* on its re-building was enlarged. Epistle Dedicat. to *Histrionastix*, 4to. 1633.

Before this theatre there was either a picture or statue of Fortune. See *The English Traveller*, by Heywood, 1633:

"——— I'll rather stand here,
" Like a statue in the fore-front of your house
" For ever; like the picture of dame Fortune
" Before the Fortune play-house."

⁷ Wright's *Historia Histrionica*, 8vo. 1699, p. 5.

⁸ The *Swan* and the *Rose* are mentioned by Taylor the water-poet, but in 1613 they were shut up. See his Works, p. 171, edit. 1633. The latter had been built before 1598. See p. 43, n. 5. After the year 1620, as appears from Sir Henry Herbert's office-book, they were used occasionally for the exhibition of prize-fighters.

⁹ Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew-Fair* was performed at this theatre in 1614. He does not give a very favourable description of it:—"Though the fair be not kept in the same region that some here perhaps would have it, yet think that the author hath therein observed a special decorum, the place being as dirty as *Smithfield*, and as stinking every whit."—*Induction to Bartholomew Fair*.

It appears from an old pamphlet entitled *Holland's Leaguer*, printed in quarto in 1632, that *The Hope* was occasionally used as a bear-garden, and that *The Swan* was then fallen into decay.

garden,

garden, and *The Swan* and *The Rose* having fallen to decay early in King James's reign, they ought not to be enumerated with the other regular theatres.

All the established theatres that were open in 1598, were either without the city of London or its liberties¹.

It appears from the office book² of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels to King James the First, and the
two

¹ Sunt porro Londini, *extra urbem*, theatra aliquot, in quibus histriones Angli comœdias et tragœdias singulis fere diebus, in magna hominum frequentia agunt; quas variis etiam saltationibus, suavissima adhibita musica, magno cum populi applausu finire solent." Hentzneri *Itinerarium*, 4to. 1598, p. 132.

² For the use of this very curious and valuable Manuscript I am indebted to Francis Ingram of Ribbissford near Bewdley in Worcestershire, Esq. Deputy Remembrancer in the Court of Exchequer. It has lately been found in the same old chest which contained the manuscript Memoirs of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, from which Mr. Walpole about twenty years ago printed the Life of that nobleman, who was elder brother to Sir Henry Herbert.

The first Master of the Revels in the reign of queen Elizabeth was Thomas Benger, whose patent passed the great seal Jan. 18, 1560-1. It is printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*. His successor, Edmund Tilney, obtained a grant of this office (the reversion of which John Lily, the dramatick poet, had long in vain solicited,) on the 24th of July 1579, (as appears from a book of patents in the Pells-office,) and continued in possession of it during the remainder of her reign, and till October 1610, about which time he died. This office for near fifty years appears to have been considered as so desirable a place, that it was constantly sought for during the life of the possessor, and granted in reversion. King James on the 23d of June, 1603, made a reversionary grant of it to Sir George Buc, (then George Buc, Esq.) to take place whenever it should become vacant by the death, resignation, forfeiture, or surrender, of the then possessor Edmund Tilney; who, if I mistake not, was Sir George Buc's maternal uncle. Mr. Tilney, as I have already mentioned, did not die till the end of the year 1610, and should seem to have executed the duties of the office to the last; for his executor, as I learn from one of the *Exitus* books in the Exchequer, received in the year 1611, 12ol. 18s. 3d. due to Mr. Tilney on the last day of the preceding October, for one's year's expences of office. In the edition of Camden's *Britannia*, printed in folio in 1607, Sir George Buc is called Master of the Revels, I suppose from his having obtained the reversion of that place: for from what I have already stated he could not have been then in possession of it. April 3, 1612, Sir John Astley, one of the gentlemen of the privy-chamber, obtained a reversionary grant of this office, to take place on the death, &c. of Sir George Buc, as Ben Jonson the
poet

two succeeding kings, that very soon after our poet's death, in the year 1622, there were but five principal companies

poet obtained a similar grant, October 5, 1621, to take place on the death, &c. of Sir John Astley and Sir George Buc.

Sir George Buc came into possession of the office about November 1610, and held it till the end of the year 1621, when, in consequence of ill health, he resigned it to king James, and Sir John Astley succeeded him. How Sir Henry Herbert got possession of this office originally, I am unable to ascertain; but I imagine Sir John Astley for a valuable consideration appointed him his *deputy*, in August 1623, at which time, to use Sir Henry's own words, he "was received as Master of the Revels by his Majesty at Wilton;" and in the warrant-books of Philip earl of Pembroke, now in the Lord Chamberlain's office, containing warrants, orders, &c. between the years 1625 and 1642, he is constantly styled Master of the Revels. If Sir John Astley had formally resigned or surrendered his office, Ben Jonson, in consequence of the grant obtained in the year 1621, must have succeeded to it; but he never derived any emolument from that grant, for Sir John Astley, as I find from the probate of his will, in the Prerogative office, (in which it is observable that he calls himself *Master of the Revels*, though both the duties and emoluments of the office were then exercised and enjoyed by another,) did not die till January 1639-40, above two years after the poet's death. To make his title still more secure, Sir Henry Herbert, in conjunction with Simon Thelwall, Esq. August 22, 1629, obtained a reversionary grant of this much sought-for office, to take place on the death, surrender, &c. of Sir John Astley and Benjamin Jonson. Sir Henry held the office for fifty years, though during the usurpation he could not exercise the functions nor enjoy the emoluments of it.

Sir George Buc wrote an express treatise, as he has himself told us, on the stage and on revels, which is unfortunately lost. Previous to the exhibition of every play, it was licensed by the Master of the Revels, who had an established fee on the occasion. If ever therefore the Office-books of Mr. Tilney and Sir George Buc shall be found, they will ascertain precisely the chronological order of all the plays written by Shakspeare; and either confirm or overturn a system in forming which I have taken some pains. Having however found many of my conjectures confirmed by Sir Henry Herbert's Manuscript, I have no reason to augur ill concerning the event, should the registers of his predecessors ever be discovered.

The regular salary of this office was but ten pounds a year; but, by fees and other perquisites, the emoluments of Sir George Buc in the first year he came into possession of it, amounted to near 100l. The office afterwards became much more valuable.

Having mentioned this gentleman, I take this opportunity of correcting an error into which Anthony Wood has fallen, and which has

companies of comedians in London; the King's Servants, who performed at the Globe and in Blackfriars; the Prince's Servants, who performed then at the Curtain; the Palsgrave's Servants³, who had possession of the Fortune; the players of the Revels, who acted at the Red Bull⁴; and the Lady Elizabeth's Servants, or, as they are sometimes denominated, the Queen of Bohemia's players, who performed at the Cockpit in Drury-Lane⁵.

has been implicitly adopted in the new edition of *Biographia Britannica*, and many other books. The error I allude to, is, that this Sir George Buc, who was knighted at White-hall by king James the day before his coronation, July 23, 1603, was the author of the celebrated *History of King Richard the Third*; which was written above twenty years after his death by George Buck, *Esq.* who was, I suppose, his son. The precise time of the father's death, I have not been able to ascertain, there being no will of his in the prerogative-office; but I have reason to believe that it happened soon after the year 1622. He certainly died before August 1629.

The Office-book of Sir Henry Herbert contains an account of almost every piece exhibited at any of the theatres from August 1623 to the commencement of the rebellion in 1641, and many curious anecdotes relative to them, some of which I shall presently have occasion to quote. This valuable Manuscript having lain for a considerable time in a damp place, is unfortunately damaged, and in a very mouldering condition: however, no material part of it appears to have perished.

I cannot conclude this long note without acknowledging the obliging attention of W. E. Roberts, *Esq.* Deputy Clerk of the Pells, which facilitated every search I wished to make in his office, and enabled me to ascertain some of the facts above stated.

³ "1622. The Palsgrave's servants. Frank Grace, Charles Maffy, Richard Price, Richard Fowler, — Kane, Curtys Grevill." *Mf. Herbert*. Three other names have perished. Of these one must have been that of Richard Gunnel, who was then the manager of the Fortune theatre; and another, that of William Cartwright, who was of the same company.

⁴ "The names of the cheife players at the Red Bull, called the players of the Revells. Robert Lee, Richard Perkins, Ellis Woorth, Thomas Basse, John Blany, John Cumber, William Robbins." *Ibidem*.

⁵ "The cheife of them at the Phœnix. Christopher Beeston, Joseph More, Eliard Swanfon, Andrew Cane, Curtis Grevill, William Shurlock, Anthony Turner." *Ibidem*. Eliard Swanston in 1624 joined the company at Blackfriars.

That part of the leaf which contained the list of the king's servants, and the performers at the *Curtain*, is mouldered away.

When

When Prynne published his *Histrionastix*, (1633) there were six play-houses open; the theatre in Blackfriars; the Globe; the Fortune; the Red Bull; the Cockpit or Phoenix, and a theatre in Salisbury-court, Whitefriars⁶.

All the plays of Shakspeare appear to have been performed either at *The Globe*, or the theatre in *Blackfriars*. I shall therefore confine my inquiries principally to those two. They belonged, as I have already observed, to the same company of comedians, namely his majesty's servants, which title they obtained after a licence had been granted to them by king James in 1603; having before that time, I apprehend, been called the servants of the Lord Chamberlain. Like the other servants of the household, the performers enrolled in this company were sworn into office, and each of them was allowed four yards of bastard scarlet for a cloak, and a quarter of a yard of velvet for the cape, every second year⁷.

The theatre in Blackfriars was situated near the present Apothecaries-hall, in the neighbourhood of which

⁶ It has been repeated again and again that Prynne enumerates *seventeen* playhouses in London in his time; but this is a mistake; he expressly says that there were only six, (see his Epistle Dedicatory,) and the office-book of Sir Henry Herbert confirms his assertion.

Mr. Doddsley and others have fallen into this mistake of supposing there were *seventeen* playhouses open at one time in London; into which they were led by the continuator of Stowe, who mentions that between 1570 and 1630 seventeen playhouses were built, in which number however he includes five inns turned into playhouses, and St. Paul's singing-school. He does not say that they were all open at the same time.—A late writer carries the matter still further, and asserts that it appears from Rymer's *Mss.* in the Museum that there were *twenty-three* playhouses at one time open in London!

⁷ "These are to signify unto your lordship his majesties pleasure, that you cause to be delivered unto his majesties players whose names follow, viz. John Hemmings, John Lowen, Joseph Taylor, Richard Robinson, John Shank, Robert Benfield, Richard Sharp, Eliard Swanfon, Thomas Pollard, Anthony Smith, Thomas Hobbes, William Pen, George Vernon, and James Horne, to each of them the severall allowance of foure yardes of bastarde skarlet for a cloake, and a quarter of a yard of crimfon velvet for the capes, it being the usual allowance graunted unto them by his majesty every second yeare, and due at Easter last past. For the doing whereof theis shall be your warrant. May 6th, 1629." *Mss. in the Lord Chamberlain's Office.*

there

there is yet *Playhouse-yard*, not far from which the theatre probably stood. It was, as has been mentioned, a private house; but what were the distinguishing marks of a private playhouse, it is not easy to ascertain. We know only that it was smaller⁵ than those which were called publick theatres; and that in the private theatres plays were usually represented by candle-light⁶.

In this theatre, which was a very ancient one, the Children of the Revels occasionally performed⁷.

It

⁵ Wright, in his *Hist. Histrion.* informs us, that the theatre in *Blackfriars*, the *Cockpit*, and that in *Salisbury-Court*, were exactly alike both in form and size. The smallness of the latter is ascertained by these lines in an epilogue to *Tottenham Court*, a comedy by Nabbes, which was acted there:

“When others’ fill’d rooms with neglect disdain ye,

“My little house with thanks shall entertain ye.”

⁶ “All the city looked like a private play-house, when the windows are clapt downe, as if some nocturnal and dismal tragedy were presently to be acted.” Decker’s *Seven Deadly Sinnes of London*, 1606. See also *Historia Histrionica*.

⁷ Many pieces were performed by them in this theatre before 1580. Sometimes they performed entire pieces; at others, they represented such young characters as are found in many of our poet’s plays. Thus we find Nat. Field, John Underwood, and William Ostler, among the children of the Revels who represented several of Ben Jonson’s comedies at the Blackfriars in the earlier part of king James’s reign, and also in the list of the actors of our author’s plays prefixed to the first folio, published in 1623. They had then become men.

Lily’s *Campaspe* was acted at the theatre in Blackfriars in 1584, and *The Case is altered*, by Ben Jonson, was printed in 1609, as acted by the children of Black-friars. Some of the children of the Revels also acted occasionally at the theatre in Whitefriars; for we find *A Woman’s a Weathercock* performed by them at that theatre in 1612. Probably a certain number of these children were appropriated to each of these theatres, and instructed by the elder performers in their art; by which means this young troop became a promptuary of actors. In a manuscript in the Inner Temple, No. 515, Vol. VII. entitled “A booke conteyning several particulars with relation to the kings servants, petitions, warrants, bills, &c. and supposed to be a copy of some part of the Lord Chamberlain of the Household’s book in or about the year 1622,” I find “A warrant to the signet-office (dated July 8th, 1622,) for a privie seale for his majesties licensing of Robert Lee, Richard Perkins, Ellis Woorth, Thomas Basse, John Blany, John Cumber, and William Robbins, late comedians of Queene Anne deceased, to bring up children in the qualitie and exercise

It is said in Camden's Annals of the reign of king James the first, that the theatre in Blackfriars fell down in the year 1623, and that above eighty persons were killed by the accident; but he was misinformed⁸. The room which gave way was in a private house, and appropriated to the service of religion.

I am unable to ascertain at what time the Globe theatre was built. Hentzner has alluded to it as existing in 1598, though he does not expressly mention it⁹. I believe it was not built long before the year 1596¹.

of playing comedies, histories, interludes, morals, pastorals, stage-plays, and such like, as well for the sollace and pleasure of his majestie, as for the honest recreation of such as shall desire to see them; to be called by the name of *The Children of the Revels*;—and to be drawne in such a manner and forme as both been used in other lycenses of that kinde." These very persons, we have seen, were the company of the Revels in 1622, and were then become men.

⁸ "1623. Ex occasu domûs scenicæ apud Black-friers Londini, 81 personæ spectabiles necantur." Camdeni *Annales*, ab anno 1603 ad annum 1623, 4to. 1691. p. 82. That this writer was misinformed, appears from an old tract, printed in the same year in which the accident happened, entitled, *A Word of Comfort, or a discourse concerning the late lamentable accident of the fall of a Room at a Catholick sermon in the Black-friers, London, whereby about four-score persons were oppressed*. 4to 1623.

See also verses prefixed to a play called *The Queen*, published by Alexander Goughe, (probably the son of Robert Goughe, one of the actors in Shakspere's company,) in 1653:

" ————— we dare not say—

" — that Blackfriars we heare, which in this age

" Fell, when it was a church, *not when a stage*;

" Or that the puritans that once dwelt there,

" Prayed and thriv'd, though the play-house were so near."

Camden had a paralytick stroke on the 18th of August 1623, and died on the 9th of November following. The above-mentioned accident happened on the 24th of October; which accounts for his inaccuracy. The room which fell, was an upper room in Hunsdon-House, in which the French Ambassador then dwelt. See Stowe's *Chron.* p. 1035, edit. 1631.

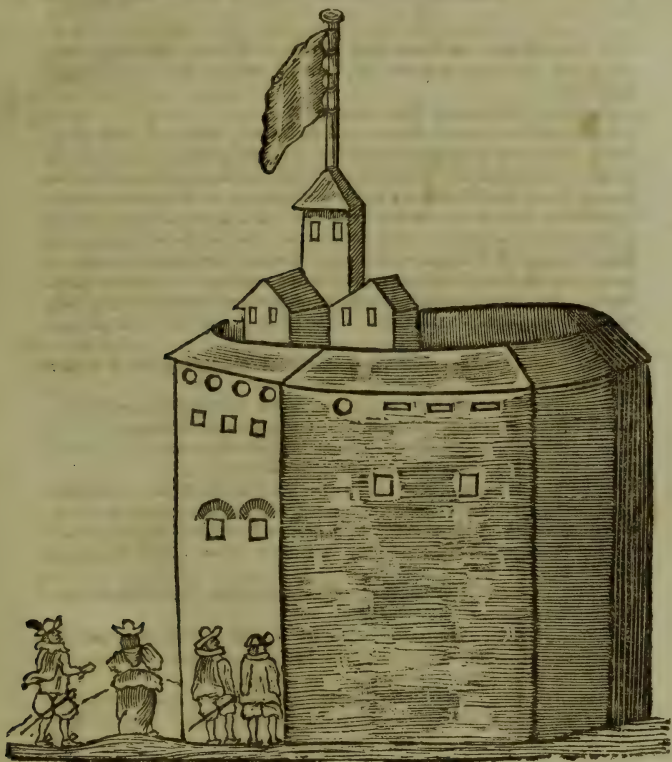
⁹ "Non longe ab uno horum theatrorum, quæ omnia lignea sunt, ad Thamesin navis est regia, quæ duo egregia habet conclavia," &c. *Itin.* p. 132. By *navis regia* he means the royal barge called the *Gallyfoist*. See the South View of London, as it appeared in 1599.

¹ See "The Suit of the Watermen against the Players," in the *Works* of Taylor the Water-poet, p. 171.

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It was situated on the Bankside, (the southern side of the river Thames,) nearly opposite to Friday-street, Cheapside. It was an hexagonal wooden building, partly open to the weather, and partly thatched². When Hentzner wrote, all the other theatres as well as this were composed of wood.

² In the long Antwerp View of London in the Pepysian Library at Cambridge, is a representation of the Globe theatre, from which a drawing was made by the Rev. Mr. Henley, and transmitted to Mr. Steevens. From that drawing this cut was made.



The Globe was a publick theatre, and of considerable size³, and there they always acted by day-light⁴. On the roof of this and the other publick theatres a pole was erected, to which a flag was affixed⁵. These flags were probably displayed only during the hours of exhibition; and it should seem from one of the old comedies that they were taken down in Lent, in which time, during the early part of King James's reign plays were not allowed to be represented⁶, though at a subsequent period this prohibition was dispensed with⁷.

I formerly

3 The Globe, we learn from Wright's *Historia Histrionica*, was nearly of the same size as the *Fortune*, which has been already described.

4 *Historia Histrionica*, 8vo. 1699, p. 7.

5 So, in *The Curtain-Drawer of the World*, 1612: "Each play-house advanceth his *flagge* in the aire, whither quickly at the waving thereof are summoned whole troops of men, women, and children."—Again, in *A Mad World, my Masters*, a comedy by Middleton, 1608: "—the hair about the hat is as good as a *flag* upon the pole, at a common play-house, to waite company." See a *South View of the City of London as it appeared in 1599*, in which are representations of the *Globe* and *Swan* theatres. From the words, "a common play-house," in the passage last quoted, we may be led to suppose that flags were not displayed on the roof of *Blackfriars*, and the other *private* playhouses.

This custom perhaps took its rise from a misconception of a line in Ovid:

"Tunc neque marmoreo pendebant vela theatro,—"

which Heywood, in a tract published in 1612, thus translates:

"In those days from the marble house did waive

"No fail, no *silken flag*, or ensign brave."

"From the roof (says the same author, describing a Roman amphitheatre,) grew a loover or turret, of exceeding altitude, from which an *ensign of silk waved continually*;—pendebant vela theatro."—The misinterpretation might, however, have arisen from the English custom.

6 "'Tis *Lent* in your cheeks;—the *flag* is down." *A Mad World, my Masters*, a comedy by Middleton, 1608.

Again, in Earle's *Characters*, 7th edit. 1638: "Shrove-tuesday hee [*a player*] seares as much as the bawdes, and *Lent* is more dangerous to him than the butchers."

7 "[Received] of the King's players for a *lenten dispensation*, the other companys promising to doe as muche, 44s. March 23, 1616."

"Of

I formerly conjectured that *The Globe*, though hexagonal at the outside, was perhaps a rotunda within, and that it might have derived its name from its circular form¹. But, though the part appropriated to the audi-

"Of John Hemmingses, in the name of the four companys, for toleration in the holydayes, 44s. January 29, 1618."

Extracts from the office-book of Sir George Buc. Mss. Herbert.

These dispensations did not extend to the sermon-days, as they were then called; that is, Wednesday and Friday in each week.

After Sir Henry Herbert became possessed of the office of Master of the Revels, fees for permission to perform in Lent appear to have been constantly paid by each of the theatres. The managers however did not always perform plays during that season. Some of the theatres, particularly the Red-Bull and the Fortune, were then let to prize-fighters, tumblers, and rope-dancers, who sometimes added a Masque to the other exhibitions. These facts are ascertained by the following entries:

"1622. 21 Martii. For a prise at the Red Bull, for the howse; the fencers would give nothing. 10s." Mss. Astley.

"From Mr. Gunnel, [Manager of the Fortune,] in the name of the dancers of the ropes for Lent, this 15 March, 1624. £1. 0. 0."

"From Mr. Gunnel, to allowe of a Masque for the dancers of the ropes, this 19 March, 1624. £2. 0. 0."

We see here, by thy way, that *Microcosmus*, which was exhibited in 1637, was not (as Dr. Burney supposes in his ingenious *History of Musick*, Vol. III. p. 385,) the first masque exhibited on the publick stage.

"From Mr. Blagrove, in the name of the Cockpit company, for this Lent, this 30th March, 1624. £2. 0. 0."

"March 20, 1626. From Mr. Hemmingses, for this Lent allowanfe, £2. 0. 0." Mss. Herbert.

Prynne takes notice of this relaxation in his *Histrionastix*, 4to. 1633:

"There are none so addicted to stage-playes, but when they go unto places where they cannot have them, or when as they are suppressed by publike authority, (as in times of pestilence, and in *Lent, till now of late,*) can well subsist without them." p. 784.

"After these" (says Heywood, speaking of the buildings at Rome, appropriated to scenick exhibitions,) "they composed others, but differing in form from the theatre or amphitheatre, and every such was called *circus*; the frame *globe-like*, and merely *round*." *Apology for Actors*, 1612. See also our author's prologue to *K. Henry V.*

"— or may we cram

"Within this wooden O," &c.

But as we find in the prologue to Marston's *Antonio's Revenge*, which was acted by the *Children of Paul's* in 1602,

"If any spirit breathes within this round,—"

no inference respecting the denomination of *the Globe* can be drawn from this expression.

ence was probably circular, I now believe that the house was denominated only from its sign; which was a figure of Hercules supporting the Globe, under which was written, *Totus mundus agit histrionem*². This theatre was burnt down on the 29th of June, 1613³; but it was rebuilt in

² Stowe informs us, that “the allowed Stewhouses [antecedent to the year 1545] had signes on their frontes towards the Thames, not hanged out, but painted on the walles; as a Boares head, The Crofs Keyes, The Gunne, The Castle, the Crane, the Cardinals Hat, the Bell, the Swanne,” &c. *Survey of London*, 4to, 1603, p. 409. The houses which continued to carry on the same trade after the ancient and privileged edifices had been put down, probably were distinguished by the old signs; and the sign of the Globe, which theatre was in their neighbourhood, was perhaps, in imitation of them, painted on its wall.

³ The following account of this accident is given by Sir Henry Wotton, in a letter dated July 2, 1613, *Reliq. Wotton*, p. 425, edit. 1685: “Now to let matters of state sleep, I will entertain you at the present with what hath happened this week at the Banks side. The Kings Players had a new play called *All is true*, representing some principal pieces of the reign of Henry the Eighth, which was set forth with many extraordinary circumstances of pomp and majesty, even to the matting of the stage; the knights of the order with their Georges and Garter, the guards with their embroidered coats, and the like: sufficient in truth within a while to make greatness very familiar, if not ridiculous. Now King Henry making a Masque at the Cardinal Wolfseys house, and certain cannons being shot off at his entry, some of the paper or other stuff, wherewith one of them was stopped, did light on the thatch, where being thought at first but an idle smoak, and their eyes more attentive to the show, it kindled inwardly, and ran round like a train, consuming within less than an hour the whole house to the very ground. This was the fatal period of that virtuous fabrick, wherein yet nothing did perish but *wood* and *straw*, and a few forsaken cloaks.”

From a letter of Mr. John Chamberlaine's to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated July 8, 1613, in which this accident is likewise mentioned, we learn that this theatre had only two doors. “The burning of the Globe or playhouse on the Bankside on St. Peter's day cannot escape you; which fell out by a peal of chambers, (that I know not upon what occasion were to be used in the play,) the tampin or stopple of one of them lighting in the thatch that covered the house, burn'd it down to the ground in less than two hours, with a dwelling-house adjoining; and it was a great marvaile and fair grace of God that the people had so little harm, having but *two narrow doors* to get out.” Winwood's *Memorials*, Vol. III. p. 469. Not a single life was lost.

In 1613 was entered on the Stationers' books *A doleful ballad of the general conflagration of the famous theatre on the Bankside, called the Globe*. I have never met with it.

the

the following year, and decorated with more ornament than had been originally bestowed upon it⁴.

The exhibitions at *the Globe* seem to have been calculated chiefly for the lower class of people⁵; those at

⁴ See Taylor's *Skuller*, p. 31, Ep. 22.

"As gold is better that's in fier try'd,
"So is the Bank-side *Globe*, that late was burn'd;
"For where before it had a thatched hide,
"Now to a stately theator 'tis turn'd."

See also Stowe's *Chronicle*, p. 1003.

⁵ *The Globe* theatre, being contiguous to the *Bear-Garden*, when the sports of the latter were over, the same spectators probably resorted to the former. The audiences at *the Bull* and *the Fortune* were, it may be presumed, of a class still inferior to that of *the Globe*. The latter, being the theatre of his majesty's servants, must necessarily have had a superior degree of reputation. At all of them, however, it appears, that noise and shew were what chiefly attracted an audience. Our author speaks in *Hamlet* of "*berattling the common* [i.e. the publick] theatres. See also *A Prologue* spoken by a company of players who had seceded from *the Fortune*, p. 64, note 7; from which we learn that the performers at that theatre, "*to split the ears of the groundlings*," used "*to tear a passion to tatters*."

In some verses addressed by Thomas Carew to Mr. [afterwards Sir William] D'Avenant, "Upon his excellent Play, *The Just Italian*," 1630, I find a similar character of the *Bull* theatre:

"Now noise prevails; and he is tax'd for drowth
"Of wit, that with the cry spends not his mouth.—
"—thy strong fancies, raptures of the brain
"Dress'd in poetick flames, they entertain
"As a bold impious reach; for they'll still slight
"All that exceeds RED BULL and *Cockpit* flight.
"These are the men in crowded heaps that throng
"To that adulterate stage, where not a tongue
"Of the untun'd kennel can a line repeat
"Of serious sense; but like lips meet like meat:
"Whilst the true brood of actors, that alone
"Keep natural unstrain'd action in her throne,
"Behold their benches bare, though they rehearse
"The terser Beaumont's or great Jonson's verse."

The true brood of actors were the performers at *Blackfriars*, where *The Just Italian* was acted.

See also *The Careless Shepherdes*, represented at Salisbury-court; 4to. 1656:

"And I will hasten to the money-box,
"And take my *billing* out again;—
"I'll go to THE BULL, or FORTUNE, and there see
"A play for *two-pence*, and a jig to boot."

Blackfriars, for a more select and judicious audience. This appears from the following prologue to Shirley's *Doubtful Heir*, which is inserted among his poems, printed in 1646, with this title:

“ Prologue at *the GLOBE*, to his Comedy called *the Doubtful Heir*, which should have been presented at *the Blackfriars*⁶.

“ Gentlemen, I am only sent to say,
 “ Our author did not calculate his play
 “ For *this* meridian. The *Bankside*, he knows,
 “ Is far more skilful at the ebbs and flows
 “ Of water than of wit; he did not mean
 “ For the elevation of your poles, this scene.
 “ No shews,—no dance,—and what you most delight in,
 “ Grave understanders⁷, here's no target-fighting
 “ Upon the stage; all work for cutlers barr'd;
 “ No bawdry, nor no ballads;—this goes hard:
 “ But language clean, and, what affects you not,
 “ Without impossibilities the plot;
 “ No clown, no squibs, no devil in't.—Oh now,
 “ You squirrels that want nuts, what will you do?
 “ Pray do not crack the benches, and we may
 “ Hereafter fit your palates with a play.
 “ But you that can contract yourselves, and sit,
 “ As you were now in the *Blackfriars* pit,
 “ And will not deaf us with lewd noise and tongues,
 “ Because we have no heart to break our lungs,
 “ Will pardon our *vast* stage, and not disgrace
 “ This play, meant for your persons, not the place.”

The superior discernment of the *Blackfriars* audience may be likewise collected from a passage in the preface

⁶ In the printed play these words are omitted; the want of which renders the prologue perfectly unintelligible. This comedy was performed for the first time at the *Globe*, June 1, 1640.

⁷ The common people stood in *the Globe* theatre, in that part of the house which we now call the pit; which being lower than the stage, Shirley calls them *understanders*. In the private playhouses, it appears from the subsequent lines, there were seats in the pit.

Ben Jonson has the same quibble: “ — the *understanding* gentlemen of the *ground* here.”

prefixed by Heminge and Condell to the first folio edition of our author's works: "And though you be a *magistrate of wit*, and sit on the stage at *Blackfriars*, or the Cockpit, to arraign plays dailie, know these plays have had their tryal already, and stood out all appeales."

A writer already quoted⁸ informs us that one of these theatres was a winter, and the other a summer, house⁹. As *the Globe* was partly exposed to the weather, and they acted there usually by day-light, it appeared to me probable (when this Essay was originally published) that this was the summer theatre; and I have lately found my conjecture confirmed by Sir Henry Herbert's Manuscript. The king's company usually began to play at the Globe in the month of May. The exhibitions here seem to have been more frequent¹ than at *Blackfriars*, till the year 1604 or 1605, when the *Bankside* appears to have become less fashionable, and less frequented than it formerly had been².

⁸ Wright.

⁹ His account is confirmed by a passage in an old pamphlet, entitled *Holland's Leaguer*, 4to. 1632: "She was most taken with the report of three famous amphytheaters, which stood so neere situated, that her eye might take view of them from her lowest turret. One was *the Continent of the World*, because *halfe the yeere* a world of beauties and brave spirits resorted unto it. The other was a building of excellent *Hope*; and though wild beasts and gladiators did most possesse it," &c.

¹ *King Lear*, in the title-page of the original edition, printed in 1608, is said to have been performed by his majesty's servants, playing usually at *the Globe* on the Bankside.—See also the licence granted by king James in 1603: "—and the said comedies, tragedies, &c.—to shew—as well within their now usual house called *the Globe*,—." No mention is made of their theatre in *Blackfriars*; from which circumstance I suspect that antecedent to that time our poet's company played only at the Globe, and purchased the Blackfriars theatre afterwards. In the licence granted by king Charles the First to John Heminge and his associates in the year 1625, they are authorized to exhibit plays, &c. "as well within these two their most usual houses called the Globe in the county of Surrey, and their private houses situate within the precinct of the *Blackfriars*,—as also," &c. Had they possessed the Blackfriars theatre in 1603, it would probably have been mentioned in the former licence. In the following year they certainly had possession of it, for Marston's *Malecontent* was acted there in 1604.

² See *The Works* of Taylor the Water-poet, p. 171. edit. 1633.

Many

Many of our ancient dramattick pieces (as has been already observed) were performed in the yards of carriers' inns, in which, in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, the comedians, who then first united themselves in companies, erected an occasional stage³. The form of these temporary playhouses seems to be preserved in our modern theatre. The galleries, in both, are ranged over each other on three sides of the building. The small rooms under the lowest of these galleries answer to our present boxes; and it is observable that these, even in theatres which were built in a subsequent period expressly for dramattick exhibitions, still retained their old name, and are frequently called *rooms*⁴, by our ancient writers. The yard bears a sufficient resemblance to the pit, as at present in use. We may suppose the stage to have been raised in this area, on the fourth side, with its back to the gateway of the inn, at which the money for admission was taken. Thus, in fine weather, a playhouse not incommodious might have been formed.

Hence, in the middle of *the Globe*, and I suppose of the other *publick* theatres, in the time of Shakspeare, there was an open yard or area⁵, where the common people stood

³ Fleckno, in his *Short Discourse of the English Stage*, published in 1664, says, some remains of these ancient theatres were at that day to be seen in the inn-yards of the *Cross-keys* in Gracechurch-street, and *the Bull* in Bishopsgate-street.

In the seventeen playhouses erected between the years 1570 and 1630, the continuator of Stowe's *Chronicle* reckons "five *innes* or common *osteries* turned into play-houses."

⁴ See a prologue to *If this be not a good Play, the Devil is in it*, quoted in p. 60, n. 1. These rooms appear to have been sometimes employed, in the infancy of the stage, for the purposes of gallantry. "These plays" (says Strype in his additions to Stowe's *Survey*) "being commonly acted on sundays and festivals, the churches were forsaken, and the play-houses thronged. Great inns were used for this purpose, which had secret chambers and places as well as open stages and galleries. Here maids and good citizens' children were inveigled and allured to private unmeet contracts." He is speaking of the year 1574.

⁵ "In the play-houses at London, it is the fashion of youthes to go first into the *yarde*, and to carry their eye through every gallery; then like unto ravens, when they spy the carion, thither they flye,

stood to see the exhibition; from which circumstance they are called by our author *groundlings*, and by Ben Jonson “the *understanding gentlemen of the ground*.”

The galleries, or *scaffolds*, as they are sometimes called, and that part of the house which in private theatres was named the pit⁶, seem to have been at the same price; and probably in houses of reputation, such as *the Globe*, and that in *Blackfriars*, the price of admission into those parts of the theatre was six-pence⁷, while in some meaner

play-
and prels as near to the fairest as they can.” *Plays Confuted in Five several Actions*, by Stephen Gosson, 1580. Again, in Decker’s *Guls Hornebooke*, 1609: “The stage, like time, will bring you to most perfect light, and lay you open; neither are you to be hunted from thence, though the *scar-crowes* in the yard hoot at you, hiss at you, spit at you.” So, in the prologue to an old comedy called *The Hog has his Pearl*, 1614:

“We may be pelted off for what we know,

“With apples, eggs, or stones, from *those below*.”

See also the prologue to *The Doubtful Heir*, ante, p. 56:

“—— and what you most delight in,

“Grave *understanders*,——.”

⁶ The pit, Dr. Percy supposes to have received its name from one of the playhouses having been formerly a *cock-pit*. This account of the term, however, seems to be somewhat questionable. The place where the seats are ranged in St. Mary’s at Cambridge, is still called the *pit*; and no one can suspect that venerable fabrick of having ever been a *cock-pit*, or that the phrase was borrowed from a playhouse to be applied to a church. A *pit* is a place low in its relative situation, and such is the middle part of a theatre.

Shakspeare himself uses *cock-pit* to express a small confined situation, without any particular reference:

“—— Can this *cock-pit* hold

“The vasty fields of France,—or may we cram,

“Within this wooden O, the very casques

“That did affright the air at Agincourt?”

⁷ See an old collection of tales, entitled *Wits, Fits, and Fancies*, 4to. 1595: “When the great man had read the actors letter, he presently, in answer to it, took a sheet of paper, and folding *sixpence* up in it, sealed it, subscribed it, and sent it to his brother; intimating thereby, that though his brother had vowed not in seven years to see him, yet he for his *sixpence* could come and see him upon the stage at his pleasure.”

So, in the induction to *The Magnetick Lady*, by Ben Jonson, which was first represented in October, 1632: “Not the *faces* or grounds of your people, that fit in the oblique caves and wedges of your house, your sinful *sixpenny mechanicks*.”

playhouses it was only a penny,⁸ in others two-pence⁹. The price of admission into the best *rooms* or *boxes*¹,

was

See below, Verses addressed to Fletcher on his *Faithful Shepherdess*.

That there were *sixpenny* places at the *Blackfriars* playhouse, appears from the epilogue to Mayne's *City Match*, which was acted at that theatre in 1637, being licensed on the 17th of November, in that year:

"Not that he fears his name can suffer wrack

"From them, who *sixpence* pay, and *sixpence* crack;

"To such he wrote not, though some parts have been

"So like here, that they to themselves came in."

⁸ So, in *Wit without Money*, by Fletcher: "—break in at plays like prentices for three a groat, and crack nuts with the scholars in *penny* rooms again."

Again, in Decker's *Guls Hornebooke*, 1609: "Your groundling and gallery commoner buys his sport by the *penny*."

Again, in *Humours Ordinarie*, where a Man may be very merrie and exceeding well used for his *Sixpence*, no date:

"Will you stand spending your invention's treasure

"To teach stage-parrots speak for *penny* pleasure?"

⁹ "Pay thy *two-pence* to a player, in this gallery you may sit by a harlot." *Bell-mans Night-walk*, by Decker, 1616.

Again, in the prologue to the *Woman-hater*, by Beaumont and Fletcher, 1607: "—to the utter discomfiture of all *two-penny* gallery men."

It appears from a passage in *The Roaring Girl*, a comedy by Middleton and Decker, 1611, that there was a *two-penny* gallery in the *Fortune* playhouse: "One of them is Nip; I took him once at the *two-penny* gallery at the *Fortune*." See also above, p. 55, n. 5.

¹ The boxes in the theatre at *Blackfriars* were probably small, and appear to have been enclosed in the same manner as at present. See a letter from Mr. Garrard, dated January 25, 1635, *Straff. Letters*, Vol. I. p. 511: "A little pique happened betwixt the duke of Lenox and the lord chamberlain, about a *box* at a new play in the *Blackfriars*, of which the duke had got the key; which if it had come to be debated betwixt them, as it was once intended, some heat or perhaps other inconvenience might have happened."

In the *Globe* and the other publick theatres, the boxes were of considerable size. See the prologue to *If this be not a good Play, the Devil is in it*, by Decker, acted at the *Red Bull*:

"————— Give me that man,

"Who, when the plague of an imposthum'd brains,

"Breaking out, infects a theatre, and hotly reigns,

"Killing the hearers' hearts, that the *vast* rooms

"Stand empty, like so many dead men's tombs,

"Can call the banish'd auditor home," &c.

He

was, I believe, in our author's time, a shilling²; though afterwards it appears to have risen to two shillings³, and half a crown⁴. At the Blackfriars theatre the price of the boxes was, I imagine, higher than at the Globe.

From

He seems to be here describing his antagonist B. Jonson, whose plays were generally performed to a thin audience. See *Verses* on our author, by Leonard Digges, Vol. I. Part I. p. 213.

² "If he have but *twelvepence* in his purse, he will give it for the *best room* in a playhouse." Sir Thomas Overbury's *Characters*, 1614.

So, in the prologue to our author's *King Henry VIII*:

"——— Those that come to see

"Only a shew or two, and so agree

"The play may pass, if they be still and willing,

"I'll undertake may see away their *shilling*

"In two short hours."

Again, in a copy of verses prefixed to Massinger's *Bondman*, 1624:

"Reader, if you have disburs'd a *shilling*

"To see this worthy story,—"

Again, in the *Guls Hornebooke*, 1609: "At a new play you take up the *twelvepenny room* next the stage, because the lords and you may seem to be hail fellow well met."

So late as in the year 1658, we find the following advertisement at the end of a piece called *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru*, by Sir William D'Avenant: "Notwithstanding the great expence necessary to *scenes* and other ornaments, in this entertainment, there is good provision made of places for a *shilling*, and it shall certainly begin at three in the afternoon."

In the *Scornful Lady*, which was acted by the children of the Revels at Blackfriars, and printed in 1616, *one-and-six-penny* places are mentioned.

³ See the prologue to *The Queen of Arragon*, a tragedy by Habington, acted at Blackfriars in May, 1640:

"Ere we begin, that no man may repent

"*Two shillings* and his time, the author sent

"The prologue, with the errors of his play,

"That who will may take his money, and away."

Again, in the epilogue to Mayne's *City Match*, acted at Blackfriars, in November, 1637:

"To them who call't reproof, to make a face,

"Who think they judge, when they frown i' the wrong place,

"Who, if they speak not ill o' the poet, doubt

"They loose by the play, nor have their *two shillings* out,

"He says," &c.

⁴ See *Wit without Money*, a comedy, acted at *The Phoenix* in Drury-lane before 1620:

"And who extoll'd you into the *half-crown* boxes,

"Where you might sit and muster all the beauties."

In

From several passages in our old plays we learn, that spectators were admitted on the stage⁵, and that the criticks and wits of the time usually sat there⁶. Some were placed on the ground⁷; others sat on stools, of which the price was either sixpence⁸, or a shilling⁹, according,

In the play-house called *the Hope* on the Bankside, there were five different-priced seats, from sixpence to half a crown. See the induction to *Bartolomeu Fair*, by Ben Jonson, 1614.

⁵ So, in *A Mad World by Masters*, by Middleton, 1608: "The actors have been found in a morning in less compass than their stage, though it were ne'er so full of gentlemen." See also p. 64, n. 3.

⁶ " — to fair attire the stage

" Helps much; for if our other audience see

" You on the stage depart, before we end,

" Our wits go with you all, and we are fools."

Prologue to *All Fools*, a comedy, acted at *Blackfriars*, 1605.

" By sitting on the stage, you have a sign'd patent to engross the whole commoditie of censure; may lawfully presume to be a girder, and stand at the helm to steer the passage of scenes." *Guls Hornebooke*, 1609.

See also the preface to the first folio edition of our author's works: — "And though you be a magistrate of wit, and sit on the stage at *Blackfriars*, to arraigne plays dailie,—"

⁷ " Being on your feet, sneake not away like a coward, but salute all your gentle acquaintance that are spread either on the rushes or on stools about you; and draw what troope you can from the stage after you." Decker's *Guls Hornebooke*, 1609. So also, in Fletcher's *Queen of Corinth*:

" I would not yet be pointed at as he is,

" For the fine courtier, the woman's man,

" That tells my lady stories, dissolves riddles,

" Ushers her to her coach, lies at her feet

" At solemn masques."

From a passage in *King Henry IV. P. I.* it may be presumed that this was no uncommon practice in private assemblies also:

" She bids you on the wanton rushes lay you down,

" And rest your gentle head upon her lap,

" And she will sing the song that pleaseth you."

This accounts for Hamlet's sitting on the ground at Ophelia's feet, during the representation of the play before the king and court of Denmark. Our author has only placed the young prince in the same situation in which probably his patrons Essex and Southampton were often seen at the feet of some celebrated beauty. What some chose from economy, gallantry might have recommended to others.

⁸ " By sitting on the stage, you may with small cost purchase the
decre

according, I suppose, to the commodiousness of the situation. And they were attended by pages, who furnished them with pipes and tobacco, which was smoked here as well as in other parts of the house¹. Yet it should seem that persons were suffered to sit on the stage only in the private playhouses, (such as *Blackfriars*, &c.) where the audience was more select, and of a higher class; and that in *the Globe* and the other publick theatres, no such licence was permitted².

The

deere acquaintance of the boyes, have a good stool for sixpence,—”
Guls Hornebooke.

Again, *ibidem*: “Present not your selfe on the stage, (especially at a new play,) untill the quaking prologue—is ready to enter; for then it is time, as though you were one of the properties, or that you dropt of [i. e. off] the hangings, to creep from behind the arras, with your tripos, or three-legged stooles, in one hand, and a reston mounted between a fore-finger and a thumbe, in the other.”

9 “These are most worne and most in fashion

“Amongst the bever gallants, the stone-riders,

“The private stage’s audience, the twelvepenny-stooles gentlemen.”

The Roaring Girl, a comedy by Middleton and Decker, 1611.

So, in the Induction to Marston’s *Malcontent*, 1604: “By God’s flid if you had, I would have given you *but sixpence* for your stool.” This therefore was the lowest rate; and the price of the most commodious stools on the stage was a *shilling*.

1 “When young *Rogero* goes to see a play,

“His pleasure is, you place him on the stage,

“The better to demonstrate his array,

“And how he sits attended by his page,

“That only serves to fill those pipes with smoke,

“For which he pawned hath his riding-cloak.”

Springs for Woodcocks, by Henry Parrot, 1613.

Again, in *Skialetheia*, a collection of Epigrams and Satires, 1598:

“See you him yonder who sits o’er the stage,

“With the tobacco-pipe now at his mouth?”

This, however, was accounted “a custom more honoured in the breach than the observance;” as appears from a satirical epigram by Sir John Davies, 1598:

“Who dares affirm that Sylla dares not fight?

“He that dares take tobacco on the stage;

“Dares man a whoore at noon-day through the street;

“Dares dance in Pauls;” &c.

2 See the induction to Marston’s *Malecontent*, 1604, which was acted by his majesty’s servants at *Blackfriars*:

“Tyreman

The stage was strewed with rushes³, which, we learn from Hentzner and Caius de Ephemera, was in the time of Shakspeare the usual covering of floors in England⁴. On some occasions it was entirely matted over⁵; but this was probably very rare. The curtain which hangs in the front of the present stage, drawn up by lines and pullies, though not a modern invention, (for it was used by Inigo Jones in the masques at court,) was yet an apparatus to which the simple mechanism of our ancient theatres had not arrived; for in them the curtains opened in the middle, and were drawn backwards and forwards on an iron rod⁶. In some playhouses they were woollen, in others, made of silk⁷. Towards the rear of the

“Tyreman. Sir, the gentlemen will be angry if you sit here.

Sly. Why, we may sit upon the stage at the *private* house. Thou dost not take me for a country gentleman, dost? Dost thou think I fear hissing? Let them that have stale suits, sit in the galleries, hiss at me—.”

See also *The Roaring Girl*, by Middleton: “—the *private* stage’s audience,—.” Ante, p. 63, n. 9.

³ “On the very *rushes* where the comedy is to daunce, yea, and under the state of Cambyfes himselfe, must our feather’d estridge, like a piece of ordnance, be planted valiantly, because impudently, beating down the mews and hisses of the oppoted rascality.” Decker’s *Guls-Hornebooke*.

⁴ See also Ben Jonson’s *Every Man out of his Humour*, 1600: “Fore G—, sweet lady, believe it, I do honour the meanest *rush* in this chamber for your love.”

⁵ See p. 54, n. 3.

⁶ The epilogue to *Tancred and Gismund*, a tragedy, 1592, concludes thus:

“Now draw the curtaines, for our scene is done.”

Again, in *Lady Alimony*, 1659: “Be your stage-curtains artificially drawn, and so covertly shrowded, that the squint-eyed groundling may not peep in.”

See also a stage-direction in *The First Day’s Entertainment at Rutland House*, by Declaration and Musick, after the manner of the Ancients, by Sir William D’Avenant, 1658:

“The song ended, the curtains are drawn open again, and the epilogue enters.”

⁷ See *A Prologue upon removing of the late Fortune Players to the Bull*, by J. Tatham; *Fancies Theatre*, 1640:

“Here

the stage there appears to have been a balcony⁸, or upper stage; the platform of which was probably eight or nine feet from the ground. I suppose it to have been supported by pillars. From hence, in many of our old plays, part of the dialogue was spoken; and in the front of it curtains likewise were hung⁹, so as occasionally to conceal the persons in it from the view of the audience.

" Here gentlemen our anchor's fixt; and we,
 " Disdaining *Fortune's* mutability,
 " Expect your kind acceptance; then we'll sing,
 " (Protected by your smiles, our ever-spring,)
 " As pleasant as if we had still possess'd
 " Our lawful portion out of *Fortune's* breast.
 " Only we would request you to forbear
 " Your wonted custom, banding tile and pear
 " Against our *curtains*, to allure us forth;—
 " I pray, take notice, these are of more worth;
 " Pure *Naples silk*, not *worsted*.—We have ne'er
 " An actor here has mouth enough to tear
 " Language by the ears. This forlorn hope shall be
 " By us refin'd from such gross injury:
 " And then let your judicious loves advance
 " Us to our merits, them to their ignorance."

⁸ See Nabbes's *Covent Garden*, a comedy, 1639:

" Enter Dorothy and Susan, in the *balcone*."

So, in *The Virgin Martyr*, by Massinger and Decker, 1622:

" They whispering below, Enter, *above*, Sapritius;—with him Artemia the princess, Theophilus, Spungius, and Hercius." And these five personages speak from this elevated situation during the whole scene.

Again, in Marston's *Fawne*, 1606:

" Whilst the act [i. e. the musick between one act and another] is a playing, Hercules and Tiberio enters; Tiberio climbs the tree, and is received *above* by Dulcimet, Philocalia and a priest: Hercules stays *beneath*."

See also the early quarto edition of our author's *Romeo and Juliet*, where we meet—" Enter *Romeo and Juliet, aloft*." So, in *The Taming of a Shrew* (not Shakspeare's play): " Enter *aloft* the drunkard."—Almost the whole of the dialogue in that play between the tinker and his attendants, appears to have been spoken in this balcony.

In Middleton's *Family of Love* 1608, signat. B. 2. b. it is called the *upper stage*.

⁹ This appears from a stage-direction in Massinger's *Emperor of the East*, 1632: " The *curtain* drawn *above*: Theodosius and his eunuchs discovered." Again, in *King Henry VIII*.

" Let them alone, and draw the curtain close."

Henry here speaks from the balcony.

At each side of this balcony was a box, very inconveniently situated, which sometimes was called the *private box*. In these boxes, which were at a lower price, some persons sate, either from economy or singularity¹.

How little the imaginations of the audience were assisted by scenical deception, and how much necessity our author had to call on them to "piece out imperfections with their thoughts," may be collected from Sir Philip Sidney, who, describing the state of the drama and the stage, in his time, (about the year 1583,) says, "Now you shall have three ladies walk to gather flowers, and then we must beleeeve the stage to be a garden. By and by we heare news of shipwrack in the same place; then we are to blame, if we accept it not for a rock. Upon the back of that, comes out a hidious monster with fire and smoke; and then the miserable beholders are bound to take it for a cave; while in the mean time two

¹ "Whether therefore the gatherers of the publique or private play-house stand to receive the afternoons rent, let our gallant, having paid it, presently advance himself to the throne of the stage. I mean not into *the lords' roome, which is now but the stages suburbs*. No, those boxes,—by the iniquity of custom, conspiracy of waiting-women, and gentlemen-ushers, that there sweat together, and the covetous sharers,—are contemptibly thrust into the *reare*, and much new fatten is there damnd, by being smother'd to death in darknes." Decker's *Guls Hornebooke*, 1609. So, in the prologue to an old comedy, of which I have lost the title:

"The *private box* took up at a new play,
 "For me and my retinue; a fresh habit
 "Of a fashion never seen before, to draw
 "The gallants' eyes, that sit upon the stage."

See also *Epigrams* by Sir John Davies, no date, but printed at Middleburgh, about 1598:

"*Rufus*, the courtier, at the theatre,
 "Leaving the best and most conspicuous place,
 "Doth either to the stage himself transfer,
 "Or through a grate doth shew his double face,
 "For that the clamourous fry of innes of court,
 "Fills up the private roomes of greater price;
 "And such a place where all may have resort,
 "He in his singularity doth despise."

It is not very easy to ascertain the precise situation of these private boxes. A print prefixed to Kirkman's *Drolls*, 1673, induces me to think that they were at each side of the stage-balcony.

armies fly in, represented with four swords and bucklers, and then what hard hart wil not receive it for a pitched field²."

The first notice that I have found of any thing like moveable scenes being used in England, is in the narrative of the entertainment given to king James at Oxford in August 1605, when three plays were performed in the hall of Christ Church, of which we have the following account by a contemporary writer. "The stage" (he tells us) "was built close to the upper end of the hall, as it seemed at the first sight: but indeed it was but a false wall faire painted, and adorned with stately pillars, which pillars would turn about; by reason whereof, with the help of other *painted clothes*, their stage did vary three times in the acting of one tragedy:" that is, in other words, there were three scenes employed in the exhibition of the piece. The scenery was contrived by Inigo Jones, who is described as *a great traveller*, and who undertook to "further his employers much, and furnish them with rare devices, but produced very little to that which was expected³."

It is observable that the writer of this account was not acquainted even with the term, *scene*, having used *painted clothes* instead of it: nor indeed is this surprising, it not being then found in this sense in any dictionary or vocabulary, English or foreign, that I have met with. Had the common stages been furnished with them, neither this writer, nor the makers of dictionaries, could have been ignorant of it⁴. To effect even what was done at Christ-

² *Defence of Poesie*, 1595. Signat. H 4.

³ Leland. *Collec.* Vol. II. pp. 631, 646. Edit. 1770. See also p. 639: "The same day, August 28, after supper, about nine of the clock they began to act the tragedy of *Ajax Flagellifer*, wherein the stage varied three times. They had all goodly antique apparell, but for all that, it was not acted so well by many degrees as I have seen it in Cambridge. The king was very wearie before he came thither, but much more wearied by it, and spoke many words of dislike."

⁴ Florio, who appears to have diligently studied our customs, illustrating his explanations on many occasions by English proverbs, sayings, local descriptions, &c. in his *Italian Dictionary*, 1598, defines *Scena*, in these words: "A scene of a comedie, or tragedie. Also a stage in a theatre, or playhouse, whereon they play; a scaffold, a pavillion,

Christ-Church, the University found it necessary to employ two of the king's carpenters, and to have the advice of the controller of his works. The Queen's Masque, which was exhibited in the preceding January, was not much more successful, though above £.3000 was expended upon it. "At night," says Sir Dudley

pavillion, or fore part of a theatre, *where players make them readie, being trimmed with hangings*, out of which they enter upon the stage. Used also for a comedie or a tragedie. Also a place where one doth shew and set forth himselfe to the world." In his second edition, published in 1611, instead of the words, "A scene of a comedie or tragedie," we find—"Any one scene or entrance of a comedie or tragedie," which more precisely ascertains his meaning.

In Cotgrave's French and English Dictionary printed in 1611, the word *scene* is not found, and if it had existed either in France or England, (in the sense in which we are now considering it,) it would probably have been found. From the word *salot*, the definition of which I shall have occasion to quote hereafter, the writer seems to have been not unacquainted with the English stage.

Bullokar, who was a physician, published an *English Expofitor* in the year in which Shakspeare died. From his definition likewise it appears, that a moveable painted scene was then unknown in our theatres. He defines *Scene*, "A play, a comedy, a tragedy, or the division of a play into certain parts. In old time it signified a place covered with boughes, or the room where the players made them readie." Minshew's large English Dictionary, which he calls *A Guide to the Tongues*, was published in the following year, 1617, and there *Scene* is nothing more than "*a theatre*." Nay, even so late as in the year 1656, when Cockeram's English Dictionary, or *Interpreter of hard English words* was published, *Scene* is only said to be "the division of a play into certain parts."

Had our English theatres in the time of Shakspeare been furnished with moveable scenes, painted in perspective, can it be supposed that all these writers should have been ignorant of it?

It is observable that Coryate in his *Crudities*, 4to. 1611, when he is boasting of the superior splendour of the English theatres, compared with those of Venice, makes no mention of *scenes*. "I was at one of their playhouses, where I saw a comedie. The house is very beggarly and base in comparison of our stately playhouses in England: neither can their actors compare with us, for *apparel, shows, and musicks*." *Crudities*, p. 247.

It is also worthy of remark that Mr. Chamberlaine, when he is speaking of the fate of the performers at the Fortune theatre, when it was burnt down in 1621, laments that "their *apparel* and *play-books* were lost, whereby those poor companions were quite undone;" but says not a word of *scenes*. See also Sir Henry Wotton's letter on the burning of the *Globe* in 1613, p. 54, n. 3.

Carleton,

Carleton, "we had the Queen's Maske in the Banqueting-house, or rather her Pageant. There was a great engine at the lower end of the room, which had motion, and in it were the images of sea-horses, (with other terrible fishes,) which were ridden by the Moors. The indecorum was, that there was all fish, and no water. At the further end was a great shell in form of a scallop, wherein were four seats; on the lowest sat the queen with my lady Bedford; on the rest were placed the ladies Suffolk, Darby^s," &c. Such were most of the Masques in the time of James the First: triumphal cars, castles, rocks, caves, pillars, temples, clouds, rivers, tritons, &c. composed the principal part of their decoration. In the courtly masques given by his successor during the first fifteen years of his reign, and in some of the plays exhibited at court, the art of scenery

⁵ Letter from Sir Dudley Carleton to Mr. Winwood, London, Jan. 1604, [i. e. 1604-5,] Winwood's *Memorials*, II. 43. 'This letter contains so curious a trait of our British Solomon, that I cannot forbear transcribing another passage from it, though foreign to our present subject. "On Saint John's day we had the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert and the Lady Susan performed at Whitehall, with all the honour could be done a great favourite. The Court was great, and for that day put on the best bravery.—At night there was a Mask in the hall, which for conceit and fashion was suitable to the occasion. The presents of plate and other things given by the noblemen [to the bride and bridegroom] were valued at 2500l.; but that which made it a good marriage, was a gift of the king's of 500l. land, for the bride's jointure. They were lodged in the council chamber, where the king in *his shirt and night-gown* gave them a *reveille-matin* before they were up, and spent a good time *in or upon the bed*, choose which you will believe. No ceremony was omitted of bride-cakes, points, garters, and gloves, which have been ever since the livery of the court; and at night there was sewing into the sheet, casting of the bride's left hose, with many other petty forceries."

Our poet has been, censured for indelicacy of language, particularly in Hamlet's conversation with Ophelia, during the representation of the play before the Court of Denmark; but unjustly, for he undoubtedly represented the manners and conversation of his own day faithfully. What the decorum of those times was, even in the highest class, may be conjectured from another passage in the same letter: "The night's work [the night of the queen's masque] was concluded with a banquet in the great chamber, which was so furiously assaulted, that down went table and tresses, before one bit was touched."—Such was the court of King James the First.

seems to have been somewhat improved. In 1636 a piece written by Thomas Heywood, called *Love's Mistress or the Queen's Masque*, was represented at Denmark House before their Majesties. "For the rare decorations" (says Heywood in his preface) "which new apparelled it, when it came the second time to the royal view, (her gracious majesty then entertaining his highness at *Denmark House* upon his birth-day,) I cannot pretermitt to give a due character to that admirable artist Mr. Inigo Jones, master surveyor of the king's worke, &c. who to every act, nay almost to every scene, by his excellent inventions gave such an extraordinary lustre; upon every occasion *changing the stage*, to the admiration of all the spectators." Here, as on a former occasion, we may remark, the term *scene* is not used: the *stage was changed* to the admiration of all the spectators⁶.

In August 1636, *The Royal Slave*, written by a very popular poet, William Cartwright, was acted at Oxford before the king and queen, and afterwards at Hampton-Court. Wood informs us*, that the scenery was an exquisite and uncommon piece of machinery, contrived by Inigo Jones. The play was printed in 1639; and yet even at that late period, the term *scene*, in the sense now affixed to it, was unknown to the author; for describing the various scenes employed in this court-exhibition, he denominates them thus: "The first *Appearance*, a temple of the sun.—Second *Appearance*, a city in the front, and a prison at the side," &c. The three other *Appearances* in this play were, a wood, a palace, and a castle.

In every disquisition of this kind much trouble and many words might be saved, by defining the subject of dispute. Before therefore I proceed further in this inquiry, I think it proper to say, that by a *scene*, I mean, *A painting in perspective on a cloth fastened to a wooden frame or roller*; and that I do not mean by this term,

⁶ If in our author's time the publick stage had been *changed*, or, in other words, had the Globe and Blackfriars playhouse been furnished with *scenes*, would they have created so much admiration at a royal entertainment in 1636, twenty years after his death?

* *Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* l. 1. p. 344.

" a coffin,

“a coffin, or a tomb, or a gilt chair, or a fair chain of pearl, or a crucifix:” and I am the rather induced to make this declaration, because a writer, who obliquely alluded to the position which I am now maintaining, soon after the first edition of this Essay was published, has mentioned exhibitions of this kind as a proof of the *scenery* of our old plays; and taking it for granted that the point is completely established by this *decisive* argument, triumphantly adds, “Let us for the future no more be told of the want of proper *scenes* and dresses in our ancient theatres?”

A passage

7 “My present purpose,” says this writer, “is not so much to describe this dramattick piece, [*The Second Maiden’s Tragedy*, written in 1610 or 1611,] as to shew that it bears abundant testimony to the use of *scenery*, and the richness of the habits then worn. These particulars will be sufficiently exemplified by the following speeches, and stage-directions:

“Enter the Tyrant agen at a farder door, which opened brings him to the tomb, where the lady lies buried. The Toombe here discovered, richly set forth.”

Some lines are then quoted from the same piece, of which the following are those which alone are material to the present point:

“Tyrant.—Softlee, softlee;—

“The vaults e’en chide our steps with murmuring sounds.

“————— All thy fill strength,

“Thow grey-eyde monument, shall not keep her from us.

“Strike, villaines, thoe the eccho raile us all

“Into ridiculous deafnes; pierce the jawes

“Of this could ponderous creature.—

“O, the moone rises: What reflection

“Is throwne around this sanctified buildinge!

“E’en in a twinkling how the monuments glitter,

“As if Death’s pallaces were all massie sylver,

“And scorn’d the name of marble!”

“Is it probable,” (adds this writer) “that such directions and speeches should have been hazarded, unless at the same time they could be supported and countenanced by corresponding scenery?”

“I shall add two more of the stage-directions from this tragedy.—

“On a sodayne in a kinde of noyse like a wynde, the dores clattering, the toombestone flies open, and a great light appears in the midst of the toombe; his lady, as went owt, standing in it before hym all in white, stuck with jewells, and a great crucifix on her breast.” Again: “They bring the body in a chayre, drest up in black velvet, which settis off the pailnes of the hands and face, and a faire chayne of pearle crosse the breast, and the crucifix above it,” &c.

A passage which has been produced from one of the old comedies⁸, proves that the common theatres were furnished with some rude pieces of *machinery*, which were used when it was necessary to exhibit the descent of some god or saint; but it is manifest from what has been already stated, as well as from all the contemporary accounts, that the mechanism of our ancient theatres seldom went beyond a tomb, a painted chair, a sinking cauldron, or a trap-door, and that none of them had moveable scenes. When king Henry VIII. is to be discovered by the dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, reading in his study, the scenical direction in the first folio, 1623, (which was printed apparently from playhouse copies,) is, "*The king draws the curtain, [i. e. draws it open] and sits reading pensively;*" for, beside the principal curtains that hung in the front of the stage, they used others as substitutes for scenes⁹, which were denominated

"Let us for the future, Mr. Baldwin, be told with less confidence of the want of proper *scenes* and dresses in our ancient theatres."—Letter in *The St. James's Chronicle*, May, 1780.

To all this I have only to say, that it never has been asserted, at least by me, that in Shakspeare's time a *tomb* was not represented on the stage. The monument of the Capulets was perhaps represented in *Romeo and Juliet*, and a wooden structure might have been used for this purpose in that and other plays; of which when the door was once opened, and a proper quantity of lamps, false stones, and black cloth displayed, the poet might be as luxuriant as he pleased in describing the surrounding invisible *marble monuments*. This writer, it should seem, was thinking of the epigram on Butler the poet: we ask for *scenes*, and he gives us only a *stone*.

⁸ "Of whyche the lyke thyng is used to be shewed *now adays* in *stage-plays*, when some *god* or some *saynt* is made to appere forth of a cloude; and succoureth the parties which seemed to be towardes some great danger, through the Soudan's crueltie." The author's marginal abridgment of his text is—"The lyke manner used nowe at *our* days in *stage-plays*." *Accolastus*, a comedy by T. Palsgrave, chaplain to king Henry VIII. 1540.

⁹ See Webster's *Dutchess of Malfy*, acted at the Globe and Blackfriars, and printed in 1623: "Here is discovered behind a *traverse* the artificial figures of Antonio and his children, appearing as if they were dead." In *The Devil's Charter*, a tragedy, 1607, the following stage-direction is found: "Alexander draweth [that is, draws open] *the curtaine of his studie*, where he discovereth the devill sitting in his pontificals."

nated *traverses*. If a bed-chamber is to be represented, no change of scene is mentioned; but the property-man is simply ordered *to thrust forth a bed*, or, the curtains being opened, a bed is exhibited. So, in the old play on which Shakspeare formed his *King Henry VI.* P. II. when Cardinal Beaufort is exhibited dying, the stage-direction is—"Enter King and Salisbury, and then *the curtaines be drawn*, [i. e. drawn open,] and the Cardinal is discovered in his bed, raving and staring as if he were mad." When the fable requires the Roman capitol to be represented, we find two officers enter, "to lay cushions, *as it were* in the capitol." So, in *King Richard II.* Act IV. sc. i. "Bolingbroke, &c. enter *as to the parliament*." Again, in *Sir John Oldcastle*, 1600: "Enter Cambridge, Scroop, and Gray, *as in a chamber*." When the Citizens of Angier were to appear on the walls of their town, and young Arthur to leap from the battlements, I suppose our ancestors were contented with seeing them in the Balcony already described; or perhaps a few boards were tacked together, and painted so as to resemble the rude discoloured walls of an old town, behind which a platform might have been placed near the top, on which

calcs." Again, in *Satiromastix*, by Decker, 1602: "Horace sitting in his *study*, *behind a curtaine*, a candle by him burning, books lying confusedly," &c. In Marston's *What you will*, a com. 1607, the following stage-direction still more decisively proves this point: "Enter a School-maister,—draws [i. e. draws open] the curtains *behind*, with Battus, Nows, Slip, Nathaniel, and Holifernes Pippo, school-boys, sitting with bookes in their handes." Again, in *Albovine*, by Sir William D'Avenant, 1629: "He *drawes the Arras*, and discovers Albovine, Rhodolinda, Valdaura, dead in chaires." Again, in *The Woman in the Moon*, by Lily, 1597: "They draw the curtains from before Natures shop, where stands an image clad, and some unclad. They bring forth the cloathed image." Again, in *Romeo and Juliet*, 1597, Juliet, after she has swallowed the sleepy potion, is ordered to "throw herselfe on the bed, *within the curtaines*." As soon as Juliet has fallen on the bed, the curtains being still open, the nurse enters, then old Capulet and his lady, then the musicians; and all on the same spot. If they could have exhibited a bed-chamber, and then could have substituted any other room for it, would they have suffered the musicians and the Nurse's servant to have carried on a ludicrous dialogue in one where Juliet was supposed to be lying dead?

¹ See these stage-directions in the first folio.

the citizens stood : but surely this can scarcely be called a *scene*. Though undoubtedly our poet's company were furnished with some wooden fabrick sufficiently resembling a tomb, for which they must have had occasion in several plays, yet some doubt may be entertained, whether in *Romeo and Juliet* any exhibition of Juliet's monument was given on the stage. Romeo perhaps only opened with his mattock one of the stage trap-doors, (which might have represented a tomb-stone,) by which he descended to a vault beneath the stage, where Juliet was deposited; and this notion is countenanced by a passage in the play, and by the poem on which the drama was founded².

In all the old copies of the play last-mentioned we find the following stage-direction. "*They march about the stage, and serving-men come forth with their napkins.*" A more decisive proof than this, that the stage was not furnished with scenes, cannot be produced. Romeo, Mercutio, &c. with their torch-bearers and attendants, are the persons who march about the stage. They are in the street, on their way to Capulet's house, where a masquerade is given; but Capulet's servants who come forth with their napkins, are supposed to be in a hall or saloon of their master's house: yet both the masquers *without* and the servants *within* appear on the same spot. In like manner in *King Henry VIII.* the very same spot is at once the outside and inside of the Council-Chamber³.

It is not, however, necessary to insist either upon the term itself, in the sense of a painting in perspective on cloth or canvas, being unknown to our early writers, or upon the various stage-directions which are found in the

² "Why I descend into this bed of death,—." *Romeo and Juliet*, Act V. So, in *The Tragical History of Romeus and Juliet*, 1562:

"And then our Romeus, the vault-stone set up-right,

"Descended downe, and in his hand he bore the candle light."

Juliet, however, after her recovery, speaks and dies upon the stage. If therefore, the exhibition was such as has been now supposed, Romeo must have brought her up in his arms from the vault beneath the stage, after he had killed Paris, and then addressed her,—"O my love, my wife," &c.

³ See Vol. VII. p. 122, n. 7.

plays of our poet and his contemporaries, and which afford the strongest presumptive evidence that the stage in his time was not furnished with scenes; because we have to the same point the concurrent testimony of Shakspeare himself⁴, of Ben Jonson, of every writer of the last age who has had occasion to mention this subject, and even of the very person who first introduced scenes on the publick stage.

In the year 1629 Jonson's comedy entitled *The New Inn* was performed at the Blackfriars theatre, and deservedly damned. Ben was so much incensed at the town for condemning his piece, that in 1631 he published it with the following title: "*The New Inne, or the light Heart*, a comedy; as it was never acted, but most negligently played, by some, the kings servants, and more squeamishly beheld and censured by others, the kings subjects, 1629: And now at last set at liberty to the readers, his Ma.ties servants and subjects, to be judged, 1631." In the Dedication to this piece, the author, after expressing his profound contempt for the spectators, who were at the first representation of this play, says, "What did they come for then, thou wilt ask me. I will as punctually answer: to see and to be seene. To make a general muster of themselves in their clothes of credit, and possesse the stage against the play: to dislike all, but marke nothing: and by their confidence of rising between the actes in oblique lines, make affidavit to the whole house of their not understanding one scene. Arm'd with this prejudice, as *the stage furniture, or arras clothes*, they were there; as spectators away; for *the faces in the hangings* and they beheld alike."

The exhibition of plays being forbidden some time before the death of Charles I.⁵, Sir William D'Avenant
in

- 4 "In your imagination hold
" *This stage*, the ship, upon whose deck
" The sea-toft Pericles appears to speak."

5 An Ordinance for the suppressing of all stage-plays and interludes, was enacted Feb. 13, 1647-8, and Oliver and his Saints seem to have been very diligent in enforcing it. From Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 332,

in 1656 invented a new species of entertainment, which was exhibited at Rutland House, at the upper end of Aldersgate street. The title of the piece, which was printed in the same year, is, *The Siege of Rhodes, made a representation by the art of perspective in scenes; and the story sung in Recitative musick*. "The original of this musick," says Dryden, "and of the *scenes* which adorned his work, he had from the Italian operas⁵; but he heightened his characters (as I may probably imagine) from the examples of Corneille and some French poets." If, sixty years before, the exhibition of the plays of Shakspeare had been aided on the common stage by the advantage of moveable scenes, or if the term *scene* had been familiar to D'Avenant's audience, can we suppose that he would have found it necessary to use a periphrastick description, and to promise that his representation should be assisted by *the art of perspective in scenes*? "It has been often wished," says he in his Address to the Reader, "that our *scenes* (we having obliged ourselves to the variety of *five changes*, according to the ancient dramatick distinctions made for time,) had not been confined to about eleven feet in the height and about fifteen in depth, including the places of passage reserved for the musick." From these words we learn that he had in that piece five scenes. In 1658 he exhibited at the old theatre called the Cockpit, in Drury-lane, "*The*

we learn that Captain Bethan was appointed (13 Dec. 1648,) Provost Martial, "with power to seize upon all ballad-singers, and to *suppress stage-plays*."

"20 Dec. 1649. Some stage-players in Saint John's-street [the *Red Bull* theatre was in this street,] were apprehended by troopers, their cloaths taken away, and themselves carried to prison." Ibidem. p. 419.

"Jan. 1655. [1655-6.] Players taken in Newcastle, and whipt for rogues." Ibid. 619.

"Sept. 4, 1656. Sir William D'Avenant printed his Opera, notwithstanding the nicety of the times." Ibidem, p. 639.

⁵ Fleckno in the preface to his comedy entitled *Demoiselles a-la-Mode*, 1667, observes, that "one *Italian scene* with four doors will do" for the representation.

Cruelty

*Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru, express'd by vocal and instrumental musick, and by art of perspective in scenes*⁶."

In Spring 1662, having obtained a patent from King Charles the Second, and built a new playhouse in Lincolns-Inn-Fields, he opened his theatre with *The First Part of the Siege of Rhodes*, which since its first exhibition he had enlarged. He afterwards in the same year exhibited *the Second Part of the Siege of Rhodes*, and his comedy called *The Wits*; "these plays," says Downes, who himself acted in *The Siege of Rhodes*, "having new scenes, and decorations, being the first that ever were introduced in England." Scenes had certainly been used before in the masques at Court, and in a few private exhibitions, and by D'Avenant himself in his attempts at theatrical entertainments shortly before the death of Cromwell: Downes therefore, who is extremely inaccurate in his language in every part of his book, must have

⁶ In "The Publick Intelligencer, communicating the chief occurrences and proceedings within the dominions of England, Scotland, and Wales, from Monday, December 20, to Monday, December 27, 1658," I find the following notice taken of D'Avenant's exhibition by the new Protector, Richard:

"Whitehall, December 23.

"A course is ordered for taking into consideration the *Opera*, shewed at the Cockpitt in Drury Lane, and the persons to whom it stands referred, are to send for the poet and actors, and to inform themselves of the nature of the work, and to examine by what authority the same is exposed to publick view; and they are also to take the best information they can concerning the acting of stage-plays, and upon the whole to make report," &c.

The Saints were equally adverse to every other species of festivity as well as the Opera, and considered holydays, the common prayer-book, and a play-book, as equally pernicious; for in the same paper I find this notification:

"It was ordered by his Highness the Lord Protector and the Council, that effectual letters be written to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the city of London, and to the Justices of peace for Westminster and the liberties thereof, Middlesex and Borough of Southwark, to use their endeavour for abolishing the use of the festivals of Christmas, Easter, and other feasts called holydaies; as also for preventing the use of the common prayer-book."

meant—

meant—the first ever exhibited in a *regular drama, on a publick theatre.*

I have said that I could produce the testimony of Sir William D'Avenant himself on this subject. His prologue to *The Wits*, which was exhibited in the spring of the year 1662, soon after the opening of his theatre in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, if every other document had perished, would prove decisively that our author's plays had not the assistance of painted scenes. "There are some," says D'Avenant,

- " —who would the world persuade,
 " That gold is better when the stamp is bad;
 " And that an *ugly ragged* piece of eight
 " Is ever true in metal and in weight;
 " As if a guinny and louis had less
 " Intrinsick value for their handsomeness.
 " So diverse, who outlive the former age,
 " Allow * the coarseness of the *plain old stage*,
 " And think rich vests and *scenes* are only fit
 " Disguises for the want of art and wit."

And no less decisive is the different language of the licence for erecting a theatre, granted to him by King Charles I. in 1639, and the letters patent which he obtained from his son in 1662. In the former, after he is authorized "to entertain, govern, privilege, and keep such and so many players to exercise action, musical presentments, scenes, dancing, and the like, as he the said William Davenant shall think fit and approve for the said house, and such persons to permit and continue at and during the pleasure of the said W. D. to act plays in such house so to be by him erected, and exercise musick, musical presentments, scenes, dancing, or other the like, at the same or other hours, or times, or after plays are ended,"—the clause which empowers him to take certain prices from those who should resort to his theatre runs thus:

"And that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said W. D. &c. to take and receive of such our subjects

as

* i. e. approve.

as shall resort to see or hear any such *plays, scenes, and entertainments* whatsoever, such sum or sums of money, as is or hereafter from time to time shall be accustomed to be given or taken in other playhouses and places for the like plays, scenes, presentments, and entertainments."

Here we see that when the theatre was fitted up in the usual way of that time without the decoration of scenery, (for *scenes* in the foregoing passages mean, not paintings, but short stage-representations or presentments,) the usual prices were authorized to be taken: but after the Restoration, when Sir W. D'Avenant furnished his new theatre with scenery, he took care that the letters patent which he then obtained, should speak a different language, for there the corresponding clause is as follows:

"And that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Sir William D'Avenant, his heirs, and assigns, to take and receive of such our subjects as shall resort to see or hear any such plays, scenes, and entertainments whatsoever, such sum or sums of money, as either have accustomedly been given and taken in the like kind, or as shall be thought reasonable by him or them, in regard of the great expences of *SCENES*, musick, and such new decorations *as have not been formerly used*."

Here for the first time in these letters patent the word *scene* is used in that sense in which Sir William had employed it in the printed title-pages of his musical entertainments exhibited a few years before. In the former letters patent granted in 1639, the word in that sense does not once occur.

To the testimony of D'Avenant himself may be added that of Dryden, both in the passage already quoted, and in his prologue to *The Rival Ladies*, performed at the King's Theatre in 1664:

"——— in former days

"Good prologues were as scarce as now good plays.—

"You now have habits, dances, *scenes*, and rhymes;

"High language often, ay, and sense sometimes."

And

And still more exprefs is that of the author of *The Generous Enemies*, exhibited at the King's Theatre in 1672:

“ I cannot choofe but laugh, when I look back and fee

“ The ftrange viciffitudes of poetrie.

“ Your aged fathers came to plays for wit,

“ And fat knee-deep in nutshells in the pit;

“ *Course hangings then, inftead of fcenes, were worn,*

“ *And Kidderminfter did the ftage adorn:*

“ But you, their wifer offspring, did advance

“ To plot of jig, and to dramattick dance⁷,” &c.

These

7 This explains what Dryden means in his prologue to *The Rival Ladies*, quoted above, where, with *fcenes* and the other novelties introduced after the Reftoration, he mentions *dance*. A dance by a boy was not uncommon in Shakspeare's time; but fuch dances as were exhibited at the Duke's and King's theatre, which are here called *dramattick dances*, were unknown.

The following prologue to *Tunbridge Wells*, acted at the Duke's theatre, and printed in 1678, is more diffule upon this fubject, and confirms what has been ftated in the text:

“ The old Englifh ftage, confin'd to plot and fenfe,

“ Did hold abroad but fmall intelligence;

“ But fince the invafion of the foreign *fcene*,

“ Jack-pudding farce, and thundering machine,

“ Dainties to your grave anceftors unknown,

“ Who never diflik'd wit becaufe their own,

“ There's not a player but is turn'd a fcout,

“ And every fcribbler fends his envoys out,

“ To fetch from Paris, Venice, or from Rome,

“ Fantattick fopperies, to pleafe at home.

“ And that each aft may rife to your defire,

“ Devils and witches muft each *fcene* infpire;

“ Wit rowls in waves, and fhowers down in fire.

“ With what ftrange eafe a play may now be writ!

“ When the beft half's compos'd by *painting* it,

“ And that in the air or dance lies all the wit.

“ True fenfe or plot would fooleries appear

“ Faults, I fuppofe, you feldom meet with here,

“ For 'tis no mode to profit by the ear.

“ Your fouls, we know, are feated in your eyes;

“ An actrefs in a cloud's a ftrange fuprife,

“ And you ne'er pay'd treble prices to be wife.”

The

These are not the speculations of scholars concerning a custom of a former age, but the testimony of persons who were either spectators of what they describe, or daily conversed with those who had trod our ancient stage: for D'Avenant's first play, *The Cruel Brother*, was acted at the Blackfriars in January, 1626-7, and Mohun and Hart, who had themselves acted before the civil wars, were employed in that company, by whose immediate successors *The Generous Enemies* was exhibited; I mean the King's Servants. Major Mohun acted in the piece before which the lines last quoted were spoken.

I may add also, that Mr. Wright, the author of *Historia Histrionica*, whose father had been a spectator of several plays before the breaking out of the civil wars, expressly says, that the theatres had then *no scenes*⁸.

The French theatre, as we learn from Scaliger, was not furnished with scenes, or even with the ornament of tapestry, in the year 1561. See Scaliger. *Poetices*, folio, 1561, lib. 1. c. 21. Both it, however, and the Italian stage, appear to have had the decoration of scenery before the English. In 1638 was published at Ravenna—*Pratica di fabbricar Scene e machine ne'teatrici*, di Nicola Sabbatini da Pefaro. With respect to the French stage, see D'Avenant's Prologue to the *Second Part of the Siege of Rhodes*, 1663:

“ ——— many travellers here as judges come,
 “ From Paris, Florence, Venice, and from Rome;
 “ Who will describe, when any *scene we draw*,
 “ By each of ours all that they ever saw:
 “ Those praising for extensive breadth and height,
 “ And inward distance to deceive the sight.”

It is said in the Life of Betterton, that “ he was sent to Paris by King Charles the Second, to take a view of the French theatre, that he might better judge of what might contribute to the improvement of our own.” He went to Paris probably in the year 1666, when both the London theatres were shut.

⁸ “ Shakspeare, (who, as I have heard, was a much better poet than player,) Burbage, Hemmings, and others of the older sort, were dead before I knew the town; but in my time, *before the wars*, Lowin used to act *Falstaffe*,” &c.—“ Though the town was then not much more than half so populous as now, yet then the prices were small, (*there being no scenes*,) and better order kept among the company that came.” *Historia Histrionica*, 8vo. 1699. This Essay is in the form of a Dialogue between *Trueman*, an old Cavalier, and *Lowewit*, his friend.

The account of the old stage, which is given by the Cavalier, Wright probably derived from his father, who was born in 1611, and was himself a dramatick writer.

But, says Mr. Steevens, (who differs with me in opinion on the subject before us, and whose sentiments I shall give below,) “how happened it, that Shakspeare himself should have mentioned the act of *shifting scenes*, if in his time there were no scenes capable of being *shifted*? Thus in the Chorus to *King Henry V.*

“Unto Southampton do we *shift our scene*.”

“This phrase” (he adds) “was hardly more ancient than the custom it describes.”

Who does not see, that Shakspeare in the passage here quoted uses the word *scene* in the same sense in which it was used two thousand years before he was born; that is, for the place of action represented by the stage; and not for that moveable hanging or painted cloth, strained on a wooden frame, or rolled round a cylinder, which is now called a *SCENE*? If the smallest doubt could be entertained of his meaning, the following lines in the same play would remove it:

“The king is set from London, and the *scene*

“Is now *transported* to Southampton.”

This, and this only, was the *shifting* that was meant; a movement from one place to another in the progress of the drama; nor is there found a single passage in his plays in which the word *scene* is used in the sense required to support the argument of those who suppose that the common stages were furnished with moveable scenes in his time. He constantly uses the word either for a stage-exhibition in general, or the component part of a play, or the place of action represented by the stage¹:

“For

⁹ See Mr. Steevens's Shakspeare, 1785, *K. John*, p. 56, n. 7.

¹ And so do all the other dramatick writers of his time. So, in Heywood's *Downfall of Robert earl of Huntington*, 1601:

“—— I only mean—

“Myself in person to present some *scenes*

“Of tragick matter, or perchance of mirth.”

Again,

- “ For all my life has been but as a *scene*,
 “ Acting that argument.” *K. Henry IV. P. II.*
 “ At your industrious *scenes* and acts of death.”
K. John.
 “ What *scene* of death hath Roscius now to act i”
K. Henry VI. P. III.
 “ Thus with imagin’d wing our swift *scene* flies,—.”
K. Henry V.
 “ To give our *scene* such growing,—.” *Ibid.*
 “ And so our *scene* must to the battle fly,—.” *Ibid.*
 “ That he might play the woman in the *scene*.”
Coriolanus.

“ A queen in jest, only to fill the *scene*.” *K. Rich. III.*

I shall add but one more instance from *All’s well that ends well*:

- “ Our *scene* is alter’d from a serious thing,
 “ And now *chang’d* to the Beggar and the King.”

from which lines it might, I conceive, be as reasonably inferred that *scenes* were *changed* in Shakspeare’s time, as from the passage relied on in *K. Henry V.*: and perhaps by the same mode of reasoning it might be proved, from a line above quoted from the same play, that the technical modern term, *wings*, or *side-scenes*, was not unknown to our great poet.

Again, in the prologue to *Ram Alley, or Merry Tricks*, a comedy, 1611:

“ But if conceit, with *quick-turn’d sceanes*,—

“ May win your favours,—.”

Again, in the prologue to *Late Lancashire Witches*, 1634:

“ ——— we are forc’d from our own nation

“ To ground the *scene* that’s now in agitation.”

Again, in the prologue to Shirley’s *School of Compliments*, 1629:

“ ——— This play is

“ The first fruits of a muse, that before this

“ Never saluted audience, nor doth meane

“ To swear himself a factor for the *scene*.”

Again, in the prologue to *Hannibal and Scipio*, 1637:

“ The places sometimes chang’d too for the *scene*,

“ Which is translated as the musick plays,” &c.

Here *translating a scene* means just the same as *shifting a scene* in *K. Henry V.*

I forbear to add more instances, though almost every one of our old plays would furnish me with many.

The various circumstances which I have stated, and the accounts of the contemporary writers², furnish us, in my

² All the writers on the ancient English stage that I have met with, concur with those quoted in the text on this subject: "Now for the difference betwixt our theatres and those of former times," (says Fleckno, who lived near enough the time to be accurately informed,) "they were but plain and simple, *with no other scenes nor decorations of the stage, but only old tapestry*, and the stage strewed with rushes; with their habits accordingly." *Short Discourse of the English Stage*, 1664. In a subsequent passage indeed he adds, "For scenes and machines, they are no new invention; our masques, and *some of our plays*, in former times, (though not so ordinary,) having had as good or rather better, than any we have now."—To reconcile this passage with the foregoing, the author must be supposed to speak here, not of the exhibitions at the publick theatres, but of masques and *private* plays, performed either at court or at noblemen's houses. He does not say, "some of our theatres,"—but, "our masques, and some of our *plays* having had," &c. We have already seen that *Love's Mistress or the Queen's Masque* was exhibited with scenes at Denmark-house in 1636. In the reign of king Charles I. the performance of plays at court, and at private houses, seems to have been very common; and gentlemen went to great expence in these exhibitions. See a letter from Mr. Garrard to lord Strafford, dated Feb. 7, 1637; *Strafford's Letters*, Vol. II. p. 150: "Two of the king's servants, privy-chamber men both, have writ each of them a play, Sir John Sutlin [Suckling] and Will. Barclay, which have been acted in court, and at the Black-friars, with much applause. Sutlin's play cost *three or four hundred pounds* setting out; eight or ten suits of new cloaths he gave the players; an unheard-of prodigality." The play on which Sir John Suckling expended this large sum, was *Aglaura*.

To the authority of Fleckno may be added that of Edward Phillips, who, in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, 1674, [article, D'Avenant,] praises that poet for "the great fluency of his wit and fancy, especially for what he wrote for the English stage, of which, having laid the foundation before by his musical dramas, when the usual plays were not suffered to be acted, *he was the first reviver and improver, by painted scenes*." Wright also, who was well acquainted with the history of our ancient stage, and had certainly conversed with many persons who had seen theatrical performances before the civil wars, expressly says, as I have observed above, that "*scenes* were first introduced by Sir William D'Avenant, on the *publick* stage, at the Duke's old theatre in Lincoln's-Innfields." "Presently after the Restoration," this writer informs us, "the king's players acted publickly at the Red Bull for some time, and then removed to a new-built playhouse in Vere-street, by Clare-market. There they continued for a year or two, and then removed to the theatre-royal in Drury-lane, where they *first* made use of *SCENES*, *which had been a little before introduced*"

my apprehension; with decisive and incontrovertible proofs³, that the stage of Shakspeare was not furnished with

duced UPON THE PUBLICK STAGE by Sir W. D'Avenant at the Duke's old theatre in Lincoln's-Innfields, but afterwards very much improved, with the addition of curious machines, by Mr. Betterton, at the new theatre in Dorset Gardens, to the great expence and continual charge of the players." *Historia Histrionica*, 8vo. 1699, p. 10. Wright calls it the Duke's old theatre in Lincoln's Inn fields, though in fact in 1663 it was a new building, because when he wrote, it had become old, and a new theatre had been built in Lincoln's Inn fields in 1695. He is here speaking of *plays and players*, and therefore makes no account of the musical entertainments exhibited by D'Avenant a few years before at Rutland House, and at the Cock-pit in Drury-lane, in which a little attempt at scenery had been made. In those pieces, I believe, no stage-player performed.

3 I subjoin the sentiments of Mr. Steevens, who differs with me in opinion on this subject; observing only that in general the passages to which he alludes, prove only that our author's plays were not exhibited without the aid of *machinery*, which is not denied; and that not a single passage is quoted, which proves that a moveable painted scene was employed in any of his plays in his theatre. The lines quoted from *The Staple of News*, at the bottom of p. 88, must have been transcribed from some incorrect edition, for the original copy printed in 1631, reads—SCENE, not SCENES; a variation of some importance. The words—"the various shifting of their SCENE," denote, in my apprehension, nothing more than *frequent change of place in the progress of the drama*: and even if that were not the case, and these words were used in the modern sense, they would not prove that scenes were employed on the stage in *Shakspeare's* time, for *The Staple of News* was not exhibited till March, 1625-6.

"It must be acknowledged," says Mr Steevens, "that little more is advanced on this occasion, than is fairly supported by the testimony of contemporary writers.

"Were we, however, to reason on such a part of the subject as is now before us, some suspicions might arise, that where machinery was discovered, the less complicated adjunct of scenes was scarcely wanting. When the column is found standing, no one will suppose but that it was once accompanied by its usual entablature. If this inference be natural, little impropriety can be complained of in one of the stage-directions above mentioned. Where the bed is introduced, the scene of a bed-chamber (a thing too common to deserve description) would of course be at hand. Neither should any great stress be laid on the words of Sir Philip Sidney. Are we not still obliged to receive the stage alternately as a garden, as an ocean, as a range of rocks, or as a cavern? With all our modern advantages, so much of *vraisemblance* is wanting in a theatre, that the apologies which Shakspeare offers for scenical

with *moveable painted scenes*, but merely decorated with curtains, and arras or tapestry hangings, which, when decayed,

deficiency, are still in some degree needful; and be it always remembered that Sir Philip Sidney has not positively declared that *no* painted scenes were in use. Who that mentions the present stage, would think it necessary to dwell on the article of scenery, unless it were peculiarly striking and magnificent? Sir Philip has not spoken of stage-habits, and are we therefore to suppose that none were worn? Besides, between the time when Sir Philip wrote his *Defence of Poesy*, and the period at which the plays of Shakspeare were presented, the stage in all probability had received much additional embellishment. Let me repeat, that if in 1529 (the date of *Acolastus*) machinery * is known to have existed, in 1592 (when Shakspeare commenced a play-wright) a greater number of ornaments might naturally be expected, as it is usual for one improvement to be soon followed by another. That the plays of Shakspeare were exhibited with the aid of *machinery*, the following stage-directions, copied from the folio 1623, will abundantly prove. In *The Tempest*, Ariel is said to enter "like a harpy, claps his wings on the table, and with a quaint device the banquet vanishes." In a subsequent scene of the same play, Juno "descends;" and in *Cymbeline*, Jupiter "descends likewise, in thunder and lightning, sitting upon an eagle." In *Macbeth*, "the cauldron *sinks*, and the apparitions *rise*." It may be added that the dialogue of Shakspeare has such perpetual reference to objects supposed visible to the audience, that the want of scenery could not have failed to render many of the descriptions uttered by his speakers absurd and laughable.—Macduff examines the outside of Inverness castle with such minuteness, that he distinguishes even the nests which the martins had built under the projecting parts of its roof.—Romeo, standing in a garden, points to the tops of fruit-trees gilded by the moon.—The prologue-speaker to *the second part of K. Henry IV.* expressly shews the spectators "*this* worm-eaten hold of ragged stone," in which Northumberland was lodged. Jachimo takes the most exact inventory of every article in Imogen's bed-chamber, from the silk and silver of which her tapestry was wrought, down to the Cupids that support her andirons. Had not the inside of this apartment, with its proper furniture, been represented, how ridiculous must the action of Jachimo have appeared! He must have stood looking out of the room for the particulars supposed to be visible within it. In one of the parts of *K. Hen. VI.*

a cannon

* What happy deceptions could be produced by the aid of framework and painted canvas, we may learn from Holinshed, and yet more ancient historians. The pageants and tournaments at the beginning of Henry VIIIth's reign very frequently required that the castles of imaginary beings should be exhibited. Of such contrivances some descriptions remain. These extempore buildings afforded a natural introduction to scenery on the stage.

decayed, appear to have been sometimes ornamented with

a cannon is discharged against a tower; and conversations are held in almost every scene from different walls, turrets, and battlements. Nor is my belief in ancient scenery entirely founded on conjecture. In the folio editions of Shakspeare's plays, 1623, the following traces of it are preserved. In *King John*: "Enter, before Angiers, Philip king of France," &c.—"Enter a citizen upon the walls."—"Enter the herald of France with trumpets to the gates."—"Enter Arthur on the walls." In *K. Hen. V.* "Enter the king, &c. with scaling ladders at Harfleur."—"Enter the king with all his train before the gates." In *K. Hen. VI.* "Enter to the protector at the Tower gates," &c.—"Enter Salisbury and Talbot on the walls."—"The French leap over the walls in their shirts."—"Enter Pucelle on the top of the tower, thrusting out a torch burning."—"Enter lord Scales upon the tower walking. Then enter two or three citizens below."—"Enter king and queen and Somerset on the terrace."—"Enter three watchmen to guard the king's tent." In *Coriolanus*: "Marcius follows them to the gates, and is shut in." In *Timon*: "Enter Timon in the woods*."—"Enter Timon from his cave." In *Julius Caesar*: "Enter Brutus in his orchard," &c. &c.—In short, without characteristick discriminations of place, the historical dramas of Shakspeare in particular, would have been wrapped in tenfold confusion and obscurity; nor could the spectator have felt the poet's power, or accompanied his rapid transitions from one situation to another, without such guides as painted canvas only could supply. The audience would with difficulty have received the catastrophe of Romeo and Juliet as natural and affecting, unless the deception was confirmed to them by the appearance of a tomb. The managers who could raise ghosts, bid the cauldron sink into the earth, and then exhibit a train of royal phantoms in *Macbeth*, could with less difficulty supply the flat paintings of a cavern or a grove. The artists who can put the dragons of Medea in motion, can more easily represent the clouds through which they are to pass. But for these, or such assistances, the spectator, like Hamlet's mother, must have bent his gaze on mortifying vacancy; and with the guest invited by the Barmecide,

* Apemantus must have pointed to the scenes as he spoke the following lines:

"———shame not these woods,

"By putting on the cunning of a carper."

Again:

"———will these moist trees

"That have outliv'd the eagle," &c.

A piece of old tapestry must have been regarded as a poor substitute for these towering shades.

with pictures ⁴: and some passages in our old dramas incline

cide, in the Arabian tale, must have furnished from his own imagination the entertainment of which his eyes were solicited to partake.

“ It should likewise be remembered, that the intervention of civil war would easily occasion many customs of our early theatres to be silently forgotten. The times when Wright and Downes produced their respective narratives, were by no means times of exactness or curiosity. What they heard, might have been heard imperfectly; it might have been unskilfully related; or their own memories might have deceived them :

“ Ad nos vix tenuis famæ perlabitur aura.”

“ One assertion made by the latter of these writers, is chronologically disproved. We may remark likewise, that in *private* theatres, a part of the audience was admitted on the stage, but that this licence was refused in the *publick* play-houses. To what circumstance shall we impute this difference between the customs of the one and the other? Perhaps the *private* theatres had no scenes, the *publick* had; and a crowded stage would prevent them from being commodiously beheld, or conveniently shifted *. The *fresh pictures* mentioned by Ben Jonson in the induction to his *Cynthia's Revels* might be properly introduced to cover old tapestry; for to hang picturers over faded arras, was then and is still sufficiently common in antiquated mansions, such as those in which the scenes of dramatic writers are often laid. That Shakspeare himself was no stranger to the magick of theatrical ornaments, may be inferred from a passage in which he alludes to the scenery of *pageants*, the fashionable shews of his time :

“ Sometimes we see a cloud that's dragonish,
 “ A vapour sometimes like a lion, a bear,
 “ A towred citadel, a pendent rock,
 “ A forked mountain, or blue promontory
 “ With trees upon't, that nod-unto the world,

“ And

* To *shift a scene* is at least a phrase employed by Shakspeare himself in *K. Henry V.*

“ ——— and not till then

“ Unto Southampton do we *shift our scene*.”

and by Ben Jonson, yet more appositely, in *The Staple of News* :

“ *Lic.* Have you no news o' the stage ?

“ *Tbo.* O yes ;

“ There is a legacy left to the king's players,

“ Both for their *various shifting of their scenes*,

“ And dextrous change of their persons to all shapes

“ And all disguises,” &c.

cline me to think, that when tragedies were performed, the stage was hung with black⁵.

In the early part, at least, of our author's acquaintance with the theatre, the want of scenery seems to have been supplied by the simple expedient of writing the

"And mock our eyes with air:—these thou hast seen,

"They are black Vesper's pageants*." *Antony and Cleopatra*.

"To conclude, the richest and most expensive scenes had been introduced to dress up those spurious children of the Muse called Masques; nor have we sufficient reason for believing that Tragedy, her legitimate offspring, continued to be exposed in rags, while appendages more suitable to her dignity were known to be within the reach of our ancient managers. Shakspeare, Burbage, and Condell, must have had frequent opportunities of being acquainted with the mode in which both masques, tragedies, and comedies, were represented in the inns of court, the halls of noblemen, and in the palace itself."

4 "Sir Crack, I am none of your fresh pictures, that use to beautify the decayed old arras, in a publick theatre." Induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, by Ben Jonson, 1601.

5 In the induction to an old tragedy called *A warning for fair Women*, 1599, three personages are introduced, under the names of *Tragedy*, *Comedy*, and *History*. After some contest for superiority, *Tragedy* prevails; and *History* and *Comedy* retire with these words:

Hist. "Look, *Comedie*, I mark'd it not till now,

"*The stage is hung with blacke*, and I perceive

"*The auditors prepar'd for tragedie*."

Com. "Nay then, I see she shall be entertain'd.

"These ornaments beseem not thee and me;

"Then *Tragedie*, kill them to-day with sorrow,

"We'll make them laugh with mirthful jests to-morrow."

So, in Marston's *Insatiate Countess*, 1613:

"*The stage of heaven is hung with solemn black*,

"*A time best fitting to act tragedies*."

Again, in Daniel's *Civil Warres*, B. V. 1602:

"Let her be made the *sable stage*, whereon

"*Shall first be acted bloody tragedies*."

Again in *K. Henry VI.* P. I.

"*Hung be the heavens with black*," &c.

Again, more appositely, in *The Rape of Lucrece*, 1594:

"*Black stage for tragedies*, and murders fell."

* After a pageant had passed through the streets, the characters that composed it were assembled in some hall or other spacious apartment, where they delivered their respective speeches, and were finally set out to view with the advantages of proper scenery and decoration.

names

names of the different places where the scene was laid in the progress of the play, which were disposed in such a manner as to be visible to the audience⁶.

Though the apparatus for theatrick exhibitions was thus scanty, and the machinery of the simplest kind, the invention of trap-doors appears not to be modern; for in an old Morality, entitled, *All for Money*, we find a marginal direction, which implies that they were very early in use⁷.

We learn from Heywood's *Apology for Actors*⁸, that the covering, or internal roof, of the stage, was anciently termed *the heavens*. It was probably painted of a sky-blue colour; or perhaps pieces of drapery tinged with blue were suspended across the stage, to represent the heavens.

It appears from the stage-directions⁹ given in *The Spanish Tragedy*, that when a play was exhibited within
a play,

6 "What child is there, that coming to a play and seeing *Thebes written upon an old door*, doth believe that it is Thebes?" *Defence of Poesie*, by Sir Philip Sidney. Signat. G. 1595.

When D'Avenant introduced scenes on the publick stage, this ancient practice was still followed. See his Introduction to his *Siege of Rhodes*, 1656: "In the middle of the freese was a compartement, wherein was written—RHODES."

7 "Here——with some fine conveyance, *Pleasure* shall appear from beneath." *All for Money*, 1578.

So, in Marston's *Antonio's Revenge*, 1602:

"Enter Balurdo from under the stage."

In the fourth act of *Macbeth*, several apparitions arise from beneath the stage, and again descend.—The cauldron likewise sinks:

"Why sinks that cauldron, and what noise is this?"

In the *Roaring Girl*, a comedy by Middleton and Decker, 1611, there is a character called *Trap-door*.

⁸ *Apol. for Actors*, 1612. Signat. D.

⁹ *Spanish Tragedy*, 1610, Act IV. Signat. L.

"Enter Hieronimo. He knocks up the curtain.

"Enter the duke of Castile.

"Cast. How now Hieronimo, where's your fellows,

"That you take all this pains?

"Hiero. O, sir, it is for the author's credit

"To look that all things may go well.

a play, (if I may so express myself,) as is the case in that piece and in *Hamlet*, the court or audience before whom the interlude was performed sat in the balcony, or upper stage, already described; and a curtain or traverse being hung across the stage *for the nonce*, the performers entered between that curtain and the general audience, and on its being drawn, began their piece, addressing themselves to the balcony, and regardless of the spectators in the theatre, to whom their backs must have been turned during the whole of the performance.

From a plate prefixed to Kirkman's *Drolls*, printed in 1672, in which there is a view of a theatrical booth, it should seem that the stage was formerly lighted by two large branches, of a form similar to those now hung in churches; and from Beaumont's Verses prefixed to Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*, which was acted before the year 1611, we find that wax lights were used¹.

These branches having been found inconvenient, as they obstructed the sight of the spectators², gave

" But, good my lord, let me entreat your grace,

" To give the king the copy of the play.

" This is the argument of what we shew.

" *Cast.* I will, Hieronimo.

" *Hiero.* Let me entreat your grace, that when

" *The train are past into the gallery,*

" You would vouchsafe to throw me down the key.

" *Cast.* I will, Hieronimo.

" *Enter Balthazar, with a chair.*

" *Hiero.* Well done, Balthazar; hang up the tilt:

" Our scene is Rhodes. What, is your beard on?"

Afterwards the tragedy of *Solyman and Perseda* is exhibited before the king of Spain, the duke of Castile, &c.

¹ " Some like, if the *wax lights* be new that day."

² Fleckno in 1664, complains of the bad lighting of the stage, even at that time: " Of this curious art [scenery] the Italians (this latter age) are the greatest masters; the French good proficient; and we in England only scholars and learners yet, having proceeded no farther than to bare painting, and not arrived to the stupendous wonders of your great ingeniers; especially *not knowing yet how to place our lights, for the more advantage and illuminating of the scenes.*" *Short Discourse of the English stage.*

place at a subsequent period to small circular wooden frames, furnished with candles, eight of which were hung on the stage, four at either side: and these within a few years were wholly removed by Mr. Garrick, who, on his return from France in 1765, first introduced the present commodious method of illuminating the stage by lights not visible to the audience.

The body of the house was illuminated by cressets³, or large open lanterns of nearly the same size with those which are fixed in the poop of a ship.

If all the players whose names are enumerated in the first folio edition of our author's works, belonged to the same theatre, they composed a numerous company; but it is doubtful whether they all performed at the same period, or always continued in the same house⁴. Many of the companies, in the infancy of the stage, certainly were so thin, that the same person played two or three parts⁵; and a battle on which the fate of an empire was supposed to depend, was decided by half a dozen com-

³ See Cotgrave's French Dictionary, 1611, in v. *Falot*: "A cresset light, (such as they use in playhouses,) made of ropes wreathed, pitched, and put into small and open cages of iron."

The Watchmen of London carried cressets fixed on poles till 1539 (and perhaps later). Stowe's *Survey*, p. 160, edit. 1618.

⁴ An actor, who wrote a pamphlet against Mr. Pope, soon after the publication of his edition of Shakspeare, says, he could prove that they belonged to several different companies. It appears from the MS. Register of lord Stanhope, treasurer of the chamber to king James I. that *Joseph Taylor*, in 1613, was at the head of a distinct company from that of *Heminge*, called the lady Elizabeth's servants, who then acted at *the Hope* on the Bankside. He was probably however, before that period, of the king's company, of which afterwards he was a principal ornament. Some of the players too, whose names are prefixed to the first folio edition of our author, were dead in the year 1600, or soon after; and others there enumerated, might have appeared at a subsequent period, to supply their loss. See *the Catalogue of Actors*, post.

⁵ In the Induction to Marston's *Antonio and Mellida*, 1602, *Piero* asks *Alberto*, what part he acts. He replies, "the necessity of the play forceth me to act *two parts*." See also the *Dramatis Personæ* of many of our ancient plays; and below, p. 98, n. 2.

batants⁶. It appears to have been a common practice in their mock engagements, to discharge small pieces of ordnance on or behind the stage⁷.

Before the exhibition began, three flourishes were played, or, in the ancient language, there were three foundings⁸. Musick was likewise played between the acts⁹. The instruments chiefly used, were trumpets,

- 6 “ And so our scene must to the battle fly,
 “ Where, O for pity! we shall much disgrace
 “ *With four or five most vile and ragged foils,*
 “ Right ill dispos’d, in brawl ridiculous,
 “ The name of Agincourt.” *K. Henry V. Act IV.*

7 “ Much like to some of the players that come to the scaffold with drumme and trumpet, to proffer skirmishe, and when they have sound-ed alarme, off go the pieces, to encounter a shadow, or conquer a paper-monster.” *Schoole of Abuse*, by Stephen Gosson, 1579.

So, in *The True Tragedie of Richarde Duke of of Yorke, and the Death of good King Henrie the Sixt*, 1600: “ Alarmes to the battaile.—York lies; then the chambers be discharged; then enter the king,” &c.

- 8 “ Come, let’s bethink ourselves, what may be found
 “ ‘To deceive time with, till the second sound.’”

Notes from Black-fryars, by H. Fitz-Jeffery, 1617.

See also the Address to the readers, prefixed to Decker’s *Satiromastix*, a comedy, 1602: “ Instead of the trumpets sounding thrice before the play begin,” &c.

- 9 See the Prologue to *Hannibal and Scipio*, a tragedy, 1637:
 “ The places sometimes chang’d too for the scene,
 “ Which is translated, as the musick plays
 “ Betwixt the acts.”

The practice appears to have prevailed in the infancy of our stage. See the concluding lines of the second act of *Gammer Gurton’s Needle*, 1575:

- “ In the towne will I, my frendes to vyisit there,
 “ And hether straight again, to see the end of this gere:
 “ *In the mean time, felowes, pipe upp your fiddles,* I say take them,
 “ And let your freyndes here such mirth as ye can make them.”

It has been thought by some that our author’s dramas were exhibited without any pauses, in an unbroken continuity of scenes. But this appears to be a mistake. In a copy of *Romeo and Juliet*, 1599, now before me, which certainly belonged to the play-house, the endings of the acts are marked in the margin; and directions are given for musick to be played between each act. The marginal directions in this copy appear to be of a very old date, one of them being in the ancient style and hand—“ *Play musicke.*”

cornets,

cornets, hautboys, lutes, recorders, viols, and organs*. The band, which, I believe, did not consist of more than eight or ten performers, sat (as I have been told by a very ancient stage-veteran, who had his information from Boman, the contemporary of Betterton,) in an upper balcony, over what is now called the stage-box².

From Sir Henry Herbert's Manuscript I learn, that the musicians belonging to Shakspeare's company were obliged to pay the Master of the Revels an annual fee for a licence to play in the theatre³.

Not very long after our poet's death the Blackfriars' band was more numerous*; and their reputation was so high as to be noticed by Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke, in an account which he has left of the splendid Masque given by the four Inns of Court on the second of February, 1633-4, entitled *The Triumph of Peace*, and intended, as he himself informs us, "to manifest the difference of their opinion from Mr. Prynne's new learning, and to confute his *Histrionastix* against interludes."

¹ See the stage-directions in Marston's *Sophonisba*, acted at the Blackfriars theatre, in 1606:

"The ladies draw the curtains about Sophonisba;—the *cornets and organs* playing loud full musick for the act. Signat. B 4.

"*Organ* mixt with *recorders* for this act. Signat. D 2.

"*Organs, viols*, and voices, play for this act. Signat. E 2.

"A base *lute* and a treble viol play for this act." Signat. F 2.

² In the last scene of Massinger's *City Madam*, which was first acted at Blackfriars, May 25, 1632, Orpheus is introduced chanting those ravishing strains with which he moved

"Charon and Cerberus, to give him way

"To fetch from hell his lost Eurydice."

The following stage-direction, which is found in the preceding scene, supports what has been suggested above, concerning the station of the musicians in our ancient theatres: "Musicians *come down*, [i. e. *are to come down*,] to make ready for the song at Arras." This song was to be sung behind the arras.

³ "For a warrant to the Musitions of the king's company, this 9th of April, 1627,—*℥. 1. 0. 0.*" Ms. Herbert.

* In a warrant of protection now before me, signed by Sir Henry Herbert, and dated from the Office of the Revels, Dec. 27, 1624, Nicholas Underhill, Robert Pallant, John Rhodes, and seventeen others, are mentioned as being "all imployed by the kings Ma.^{ties} servants in their quality of playinge as musitions, and other necessary attendants."

A very

A very particular account of this masque is found in his *Memorials*; but that which Dr. Burney has lately given in his very curious and elegant *History of Musick*⁴, from a manuscript in the possession of Dr. Moreton, of the British Museum, contains some minute particulars not noticed in the former printed account, and among others an eulogy on our poet's band of musicians.

“ For the Musicke,” says Whitelocke, “ which was particularly committed to my charge, I gave to Mr. Ives, and to Mr. Lawes, 100*l*. a piece for their rewards: for the four French gentlemen, the queen's servants, I thought that a handsome and liberall gratifying of them would be made known to the queen, their mistress, and well taken by her. I therefore invited them one morning to a collation att St. Dunstan's taverne, in the great room, the Oracle of Apollo, where each of them had his plate lay'd by him, covered, and the napkin by it, and when they opened their plates, they found in each of them forty pieces of gould, of their master's coyne, for the first dish, and they had cause to be much pleased with this surprisall.

“ The rest of the musitians had rewards answeareable to their parts and qualities; and the whole charge of the musicke came to about one thousand pounds. The clothes of the horsemen reckoned one with another at £. 100 a suit, att the least, amounted to £. 10,000.— The charges of all the rest of the masque, which were borne by the societies, were accounted to be above twenty thousand pounds.

“ I was so conversant with the musitians, and so willing to gain their favour, especially at this time, that I composed an aier my selfe, with the assistance of Mr. Ives, and called it *Whitelocke's Coranto*; which being cried up, was first played publicly by the Blackefryars Musicke, *who were then esteemed the best of common musitians in London*. Whenever I came to that house, (as I did sometimes in those dayes, though not often,) to see a play, the musitians would pretently play *Whitelocke's Coranto*; and it was so often called for, that they would have it played twice or thrice in an afternoone. The queen

queen hearing it, would not be persuaded that it was made by an Englishman, because she said it was fuller of life and spirit than the English aiers used to be; butt she honoured the *Coranto* and the maker of it with her majestyes royall commendation. It grew to that request, that all the common musitians in this towne, and all over the kingdome, gott the composition of itt, and played it publiquely in all places for above thirtie years after."

The stage in Shakspeare's time seems to have been separated from the pit only by pales⁵. Soon after the Restoration, the band, I imagine, took the station which they have kept ever since, in an orchestra placed between the stage and the pit⁶.

The person who spoke the prologue, who entered immediately after the third sounding⁷, usually wore a long black velvet cloak⁸, which, I suppose, was considered
as

- 5 "And now that I have vaulted up so hye,
"Above the *stage-rayles* of this earthen *globe*,
"I must turn actor." *Black Booke*, 4to. 1604.

See also D'Avenant's *Playhouse to be let*:

- "Monsieur, you may draw up your troop of forces
"Within *the pales*."

⁶ See the first direction in *The Tempest*, altered by D'Avenant and Dryden, and acted at the Duke's Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, in 1667:

"The front of the stage is opened, and the band of twenty-four violins, with the harpsicals and theorbos, which accompany the voices, are placed *between the pit and the stage*." If this had not been a novel regulation, the direction would have been unnecessary.

Cotgrave in his Dictionary, 1611, following the idea of ancient Rome, defines *Orchestra*, "The senators' or noblemen's places in a theatre, between the stage and the common seats. Also the stage itself." If musicians had set in this place, when he wrote, or the term *orchestre*, in its present sense, had been then known, there is reason to believe that he would have noticed it. See his interpretation of *Falot*, above, in p. 92, n. 3.

The word *orchestre* is not found in Minsheu's Dict. nor Bullokar's *Expositor*.

In Cockeram's *Interpreter of hard words*, 1655, it is defined a *scaffold*.

⁷ "Present not your selfe on the stage, (especially at a new play) untill the quaking *prologue* hath by rubbing got cullor into his cheeks, and is ready to give the *trumpets* their cue, that he's upon the point to enter." Decker's *Guls Hornebook*, 1609.

⁸ See the Induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, 1601:

as best suited to a supplicatory address. Of this custom, whatever may have been its origin, some traces remained till very lately; a black coat having been, if I mistake not, within these few years, the constant stage-habiliment of our modern prologue-speakers. The complete dress of the ancient prologue-speaker is still retained in the play exhibited in *Hamlet*, before the king and court of Denmark.

An epilogue does not appear to have been a regular appendage to a play in Shakspeare's time; for many of his dramas had none; at least, they have not been preserved. In *All's Well that Ends Well*, *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, *As you like it*, *Troilus and Cressida*, and *The Tempest*, the epilogue is spoken by one of the persons of the drama, and adapted to the character of the speaker; a circumstance that I have not observed in the epilogues of any other author of that age. The epilogue was not always spoken by one of the performers in the piece; for that subjoined to *The Second Part of King Henry IV.* appears to have been delivered by a dancer.

The performers of male characters frequently wore periwigs⁹, which in the age of Shakspeare were not in common

1. *Child*. "Pray you, away; why children, what do you mean?"

2. *Child*. "Marry, that you should not speak the prologue."

1. *Child*. "Sir, I plead possession of the *cloak*. Gentlemen, your suffrages, for God's sake."

So, in the prologue to *The Coronation*, by Shirley, 1640:

"Since 'tis become the title of our play,

"A woman once in a coronation may

"With pardon speak the prologue, give as free

"A welcome to the theatre, as he

"That with a little beard, a *long black cloak*,

"With a starch'd face and supple leg, hath spoke

"Before the plays this twelvemonth, let me then

"Present a welcome to these gentlemen."

Again, in the prologue to *The Woman-Hater*, by B. and Fletcher, 1607: "Gentlemen, inductions are out of date, and a prologue in verse is as stale as a *black velvet cloake*, and a bay garlande."

⁹ See *Hamlet*, Act III. sc. ii. "O, it offends me to the soul, to hear a robustious *periwig-pated* fellow tear a passion to tatters."

mon use¹. It appears from a passage in Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, that vizards were on some occasions used by the actors of those days²; and it may be inferred from a scene in one of our author's comedies, that they were sometimes worn in his time, by those who performed female characters³. But this, I imagine, was very rare. Some of the female part of the audience likewise appeared in masks⁴.

Both

So, in *Every Woman in her Humour*, 1609: "As none wear hoods but monks and ladies,—and feathers but fore-horses, &c. none periwigs but players and pictures."

¹ In Hall's *Virgidemiarum*, 1597, Lib. III. Sat. 5, the fashion of wearing periwigs is ridiculed as a novel and fantastick custom:

"Late travailing along in London way,
 "Mee met, as seem'd by his *disguis'd* array,
 "A lustie courtier, whose curled head
 "With abron locks was fairely furnished;
 "I him saluted in our lavish wise;
 "He answers my untimely courtesies.
 "His bonnet vail'd,—or ever he could think,
 "The unruly winde blowes off his *periwinke*.
 "He lights and runs, and quickly hath him sped,
 "To over-take his over-running head.—
 "Is't not sweet pride, when men their crownes must shade
 "With that which jerks the hams of every jade;
 "Or floor-strow'd locks from off the barber's shears?
 "But waxen crownes well gree with borrowed haire."

² "—partly (says he) to supply the want of players, when there were more parts than there were persons."

³ In *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Flute objects to his playing a woman's part, because he has "a beard a coming." But his friend Quince tells him, "that's all one; you shall play it in a *mask*, and you may speak as small as you will."

⁴ "In our assemblies at playes in London, (says Gossion, in his *Schoole of Abuse*, 1579, Signat. C.) you shall see such heaving and shoving, such yatching and should'ring to fite by women, such care for their garments, that they be not trode on; such eyes to their lappes, that no chippes light in them; such pillows to their backes, that they take no hurte; such *masking* in their ears, I know not what; such giving them pippins to pass the time; such playing at foot-saunte without cardes; such licking, such toying, such smiling, such winking, such manning them home when the sports are ended, that it is a right comedie to mark their behaviour."

So

Both the prompter, or book-holder, as he was sometimes called, and the property-man, appear to have been regular appendages of our ancient theatres⁵.

The stage-dresses, it is reasonable to suppose, were much more costly in some playhouses than others. Yet the wardrobe of even the king's servants at *The Globe* and *Blackfriars* was, we find, but scantily furnished; and

So also the prologue to Marston's *Fawne*, 1606 :

" ——— nor doth he hope to win
" Your laud or hand with that most common sin
" Of vulgar pens, rank bawdry, that smells
" Even through your masks, *usque ad nauseam*."

Again, in his *Scourge of Villainie*, 1599 :

" ——— Disguised Messaline,
" I'll teare thy maske, and bare thee to the eyne
" Of hissing boyes, if to the theatres
" I find thee once more come for lecherers."

Again, in B. Jonson's verses, addressed to Fletcher on his *Faithful Shepherdes* :

" The wise and many-headed bench that sits
" Upon the life and death of plays and wits,
" Compos'd of gamester, captain, knight, knights man,
" Lady or *pupil*, that wears maske or fan,
" Velvet or taffata cap, rank'd in the dark
" With the shops foreman, or some such brave sparke,
" (That may judge for his *sixpence*) had, before
" They saw it half, damn'd thy whole play."

After the Restoration, masks, I believe, were chiefly worn in the theatre, by women of the town. Wright complains of the great number of masks in his time : " Of late the play-houses are so extremely pestered with vizard-masks and their trade, (occasioning continual quarrels and abuses) that many of the more civilized part of the town are uneasy in the company, and shun the theatre as they would a house of scandal." *Hist. Histron.* 1699, p. 6.

Ladies of unblemished character, however, wore masks in the boxes, in the time of Congreve. In the epilogue to Dufey's comedy called *The old mode and the new*, (no date) the speaker points to the masks in the *side boxes* : but I am not sure whether what are now called the balconies were not meant.

⁵ " I assure you, sir, we are not so officiously befriended by him, [the author,] as to have his presence in the tiring-house, to prompt us aloud, stamp at the book-bolder, swear for our properties, curse the poor *tire-man*, rayle the musicke out of tune," &c. Induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, 1601.

our author's dramas derived very little aid from the splendour of exhibition⁶.

It is well known, that in the time of Shakspeare, and for many years afterwards, female characters were represented solely by boys or young men. Nashe in a pamphlet published in 1592, speaking in defence of the English stage, *boasts* that the players of his time were "not as the players beyond sea, a sort of squirting bawdie comedians, that have whores and common curtizans to play women's parts⁷." What Nashe considered as an high eulogy on his country, Prynne has made one of his principal charges against the English stage; having employed several pages in his bulky volume, and quoted many hundred authorities, to prove that "those playes wherein any men act women's parts in woman's apparell must needs be sinful, yea, abominable unto christians⁸." The grand basis of his argument is a text in scripture; *Deuteronomy*, ch. xxii. v. 5. "The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment:" a precept, which Sir Richard Baker has justly remarked, is no part of the moral law, and ought not to be understood literally. "Where (says Sir Richard) finds he this precept? Even in the same place where he finds also that we must not weare cloaths of

⁶ See the induction to Ben Jonson's *Staple of News*, acted by the king's servants, in 1625:

"O *Curiosity*, you come to see who wears the new suit to-day; whose cloaths are best pen'd, whatever the part be; which actor has the best leg and foot; what king plays *without cuffs*, and his queen *without gloves*: who rides post in *stockings*, and dances in *boots*."

It is, however, one of Prynne's arguments against the stage, in the *invective* which he published about eight years after the date of this piece, that "the ordinary theatrical interludes were usually acted in *over-costly*, effeminate, fantastick, and *gaydy* apparel." *Histrionast*. p. 216. But little credit is to be given to that voluminous zealot, on a question of this kind. As the frequenters of the theatre were little better than *incarnate devils*, and the musick in churches the *bleating of brute beasts*, so a piece of coarse stuff trimmed with tinsel was probably in his opinion a most splendid and *ungodly* dress.

⁷ *Pierce Penniless his Supplication to the Devil*, 4to. 1592.

⁸ *Histrionastix*, 4to. 1633, p. 179.

linsey-woolsey : and seeing we lawfully now wear cloaths of linsey-woolsey, why may it not be as lawful for men to put on women's garments?"

It may perhaps be supposed that Prynne, having thus vehemently inveighed against men's representing female characters on the stage, would not have been averse to the introduction of women in the scene; but sinful as this zealot thought it in *men* to assume the garments of the other sex, he considered it as not less abominable in *women* to tread the stage in their own proper dress: for he informs us, that "some Frenchwomen, or *monsters* rather, in Michaelmas term, 1629, attempted to act a French play at the playhouse in Blackfriars," which he represents as "an impudent, shameful, unwomanish, graceless, if not more then *whorish* attempt¹." There

⁹ *Theatrum Triumphans*, 8vo. 1670, p. 16. Martin Luther's comment on this text is as follows: "Hic non prohibetur quin ad vitandum periculum, aut ludendum joco, vel ad fallendum hostes, mulier possit gerere arma viri, et vir uti vesti muliebri; sed ut serio et usitato habitu talia non fiant, ut decora utrique sexui servetur dignitas." And the learned Jesuit, Lorin, concurs with him: "Dissimulatio vestis potest interdum sine peccato fieri, vel ad representandam comice tragiceve personam, vel ad effugiendum periculum, vel in casu simili." Ibid. p. 19.

¹ *Histrionastix*, p. 414. He there calls it only an *attempt*, but in a former page (215) he says, "they have now their female players in Italy and other foreign parts, as they had such French women actors in a play not long since personated in Blackfriars playhouse, to which there was great resort." In the margin he adds—"in Michaelmas terme, 1629." His account is confirmed by Sir Henry Herbert's Office-book, in which I find the following notice of this exhibition:

"For the allowinge of a French company to playe a farse at Black-fryers, this 4 of November, 1629,—£. 2. 0. 0."

The same company attempted an exhibition both at the Red Bull and the Fortune theatres, as appears from the following entries:

"For allowinge of the Frenche [company] at the Red Bull for a daye, 22 Novemb. 1629,—[£. 2. 0. 0.]

"For allowinge of a Frenche companie att the Fortune to play one afternoone, this 14 of Decemb. 1629,—£. 1. 0. 0.

"I should have had another peece, but in respect of their ill fortune, I was content to bestow a peece back." Ms. Herbert.

Prynne, in conformity to the absurd notions which have been stated in the text, inserted in his Index these words: "*Women actors notori-*

Soon after the period he speaks of, a regular French theatre was established in London, where without doubt women acted². They had long before appeared on the Italian as well as the French stage. When

Coryate *ous wbores*:" by which he so highly offended the king and queen, that he was tried in the Star-chamber, and sentenced to be imprisoned for life, fined £. 5000, expelled Lincoln's Inn, disbarred and disqualified to practise the law, degraded of his degree in the university, to be set on the pillory, his ears cut off, and his book burnt by the hands of the common hangman, "which *rigorous* sentence," says Whitelocke, "was as rigorously executed." I quote these words as given by Dr. Burney from Whitelocke's Manuscript. It is remarkable that in his printed MEMORIALS the word *rigorous* is omitted; from which there is reason to believe that the editor in 1682 took some liberties with the manuscript from which that book was printed. The words there are, "—*which* sentence was as *severely* executed."

In p. 708 of Prynne's book is the following note, the insertion of which probably incensed their majesties, who often performed in the court-masques, not less than what has been already mentioned:

"It is *infamous* in this author's judgment [Dion Cassius] for emperors or persons of quality to *dance upon a stage*, or act a play."

² In the Office-book of Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, I find a warrant for payment of £. 10. "to Josias Floridor for himselfe and the rest of the French players, for a tragedy by them acted before his Majestie in Dec. last." Dated Jan. 8, 1635-6. Their house had been licensed, April 18, 1635. I find also "£. 10. paid to John Navarro for himself and the rest of the company of *Spanish* players, for a play presented before his Majestie, Dec. 23, 1635."

We have already seen that Henrietta Maria had a precedent for introducing the comedians of her own country into England, King Henry the Seventh having likewise had a company of French players.

Sir Henry Herbert's manuscript furnishes us with the following notices on this subject:

"On tuesday night the 17 of February, 1634, [1634-5] a Frenche company of players, being aproved of by the queene at her house too nights before, and commended by her majesty to the kinge, were admitted to the Cockpitt in Whitehall, and there presented the king and queene with a Frenche comedy called *Melise*, with good aprobation: for which play the king gives them ten pounds.

"This day being friday, and the 20 of the same monthe, the kinge tould mee his pleasure, and commanded mee to give order that this Frenche company should playe the too sermon daies in the weeke, during their time of playinge in Lent, and in the house of Drury-lane, where the queenes players usually playe.

"The kings pleasure I signified to Mr. Beeston, [the Manager of Drury-lane theatre] the same day, who obeyd readily.

"The

Coryate was at Venice, [July 1608,] he tells us, he was at one of their playhouses, and saw a comedy acted. "The

"The house-keepers are to give them by promise the benefit of their interest for the too days of the first weeke.

"They had the benefit of playinge on the sermon daies, and gott two hundred pounds at least; besides many rich clothes were given them.

"They had freely to themselves the whole weeke before the weeke before Easter, which I obtaynd of the king for them.

"The 4 Aprill, on Easter monday, they playd the *Trompeur puny*, with better approbation than the other.

"On Wensday night the 16 Aprill, 1635, the French playd *Alcimedor* with good aprobation."

In a marginal note Sir Henry Herbert adds, "The Frenche offered mee a present of £. 10; but I refused itt, and did them many other curtesys, *gratis*, to render the queene my mistris an acceptable service."

It appears from a subsequent passage, that in the following month a theatre was erected expressly for this troop of comedians.

"A warant granted to Josias d'Aunay, Hurfries de Lau, and others, for to act playes at a new house in Drury-lane, during pleasure, ye 5 may, 1635.

"The king was pleased to commande my Lord Chamberlain to direct his warrant to Monsieur Le Fevure, to give him a power to contract with the Frenchemen for to builde a playhouse in his manage-house, which was done accordinglye by my advise and allowance."

"Thes Frenchmen," Sir Henry adds in the margin, "were commended unto mee by the queene, and have past through my handes, *gratis*."

They did not however pass quite free, for from a subsequent entry it appears, that "they gave Blagrove [Sir Henry's deputy] three pounds for his paines."

In the following December the French pastoral of *Florimene* was acted at court by the young ladies who attended the queen from France.

"The pastorall of *Florimene*, (says Sir Henry) with the description of the sceanes and interludes, as it was sent mee by Mr. Inigo Jones, I allowed for the pres, this 14 of Decemb. 1635. The pastorall is in French, and 'tis the argument only, put into English, that I have allowed to be printed.

"Le pastorale de *Florimene* fust représenté devant le roy et la royne, le prince Charles, et le prince Palatin, le 21 Decem. jour de St. Thomas, par les filles Françoisse de la royne, et firent tres bien, dans la grande sale de Whitehall, aux depens de la royne." Mr. Herbert.

house, (he adds) is very beggarly and base, in comparison of our stately playhouses in England; neither can their actors compare with us for apparell, shewes, and musicke. Here I observed certaine things that I never saw before; for I saw women act, a thing that I never saw before, though I have heard that it hath been some times used in London; and they performed it with as good a grace, action, gesture, and whatsoever convenient for a player, as ever I saw any masculine actor³."

The practice of men's performing the parts of women in the scene is of the highest antiquity. On the Grecian stage no women certainly ever *acted*. From Plutarch's Life of Phocion, we learn, that in his time (about three hundred and eighteen years before the Christian era) the performance of a tragedy at Athens was interrupted for some time by one of the actors, who was to personate a *queen*, refusing to come on the stage, because he had not a suitable mask and dress, and a train of attendants richly habited; and Demosthenes in one of his orations⁴ mentions Theodorus and Aristodemus as having often represented the Antigone of Sophocles⁵. This fact is also ascertained

³ Coryate's *Crudities*, 4to. 1611, p. 247. I have found no ground for this writer's assertion, that female performers had appeared on the English stage before he wrote.

⁴ De fals. leg. tom. ii. p. 199, edit. Taylor.

⁵ See also Lucian. de Salt. li. 285, edit. Hemsterhusii. "Because" (says that lively writer) "at first you preferred tragedy and comedy and vagrant fidlers and singing to the harpe, before dancing, calling them truly exercises, and therefore commendable, let us, I pray, compare them severally with dancing. Where, if it please you, we will pass the pipe and harpe as parts and instruments of dancing, and consider tragedy as it is; first, according to its properties and dress. What a deformed and frightfull sight is it, to see a man raised to a prodigious length, stalking upon exalted buskins, his face disguised with a grimme vizard, widely gaping, as if he meant to devour the spectators? I forbear to speake of his stuff breasts, and fore-bellies, which make an adventitious and artificial corpulency, lest his unnatural length should carry disproportion to his slenderesse: as also his clamour from within, when he breakes open and unlockes himselfe; when he howles iambicks, and most ridiculously sings his own sufferings, and renders himself by his very tone odious. For as for the rest, they are inventions of ancient poets. Yet as long as he personates only some *Andromache* and *Hecuba*, his singing is tolerable. But for

ascertained by an anecdote preserved by Aulus Gellius. A very celebrated actor, whose name was Polus, was appointed to perform the part of *Electra* in Sophocles's play; who in the progress of the drama appears with an urn in her hands, containing, as she supposes, the ashes of Orestes. The actor having some time before been deprived by death of a beloved son, to indulge his grief, as it should seem, procured the urn which contained the ashes of his child, to be brought from his tomb; which affected him so much, that when he appeared with it on the scene, he embraced it with unfeigned sorrow, and burst into tears⁶.

That on the Roman stage also female parts were represented by men in tragedy, is ascertained by one of Cicero's letters to Atticus, in which he speaks of Antipho⁶, who performed the part of *Andromache*; and by a passage in Horace, who informs us, that Fufius Phocæus being to perform the part of *Ilione*, the wife of *Polymnestor*, in a tragedy written either by Accius or Pacuvius,

for a Hercules to enter dolefully singing, and to forget himself, and neither to regard his Lyons skinne, nor clubbe, must needs appear to any judging man a solecisme. And whereas you dislike that in dancing men should act women; this is a reprehension, which holds for tragedies and comedies too, in which are more womens parts, then mens." *Dialogue on dancing*, translated by Jasper Mayne, folio, 1664.

⁶ *Histrion in terra Græcia fuit fama celebri, qui gestus et vocis claritudine et venustate cæteris antestabat. Nomen fuisse aiunt Polum; tragœdias poetarum nobilium scite atque asseverate agitavit. Is Polus unice amatum filium morte amisit. Eum luctum quum satis visus est eluxisse, rediit ad quæstum artis. In eo tempore Athenis Electram Sophoclis acturus, gestare urnam quasi cum Orestis ossibus debebat. Ita compositum fabulæ argumentum est, ut veluti fratris reliquias ferens Electra compleret commiseraturque interitum ejus, qui per vim extinctus existimatur. Igitur Polus lugubri habitu Electræ indutus ossa atque urnam a sepulchro tulit filii, et quasi Orestis amplexus opplevit omnia non simulachris neque imitamentis, sed luctu atque lamentis veris et spirantibus. Itaque quum agi fabula videretur, dolor actus est." Aul. Gel. Lib. VII. c. 7.*

Olivet in a note on one of Cicero's letters to Atticus, (l. iv. c. 15.) mentions a similar anecdote of an actress called *Seia*, for which he quotes the authority of Plutarch; but no such person is mentioned by that writer. *Seia*, according to Olivet, performed the part of *Andromache*. I suspect he meant to cite *Petrarch*.

⁶ *Epistol. ad Atticum, Lib. IV. c. 15.*

and being in the course of the play to be awakened out of sleep by the cries of the shade of Polydorus, got so drunk, that he fell into a real and profound sleep, from which no noise could rouse him⁷.

Horace indeed mentions a female performer, called Arbuscula⁸; but as we find from his own authority that men personated women on the Roman stage, she probably was only an *emboliaria*, who performed in the interludes and dances exhibited between the acts and at the end of the play. Servius⁹ calls her *mima*, but that may mean nothing more than one who acted in the *mimes*, or danced in the pantomime dances*; and this seems the more probable from the manner in which she is mentioned by Cicero, from whom we learn that the part of Andromache was performed by a male actor on that very day when Arbuscula exhibited with the highest applause¹.

The same practice prevailed in the time of the emperors; for in the list of parts which Nero, with a preposterous ambition, acted in the publick theatre, we find that of Canace, who was represented in labour on the stage².

In the interludes exhibited between the acts undoubtedly women appeared. The elder Pliny informs us that a female named Luceia acted in these interludes for an hundred years; and Galeria Copiola for above ninety years; having been first introduced on the scene in the fourteenth year of her age, in the year of Rome 672, when Caius Marius the younger and Cneius Carbo were consuls, and having performed in the 104th year of her age, six years before the death of Augustus, in

7 "Non magis audivit quam Fufius ebrius olim,
"Cum Ilionam edormit, Catienis mille ducentis,
"Mater te appello, clamantibus." Sat. Lib. II. Sat. 3.

Compare Cicero, *Tusculan.* I. 44.

8 "—satis est equitem mihi plaudere, ut audax
"Contemptis aliis explosa Arbuscula dixit." Lib. I. Sat. 10.

9 In Eclog. x.

* Sunt *Mimi*, ut ait Claudianus, qui lætis salibus facete risum movent; *Pantomimi* vero, ut idem ait, "nutu manibusque loquaces." Vet. Schol.

1 Epistol. ad Atticum, l. iv. c. 15.

2 Sueton. in Nerone, c. 21.

the consulate of C. Poppæus and Quintus Sulpicius, A. U. C. 762³.

Eunuchs also sometimes represented women on the Roman stage, as they do at this day in Italy; for we find that Sporus, who made so conspicuous a figure in the time of Nero, being appointed in the year 70, [A. U. C. 823] to personate a nymph, who, in an interlude exhibited before Vitellius, was to be carried off by a ravisher, rather than endure the indignity of wearing a female dress on the stage, put himself to death⁴: a singular end for one, who about ten years before had been publicly espoused to Nero, in the hymeneal veil, and had been carried through one of the streets of Rome by the side of that monster, in the imperial robes of the empresses, ornamented with a profusion of jewels.

Thus ancient was the usage, which, though not adopted in the neighbouring countries of France and Italy, prevailed in England from the infancy of the stage. The prejudice against women appearing on the scene continued so strong, that till near the time of the Restoration boys constantly performed female characters; and, strange as it may now appear, the old practice was not deserted without many apologies for the *indecorum* of the novel usage. In 1659 or 1660, in imitation of the foreign theatres, women were first introduced on the scene. In 1656, indeed, Mrs. Coleman, the wife of Mr. Edward Coleman, represented *Ianthe* in the First Part of D'Avenant's *Siege of Rhodes*; but the little she had to say was spoken in recitative. The first woman that appeared in any regular drama on a publick stage, performed the part of Desdemona; but who the lady was, I am unable to ascertain. The play of *Othello* is enumerated by Downes as one of the stock-plays of the king's company on their opening their theatre in Drury-lane in April 1663; and it appears from a paper found with Sir Henry Herbert's Office-book, and indorsed by him⁵,

³ Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. VIII. c. 48.

⁴ Xiphilini Vitel. p. 209, edit. H. Stephani, folio, 1592.

⁵ See the list of plays belonging to the Red Bull, in a subsequent page, *ad ann.* 1660.

that

that it was one of the stock-plays of the same company from the time they began to play without a patent at the Red Bull in St. John-street. Mrs. Hughes performed the part of Desdemona in 1663, when the company removed to Drury-lane, and obtained the title of the king's servants; but whether she performed with them while they played at the Red Bull, or in Vere-street near Claremarket, has not been ascertained. Perhaps Mrs. Saunderfon made her first essay there, though she afterwards was enlisted in D'Avenant's company. The received tradition is, that she was the first English actress³. The verses which were spoken by way of introducing a female to the audience, were written by Thomas Jordan, and being only found in a very scarce miscellany⁴, I shall here transcribe them:

“ *A Prologue, to introduce the first woman that came to act on the stage, in the tragedy called The Moor of Venice.*

“ I come, unknown to any of the rest,

“ To tell you news; I saw the lady dress:

“ The woman plays to day: mistake me not,

“ No man in gown, or page in petticoat:

“ A woman to my knowledge; yet I can't,

“ If I should die, make affidavit on't.

³ Mrs. Saunderfon (afterwards Mrs. Betterton) played Juliet, Ophelia, and, I believe, Cordelia.

It should seem from the 22d line of the Epilogue spoken on the occasion, that the lady who performed Desdemona was an unmarried woman. Mrs. Hughes was married. The principal unmarried actress in the King's company appears to have been Mrs. Marshall, who is said to have been afterwards seduced under a pretence of marriage by Aubrey de Vere, earl of Oxford, and who might have been the original female performer of Desdemona. At that time every unmarried woman bore the title of Mistress.

It is said in a book of no authority, (*Curl's History of the Stage*), and has been repeated in various other compilations, that Mrs. Norris, the mother of the celebrated comedian known by the name of *Jubilee Dick*, was the first actress who appeared on the English stage: but this is highly improbable. Mrs. Norris, who was in D'Avenant's company, certainly had appeared in 1662, but she was probably not young; for she played *Goody Tell in Town Shifts*, a comedy acted in 1671, and the *Nurse in Reformation*, acted in 1675.

⁴ *A Royal Arbour of Loyal Poesie*, by Thomas Jordan, no date, but printed, I believe, in 1662. Jordan was an actor as well as a poet.

“ Do

" Do you not twitter, gentleman? I know
 " You will be censuring: do it fairly though.
 " 'Tis *possible* a virtuous woman may
 " Abhor all sorts of looseness, and yet play;
 " Play on the stage,—where all eyes are upon her:—
 " Shall we count that a crime, France counts an honour?
 " In other kingdoms husbands safely trust 'em;
 " The difference lies only in the custom.
 " And let it be our custom, I advise;
 " I'm sure this custom's better than th' excise,
 " And may procure *us* custom: hearts of flint
 " Will melt in passion, when a woman's in't.

" But gentlemen, you that as judges sit
 " In the star-chamber of the house, the pit,
 " Have modest thoughts of her; pray, do not run
 " To give her visits when the play is done,
 " With '*damn me, your most humble servant, lady;*'
 " She knows these things as well as you, it may be:
 " Not a bit there, dear gallants, she doth know
 " Her own deserts,—and your temptations too.—
 " But to the point:—In this reforming age
 " We have intents to civilize the stage.
 " Our women are defective, and so siz'd,
 " You'd think they were some of the guard disguis'd;
 " For, to speak truth, men act, that are between
 " Forty and fifty, wenches of fifteen;
 " With bone so large and nerve so in compliant,
 " When you call *DESDEMONA*, enter *GIANT*.—
 " We shall purge every thing that is unclean,
 " Lascivious, scurrilous, impious, or obscene;
 " And when we've put all things in this fair way,
 " *BAREBONES* himself may come to see a play⁵."

The

⁵ See also the Prologue to *The Second Part of the Siege of Rhodes*, (acted in April, 1662,) which was spoken by a woman:

" Hope little from our poet's wither'd wit,
 " From infant players, scarce grown puppets yet;
 " Hope from our women less, whose bashful fear
 " Wonder'd to see me dare to enter here:

" Each

The Epilogue which consists of but twelve lines, is in the same strain of apology:

- “ And how do you like her? Come, what is’t ye drive at?
 “ She’s the same thing in publick as in private;
 “ As far from being what you call a whore,
 “ As Desdemona, injur’d by the Moor:
 “ Then he that censures her in such a case,
 “ Hath a soul blacker than Othello’s face.
 “ But, ladies, what think *you*? for if you tax
 “ Her freedom with dishonour to your sex,
 “ She means to act no more, and this shall be
 “ No other play but her own tragedy.
 “ She will submit to none but your commands,
 “ And take commission only from your hands.”

From a paper in Sir Henry Herbert’s handwriting I find that *Othello* was performed by the Red-Bull company, (afterwards his Majesties servants,) at their new theatre in Vere-street, near Claremarket, on Saturday December 8, 1660, for the first time that winter. On that day therefore it is probable an actress first appeared on the English stage. This theatre was opened on Thursday November 8, with the play of *K. Henry the Fourth*. Most of Jordan’s prologues and epilogues appear to have been written for that company.

It is certain, however, that for some time after the Restoration men also acted female parts⁶; and Mr. Kynaston

- “ Each took her leave, and wish’d my danger past,
 “ And though I come back safe and undisgrac’d,
 “ Yet when they spy the wits here, then I doubt
 “ No amazon can make them venture out;
 “ Though I advis’d them not to fear you much,
 “ For I presume not half of you are such.”

⁶ In a prologue to a play represented before King Charles the Second very soon after his Restoration, of which I know not the title, are these lines, from which it appears that some young men acted the parts of women in that piece:

- “ ————— we are sorry
 “ We should this night attend on so much glory
 “ With such weak worth; or your clear sight engage
 “ To view the remnants of a ruin’d stage:
 “ For doubting we should never play again,
 “ We have play’d all our women into men;

“ That

Kynaston even after women had assumed their proper rank on the stage, was not only endured, but admired, if we may believe a contemporary writer; who assures us, "that being then very young, he made a complete stage beauty, performing his parts so well, (particularly *Arthiope* and *Aglaure*) that it has since been disputable among the judicious, whether any woman that succeeded him, touched the audience so sensibly as he⁷."

In D'Avenant's company, the first actress that appeared was probably Mrs. Saunderson, who performed *Ianthe* in *The Siege of Rhodes* on the opening of his new theatre in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, in April 1662⁸. It does not appear from Downes's account, that while D'Avenant's company performed at the Cockpit in Drury-lane during the years 1659, 1660 and 1661, they had any female performer among them: or that *Othello* was acted by them at that period.

In the infancy of the English stage it was customary in every piece to introduce a Clown, "by his mimick gestures to breed in the less capable mirth and laughter⁹." The privileges of the Clown were very extensive; for, between the acts, and sometimes between the scenes, he claimed a right to enter on the stage, and to excite merriment by any species of buffoonery that struck him. Like the Harlequin of the Italian Comedy, his wit was

- "That are of such large size for flesh and bones,
- "They'll rather be taken for amazons
- "Than tender maids; but your mercy doth please
- "Daily to pass by as great faults as these:
- "If this be pardon'd, we shall henceforth bring
- "Better oblations to my lord the king."

A Royal Arbour, &c. p. 12.

The author of *Historia Histrionica* says, that Major Mohun played *Bellamante* in Shirley's *Love's Cruelty*, after the Restoration; and Cibber mentions, that Kynaston told him he had played the part of *Ewadne* in the *Maid's Tragedy*, at the same period, with success. The apology made to King Charles the Second for a play not beginning in due time, ("that the queen was not shaved,") is well known. The queen is said (but on no good authority) to have been Kynaston.

⁷ Roscius Anglicanus, p. 19.

⁸ In the following year she married Mr. Betterton, and not in 1670, as is erroneously asserted in the *Biographia Britannica*. She acted by the name of Mrs. Betterton in *The Slighted Maid*, in 1663.

⁹ Heywood's *Hist. of Women*, 1624.

often extemporal, and he sometimes entered into a contest of raillery and sarcasm with some of the audience¹. He generally threw his thoughts into hobbling doggrel verses, which he made shorter or longer as he found convenient; but, however irregular his metre might be, or whatever the length of his verses, he always took care to tag them with words of corresponding sound: like Dryden's DOEG,

“ He fagotted his notions as they fell,

“ And if they rhym'd and rattled, all was well.”

Thomas Wilson and Richard Tarleton, both sworn servants to Queen Elizabeth, were the most popular performers of that time in this department of the drama, and are highly praised by the Continuator of Stowe's Annals, for “ their wondrous, plentiful, pleasant, and *extemporal* wit².” Tarleton, whose comick powers were so

¹ In Brome's *Antipodes*, which was performed at the theatre in Salisbury-court, in 1638, a *by-play*, as he calls it, is represented in his comedy; a word for the application of which we are indebted to this writer, there being no other term in our language that I know of, which so properly expresses that species of interlude which we find in our poet's *Hamlet* and some other pieces. The actors in this *by-play* being called together by Lord Letoy, he gives them some instructions concerning their mode of acting, which prove that the clowns in Shakespeare's time frequently held a dialogue with the audience:

“ *Let.* ——— Go; be ready. —

“ But you, sir, are incorrigible, and

“ Take licence to yourself to add unto

“ Your parts your own free fancy; and sometimes

“ To alter or diminish what the writer

“ With care and skill compos'd, and when you are

“ To speak to your co-actors in the scene,

“ *You hold interlocution with the audients.*

“ *Bip.* That is a way, my lord, hath been allow'd

“ On elder stages, to move mirth and laughter.

“ *Let.* Yes, in the days of *Tarleton* and *Kempe*,

“ Before the stage was purg'd from barbarism,

“ And brought to the perfection it now shines with.

“ Then fools and jesters spent their wit, because

“ The poets were wise enough to save their own

“ For profitabler uses.”

² Howes's edition of Stowe's *Chronicle*, 1631, p. 698.

See also Gabriel Harvey's *Four Letters*, 4to. 1592, p. 9: “ Who in London hath not heard of—his fond disguising of a Master of Artes with

so great, that, according to Sir Richard Baker, "he delighted the spectators before he had spoken a word," is thus described in a very rare old pamphlet³: "The next, by his sute of russet, his buttoned cap, his taber, his standing on the toe, and other tricks, I knew to be either the body or resemblance of Tarlton, who living, for his pleasant conceits was of all men liked, and, dying, for mirth left not his like." In 1611 was published a book entitled his *Jests*, in which some specimens are given of the extempore wit which our ancestors thought so excellent. As he was performing some part "at the Bull in Bishops-gate-street, where the Queenes players oftentimes played," while he was "kneeling down to aske his fathers blessing," a fellow in the gallery threw an apple at him, which hit him on the cheek. He immediately took up the apple, and advancing to the audience, addressed them in these lines:

- "Gentlemen, this fellow, with his face of mapple⁴,
 "Instead of a pippin hath throwne me an apple;
 "But as for an apple he hath cast a crab,
 "So instead of an honest woman God hath sent him a drab.

"The with ruffianly haire, unseemely apparell, and more unseemely company; his vaine glorious and Thrafonicall bravery; his piperly *extemporis*ing and *Tarletonizing*?" &c.

³ *Kind-Hartes Dreame*, by Henry Chettle, 4to. no date, but published in Dec. 1592.

⁴ This appears to have been formerly a common sarcasm. There is a tradition yet preserved in Stratford, of Shakspeare's comparing the carbuncled face of a drunken blacksmith to a *maple*. The blacksmith accosted him, as he was leaning over a mercer's door, with

"Now, MR. SHAKSPEARE, tell me, if you can,

"The difference between a youth and a young man."

to which our poet immediately replied,

"Thou son of fire, with *thy face like a maple*,

"The same difference as between a scalded and a coddled apple."

This anecdote was related near fifty years ago to a gentleman at Stratford by a person then above eighty years of age, whose father might have been contemporary with Shakspeare. It is observable that a similar imagery may be traced in the *Comedy of Errors*:

"Though now this *grained face* of mine be hid," &c.

The bark of the maple is uncommonly rough, and the grain of one

“The people,” says the relater, “laughed heartily; for the fellow had a quean to his wife.”

Another of these stories, which I shall give in the author’s own words, establishes what I have already mentioned, that it was customary for the clown to talk to the audience or the actors *ad libitum*.

“At the Bull at Bishops-gate, was a play of *Henry the V.* [the performance which preceded Shakspeare’s,] wherein the judge was to take a box on the eare; and because *he* was absent that should take the blow, Tarlton himselve, ever forward to please, tooke upon him to play the same judge, besides his own part of the clowne; and Knel, then playing Henry the Fifth, hit Tarlton a sound box indeed, which made the people laugh the more, because it was he: but anon the judge goes in, and immediately Tarlton in his clownes cloaths comes out, and asks the actors, *What news?* O, faith one, had’st thou been here, thou shouldest have seen Prince Henry hit the judge a terrible box on the eare. What, man, said Tarlton, strike a judge! It is true, i’faith, said the other. No other like, said Tarlton, and it could not be but terrible to the judge, when the report so terrifies me, that methinks the blowe remains still on my cheek, that it burnes again. The people laught at this mightily, and to this day I have heard it commended for rare; but no marvell, for he had many of these. But I would see *our clownes in these days* doe the like. No, I warrant ye; and yet they thinke well of themselves too.”

The last words shew that this practice was not discontinued in the time of Shakspeare, and we here see that he had abundant reason for his precept in *Hamlet*: “Let those that play your clowns, *speak no more than is set down for them*; for there be of them, that will themselves laugh, to set on some quantity of barren spectators to laugh too; though *in the mean time some necessary question of the play be then to be consider’d*.”

of the sorts of this tree (according to Evelyn) is “undulated and crisped into variety of curls.”

This

This practice was undoubtedly coeval with the English stage; for we are told that Sir Thomas More, while he lived as a page with Archbishop Moreton, (about the year 1490,) as the Christmas plays were going on in the palace, would sometimes suddenly step upon the stage, "without studying for the matter," and exhibit a part of his own, which gave the audience much more entertainment than the whole performance besides⁵.

But the peculiar province of the Clown was to entertain the audience after the play was finished, at which time *themes* were sometimes given to him by some of the spectators, to descant upon⁶; but more commonly the audience were entertained by a *jig*. A jig was a ludicrous metrical composition, often in rhyme, which was sung by the Clown, who likewise, I believe, occasionally danced, and was always accompanied by a tabor and pipe⁷. In these jigs more persons than one were

⁵ Roper's *Life and Death of More*, 8vo. 1716, p. 3.

⁶ "I remember I was once at a play in the country, where, as Tarlton's use was, the play being done, every one so pleased to *throw up his theme*: amongst all the rest one was read to this effect, word by word:

"Tarlton, I am one of thy friends, and none of thy foes,

"Then I prythee tell how thou cam'st by thy flat nose," &c.

To this challenge Tarlton immediately replied in four lines of loose verse. *Tarlton's Feasts*, 4to. 1611.

⁷ "Out upon them, [the players,] they spoile our trade,—they open our crosse-biting, our conny-catching, our traines, our traps, our gins, our snares, our subtilties; for no sooner have we a trick of deceit, but they make it common, *singing gigs*, and making jeasts of us, that every boy can point out our houses as they passe by".

Kind-Hartes Dreame, Signat. E 3. b.

See also *Pierce Penniless*, &c. 1592:

"——— like the quaint comedians of our time,

"That when the play is done, do fall to rhyme," &c.

So, in *A strange Horse-race*, by Thomas Decker, 1613:

"Now as after the cleare stream hath glided away in his owne current, the bottom is muddy and troubled; and as I have often seen *after the finishing of some worthy tragedy* or catastrophe in the open theatres, that the sceane, after the epilogue, hath been more black, about a nasty bawdy *jigge*, then the most horrid scene in the play was; the stinkards speaking all things, yet no man understanding any thing; a mutiny being amongst them, yet none in danger; no tumult, and yet

were sometimes introduced. The original of the entertainment which this buffoon afforded our ancestors between

no quietness; no mischief begotten, and yet mischief borne; the swiftness of such a torrent, the more it over-whelms, breeding the more pleasure; so after these worthies and conquerors had left the field, another race was ready to begin, at which, though the persons in it were nothing equal to the former, yet the shoutes and noyse at these was as great, if not greater."

The following lines in Hall's *Satires*, 1597, seem also to allude to the same custom :

" One higher pitch'd, doth set his soaring thought
 " On crowned kings, that fortune hath low brought,
 " Or some upreared high-aspiring swaine,
 " As it might be, the Turkish *Tamburlaine*.
 " Then weeneth he his base drink-drowned spright
 " Rapt to the three-fold loft of heaven hight,
 " When he conceives upon his fained stage
 " The stalking steps of his great personage;
 " Graced with huff-cap termes and thund'ring threats,
 " That his poor hearers' hayre quite upright sets.
 " Such soone as some brave-minded hungrie youth
 " Sees fitly frame to his wide-strained mouth,
 " He vaunts his voyce upon an hyred stage,
 " With high-set steps, and princely carriage:—
 " There if he can with termes Italianate,
 " Big-sounding sentences, and words of state,
 " Faire patch me up his pure iambick verse,
 " He ravishes the gazing scaffolders.—
 " Now least such frightful shoves of fortunes fall,
 " And bloody tyrants' rage, should chance appall
 " The dead-struck audience, *midst the silent rout*
 " Comes leaping in a selfe-misformed lout,
 " And laughes, and grins, and frames his mimick face;
 " And justles straight into the princes place:
 " Then doth the theatre *eccho* all aloud
 " With gladsome noyse of that applauding croud.
 " A goodly *höch-pöch*, when vile ruffettings
 " Are marcht with monarchs and with mightie kings!" &c.

The entertainments here alluded to were probably "the fond and frivolous jestures," described in the preface to Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, 1590, which the printer says, he omitted, "as farre unmeete for the matter, though they have been of some vaine conceited fondlings greatly gaped at, what times they were shewed upon the stage in their graced deformities."

It should seem from D'Avenant's prologue to *The Wits*, when acted

between the acts and after the play, may be traced to the satyrical interludes of Greece⁸, and the Atellans and Mimes of the Roman stage⁹. The *Exodiarri* and *Emboliarie*

at the Duke's theatre, in 1662, that this species of entertainment was not even then entirely disused:

“ So country *jigs* and farces, mixt among

“ Heroick scenes, make plays continue long.”

Blount in his *Glossographia*, 1681, 5th edit. defines a farce, “ A fond and dissolute play or comedy. Also the *jig* at the end of an interlude, wherein some pretty knavery is acted.”

Kempe's *Jigg of the Kitchen-stuffe-woman*, and *Philips his Jigg of the Slyppers*, were entered on the Stationers' books in 1595; but I know not whether they were printed. There is, I believe, no *jig* now extant in print.

8 “ Carmine qui tragico vilem certavit ob hircum,

“ Mox etiam agrestes Satyros nudavit, et asper

“ Incolumi gravitate jocum tentavit, eo quod

“ Illecebris erat et gratâ novitate morandus

“ Spectator, functusque sacris, et potus et exlex.”

Hor. de Arte Poetica.

9 “ Urbicus exodio risum movet *Atellancæ*

“ Gestibus Autonoes;—.” Juv. Sat. VI. 71.

“ *Exodiarrius* in fine ludorum apud veteres intrabat, quod ridiculus foret; ut quicquid lacrymarum atque tristitiæ coegissent ex tragicis affectibus, hujus spectaculi risus detergeret.” *Vet. Schol.* “ As an old commentator on Juvenal affirms, the *Exodiarri*, which were singers and dancers, entered to entertain the people with light songs and mimical gestures, that they might not go away oppressed with melancholy from these sacred pieces of the theatre.” Dryden's *Dedication* to his Translation of Juvenal. See also Liv. lib. vii. c. 2. Others contend that the *Exodia* did not solely signify the songs, &c. at the conclusion of the play, but those also which were sung in the middle of the piece; and that they were so called, because they were introduced *εξοδικῶς*, that is, incidentally, and unconnected with the principal entertainment. Of this kind undoubtedly were the *εμβολα* or episodes, introduced between the acts, as the *εισοδία* were the songs sung at the opening of the play.

The Atellan interludes were so called from Atella, a town in Italy, from which they were introduced to Rome: and in process of time they were acted sometimes in the middle, and sometimes at the end, of more serious pieces. These, as we learn from one of Cicero's letters, gave way about the time of Julius Cæsar's death to the *Mimes*, which consisted of a grosser and more licentious pleasantry than the Atellan interludes. “ Nunc venio,” says Cicero, “ ad jocationes tuas, cum tu secundum Oenomaum Accii, non ut olim

Emboliaria of the Mimes are undoubtedly the remote progenitors of the Vice and Clown of our ancient dramas¹.

No

solebat, Atellanum, sed *ut nunc fit*, mimum introduxisti." *Epist. ad Fam.* IX. 16. The Atellan interludes, however, were not wholly disused after the introduction of the Mimes; as is ascertained by a passage in Suetonius's Life of Nero, c. 39.

"Mirum et vel præcipue notabile inter hæc fuit, nihil eum patientius quam maledicta et convitia hominum tulisse; neque in ullos leniorem quam qui se dictis ante aut carminibus lacerassent, extitisse.—Transseuntem eum Isidorus Cynicus in publico clara voce corripuerat, quod Nauplii mala bene cantitaret, sua bona male disponderet. Et Datus *Atellanarum* histrio, in cantico quodam, *ὕμῳ πατέρ, ὕμῳ μητέρ*, ita demonstraverat, ut bibentem natantemque faceret, exitum scilicet Claudii Agrippinæque significans; et in novissima clausula, *Orcus vobis ducit pedes*, senatum gestu notaret. Histriionem et philosophum Nero nihil amplius quam urbe Italiaque submovit, vel contemptu omnis infamiae, vel ne fatendo dolorem irritaret ingenia." See also Galb. c. 13.

I do not find that the ancient French theatre had any exhibition exactly corresponding with this, for their *SOTTIE* rather resembled the Atellan farces, in their original state, when they were performed as a distinct exhibition, unmixed with any other interlude. An extract given by Mr. Warton from an old *ART OF POETRY* published in 1548, furnishes us with this account of it: "The French farce contains nothing of the Latin comedy. It has neither acts nor scenes, which would serve only to introduce a tedious prolixity: for the true subject of the French farce or *SOTTIE* is every sort of foolery, which has a tendency to provoke laughter.—The subject of the Greek and Latin comedy was totally different from every thing on the French stage; for it had more morality than drollery, and often as much truth as fiction. Our *MORALITIES* hold a place indifferently between tragedy and comedy, but our farces are really what the Romans called *Mimes* or *Priapees*, the intended end and effect of which was excessive laughter, and on that account they admitted all kind of licentiousness, as our farces do at present. In the mean time their pleasantry does not derive much advantage from rhymes, however flowing, of eight syllables." *HIST. OF ENG. POETRY*, Vol. III. p. 350. Scaliger expressly mentions the two species of drama above described, as the popular entertainments of France in his time. "Sunt igitur duo genera, quæ etiam vicatim et oppidatim per universam Galliam mirificis artificibus circumferuntur; *MORALE*, et *RIDICULUM*." *Poetices* lib. I. c. x. p. 17, edit. 1561.

¹ The exact conformity between our Clowns and the *Exodiarum* and *Emboliaria* of the Roman stage is ascertained, not only by what I

No writer that I have met with, intimates that in the time of Shakspeare it was customary to exhibit more than a single dramattick piece on one day². Had any shorter pieces, of the same kind with our modern farces, (beside the *jigs* already mentioned,) been presented after the principal performance, some of them probably would have been printed; but there are none extant of an earlier date than the time of the Restoration³. The practice therefore of exhibiting two dramas successively in the same afternoon, we may be assured, was not established before that period. But though our ancient audiences were not gratified by the representation of more than one drama in the same day, the entertainment in the middle of the reign of Elizabeth was diversified, and the populace diverted, by vaulting, tumbling, flight of hand, and morrice-dancing⁴; and in the time of

have stated in the text, but by our author's contemporary Philemon Holland, by whom that passage in Pliny which is referred to in a former page,—“*Luceia mima centum annis in scena pronuntiavit. Galeria Copiola, emboliaria, reducta est in scenam,—annum centessimum quartum agens,*”—is thus translated: “*Luceia, a common VICE in a play, followed the stage, and acted thereupon 100 yeeres. Such another VICE, that plaied the foole, and made sporte betweene whiles in interludes,* named *Galeria Copiola*, was brought to act on the stage,—when she was in the 104th yeere of her age.”

² *The Yorkshire Tragedy, or All's One*, indeed, appears to have been one of four pieces that were represented on the same day; and Fletcher has also a piece called *Four Plays in One*; but probably these were either exhibited on some particular occasion, or were ineffectual efforts to introduce a new species of amusement; for we do not find any other instances of the same kind.

³ In 1663, as I learn from Sir Henry Herbert's Mss. Sir William D'Avenant produced *The Playhouse to be let*. The fifth act of this heterogeneous piece is a mock tragedy, founded on the actions of Cæsar, Anthony, and Cleopatra. This, Langbaine says, used to be acted at the theatre in Dorset Garden, (which was not opened till November 1671,) after the tragedy of *Pompey*, written by Mrs. Catharine Phillips; and was, I believe, the first farce that appeared on the English stage. In 1677, *The Cheats of Scapin* was performed, as a second piece, after *Titus and Berenice*, a play of three acts, in order to furnish out an exhibition of the usual length: and about the same time farces were produced by Duffet, Tate, and others.

⁴ “For the eye, besides the beautie of the houses and the stages,
I 4 he

of Shakspeare, by the extemporaneous buffoonery of the Clown, whenever he chose to solicit the attention of the audience; by singing and dancing between the acts, and either a song or the metrical jig already described at the end of the piece^s: a mixture not more heterogeneous

he [the devil] sendeth in garish apparell, masques, *vaulting, tumbling, dauncing of gigges, galiardes, morisces, bobby-borses, shewing of juggling castes*,—nothing forgot, that might serve to set out the matter with pompe, or ravish the beholders with variety of pleasure." *Playes Confuted in five actions.* By Stephen Gosson. Signat. E.

^s See Beaumont's Verses to Fletcher on his *Faithful Shepherdes*:

"Nor want there those, who, as the *boy* does *dance*

"Between the acts, will censure the whole play."

So also, in Sir John Davies's *EPIGRAMS*, no date, but printed in 1598:

"For as we see at all the play-house doores,

"When ended is the play, the *dance*, and *song*,

"A thousand townsmen," &c.

Hentzner observes, that the dances, when he was in London in 1598, were accompanied with exquisite musick. See the passage quoted from his *ITINERARY*, in p. 45, n. 1.

That in the stage-dances boys in the dress of women sometimes joined, appears to me probable from Prynne's invective against the theatre: "Stage-plays," says he, "by our own modern experience are commonly attended with *mixt* effeminate amorous dancing." *Histriomastix*, p. 259. From the same author we learn that songs were frequently sung between the acts. "By our owne moderne experience there is nothing more frequent in all our stage-plays then amorous pastoral or obscene lascivious love-songs, most melodiously chanted out upon the stage betweene each severall action; both to supply that chasme or vacant interim which the tyring-house takes up in changing the actors' robes, to fit them for some other part in the ensuing scene,—as likewise to please the itching eares, if not to inflame the outrageous lusts, of lewde spectators." *Ibidem*, p. 262.

In another place the author quotes the following passage from Eusebius. "What seeth he who runnes to play-houses? Diabolical songs, dancing wenches, or, that I may speake more truly, girles tossed up and downe with the furies of the devil." [*A good description* (adds Prynne) *of our dancing females.*"] "For what doth this dancereffe? She most impudently uncovers her head, which Paul hath commanded to be always covered; she turnes about her necke the wrong way; she throweth about her haire hither and thither. Even these things verily are done by her whom the Devill hath possessed." *Ibidem*, p. 534.

It does not appear whether the puritanical writer of this treatise alludes

ous than that with which we are now daily presented, a tragedy and a farce. In the dances, I believe, not only men, but boys in women's dresses, were introduced: a practice which prevailed on the Grecian stage⁶, and in France till late in the last century⁷.

The amusements of our ancestors, before the commencement of the play, were of various kinds. While some part of the audience entertained themselves with reading⁸, or playing at cards⁹, others were employed in less refined occupations; in drinking ale¹, or smoking

alludes in the observation inserted in crotchets to boys dancing on the stage in women's cloaths, or to female dancers in *private* houses. The subject immediately before him should rather lead to the former interpretation. *Women* certainly did not dance on the stage in his time.

⁶ See p. 104, n. 5.

⁷ " Dans le ballet de *Triomphe de l'Amour* en 1681, on vît pour la premiere fois de danseuses sur le théâtre de l'Opera: auparavant c'étoient deux, quatre, six, ou huit danseurs qu'on habilloit en femmes." *Oeuvres de M. De Saint-Foix*, tom. iii. p. 416.

⁸ So, in Fitz-Jeffery's *Satires*, 1617:

" Ye worthy worthies! none else, might I chuse,

" Doe I desire my *poesie peruse*,

" For to save charges *ere the play begin*,

" Or when the lord of liberty comes in."

Again, in a satire at the conclusion of *The Massive, or young Whelp of the old Dogge*,—*Epigrams and Satires*, printed by Thomas Creede:

[The author is speaking of those who will probably purchase his book.]

" Last comes my scoffing friend, of scowring wit,

" Who thinks his judgment 'bove all arts doth sit.

" He buys the booke, and hastes him to the *play*;

" Where when he comes and *reads*, " here's stuff," doth say:

" Because the lookers on may hold him wise,

" He laughs at what he likes, and then will rise,

" And takes tobacco; then about will looke,

" And more dislike the play than of the booke;

" At length is vext he should with charge be drawne

" For such slight fights to lay a sute to pawne."

⁹ " Before the play begins, fall to *cardes*." *Guls Horne-book*, 1609.

¹ See *The Woman-Hater*, a comedy, by B. and Fletcher, 1607:

" There is no poet acquainted with more shakings and quakings to-wards

ing tobacco²: with these and nuts and apples they were furnished by male attendants, of whose clamour a satirical writer of the time of James I. loudly complains³. In 1633 when Prynne published his *Histrionastix*, women smoked tobacco in the playhouses, as well as men⁴.

It was a common practice to carry table-books⁵ to the theatre, and either from curiosity, or enmity to the author, or some other motive, to write down passages of

wards the latter end of his new play, when he's in that case that he stands peeping between the curtains, so fearfully, that a bottle of ale cannot be opened, but he thinks some body hisses."

² "Now, fir, I am one of your gentle auditors that am come in ;— I have my three sorts of tobacco in my pocket; my light by me ;—and thus I begin." Induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, by Ben Jonson, 1601.

So, in *Bartholomew Fair*, 1614: "He looks like a fellow that I have seen accommodate gentlemen with tobacco at our theatres."

Again, in Decker's *Guls Horne-book*: "By sitting on the stage, you may with small cost purchase the deare acquaintance of the boyes ; have a good stool for sixpence ;—get your match lighted," &c.

³ "——Pr'ythee, what's the play ?

"——I'll see't, and sit it out whate'er.—

"Had Fate fore-read me in a crowd to die ;

"To be made adder-deaf with pippin-cry."

Notes from Black-fryers, by H. Fitz-Jeffery, 1617.

⁴ In a note on a passage in Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse*, 1579, "Instead of pomegranates they give them pippins," &c. quoted by Prynne, he informs us, "Now they offer them [the female part of the audience] the tobacco-pipe, which was then unknowne." *Histrionastix*, p. 363.

⁵ See the induction to Marston's *Malecontent*, a comedy, 1604: "I am one that hath seen this play often, and can give them [Heminge, Burbage, &c.] intelligence for their action ; I have most of the jests here in my table-book."

So, in the prologue to *Hannibal and Scipio*, 1637:

"——Nor shall he in plush,

"That, from the poet's labours, in the pit

"Informs himself, for the exercise of his wit

"At taverns, gather notes."—

Again, in the prologue to *The Woman-Hater*, a comedy, 1607:

"If there be any lurking among you in corners, with table-books, who have some hopes to find fit matter to feed his malice on, let them clasp them up, and slink away, or stay and be converted."

Again, in *Every man in his Humour*, 1601:

"But to such, wherever they sit concealed, let them know, the author defies them and their writing-tables."

the

the play that was represented; and there is reason to believe that the imperfect and mutilated copies of one or two of Shakspeare's dramas, which are yet extant, were taken down by the ear or in short-hand during the exhibition.

At the end of the piece, the actors, in noblemen's houses and in taverns, where plays were frequently performed⁶, prayed for the health and prosperity of their patrons; and in the publick theatres, for the king and queen⁷. This prayer sometimes made part of the epilogue⁸. Hence, probably, as Mr. Steevens has observed, the addition of *Vivant rex et regina*, to the modern play-bills.

Plays in the time of our author, began at one o'clock in the afternoon⁹; and the exhibition was sometimes finished

⁶ See *A Mad World, my Masters*, a comedy, by Middleton, 1608: "Some sherry for my lord's players there, firrah; why this will be a true feast;—a right *Mitre* supper;—*a play and all*."

The night before the insurrection of the gallant and unfortunate earl of Essex, the play of *King Henry IV.* (not Shakspeare's piece) was acted at his house.

⁷ See the notes on the epilogue to *The Second Part of K. Henry IV.* Vol. V. p. 443.

⁸ See *Cambyfes*, a tragedy, by Thomas Preston; *Loqrine*, 1595; and *K. Henry IV.* P. II.

⁹ "Fuscus doth rise at ten, and at eleven
"He goes to Gyls, where he doth eat till one,
"Then sees a play.—

Epigrams by Sir John Davies, no date, but printed about 1598.

Others, however, were actuated by a stronger curiosity, and, in order to secure good places, went to the theatre without their dinner. See the prologue to *The Unfortunate Lovers*, by Sir William D'Avenant, first performed at Blackfriars in April, 1638:

"—You are grown excessive proud,
"Since ten times more of wit than was allow'd
"Your silly ancestors in twenty year,
"You think in *two short hours* to swallow here.
"For they to theatres were pleas'd to come,
"Ere they had din'd, to take up the best room;
"There sat on benches not adorn'd with mats,
"And graciously did vail their high-crown'd hats
"To every half-dress'd player, as he still
"Through hangings peep'd, to see the galleries fill.

"Good

finished in two hours¹. Even in 1667, they commenced at three o'clock². About thirty years afterwards, (in 1696,) theatrical entertainments began an hour later³.

We have seen that in the infancy of our stage Mysteries were usually acted in churches; and the practice of exhibiting religious dramas in buildings appropriated to the service of religion on the Lord's-day certainly continued after the Reformation.

" Good easy-judging souls, with what delight
 " They would expect a jig or target-fight!
 " A furious tale of Troy, which they ne'er thought
 " Was weakly writ, if it were strongly fought;
 " Laugh'd at a clinch, the shadow of a jest,
 " And cry'd—*a passing good one, I protest.*"

From the foregoing lines it appears that, anciently, places were not taken in the best rooms or boxes, before the representation. Soon after the Restoration, this practice was established. See a prologue to a revived play, in *Covent Garden Drolery*. 1672:

" Hence 'tis, that at *new* plays you come so soon,
 " Like bridegrooms hot to go to bed ere noon;
 " Or if you are detain'd some little space,
 " *The stinking footman's sent to keep your place.*
 " But if a play's *reviv'd*, you stay and dine,
 " And drink till *three*, and then come dropping in."

Though Sir John Davies, in the passage above quoted, mentions *one o'clock* as the hour at which plays commenced, the time of beginning the entertainment about eleven years afterwards (1609) seems to have been later; for Decker in his *Guls Horne-booke* makes his gallant go to the ordinary at *two o'clock*, and from thence to the play.

When Ben Jonson's *Magnetick Lady* was acted, (in 1632,) plays appear to have been over at five o'clock. They probably at that time did not begin till between two and three o'clock.

¹ See p. 123, n. 9. See also the prologue to *King Henry VIII.* and that to *Romeo and Juliet*.

² See *The Demoselies a la Mode*, by Fleckno, 1667:

1. *Actor*. " Hark you, hark you, whither away so fast?"

2. *Actor*. " Why, to the theatre, 'tis past *three o'clock*, and the play is ready to begin." See also note 9, above.

After the Restoration, (we are told by old Mr. Cibber) it was a frequent practice of the ladies of quality, to carry Mr. Kynaston the actor, in his female dress, *after the play*, in their coaches to Hyde Park.

³ See the Epilogue to *The She Gallants*, printed in that year.

During

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth plays were exhibited in the publick theatres on Sundays, as well as on other days of the week⁴. The licence granted by that queen to James Burbage in 1574, which has been already printed in a former page⁵, shews that they were then represented on that day, *out of the hours of prayer*.

We are told indeed by John Field in his *Declaration of God's Judgment at Paris Garden*, that in the year 1580 "the magistrates of the city of London obtained from Queene Elizabeth, that all heathenish playes and enterludes should be banished upon sabbath dayes." This prohibition, however, probably lasted but a short time; for her majesty, when she visited Oxford in 1592, did not scruple to be present at a theatrical exhibition on Sunday night, the 24th of September in that year⁶. During the reign of James the First, though dramatick

4 "These, [the players] because they are allowed to play every Sunday, make four or five Sundays, at least, every week." *Schoole of Abuse*, 1579.

"In former times, (says Strype in his Additions to Stowe's *Survey of London*,) ingenious tradesmen and gentlemen's servants would sometimes gather a company of themselves, and learn interludes, to expose vice, or to represent the noble actions of our ancestors. These they played at festivals, in private houses, at weddings, or other entertainments. But in process of time it became an occupation, and these plays being commonly acted on Sundays and other festivals, the churches were forsaken, and the playhouses thronged."

See also *A Sermon preached at Paules Crosse on St. Bartholomew day, being the 24. of August, 1578, By John Stockwood*:—"Will not a fylthie playe with the blast of a trumpette sooner call thither [to the country] a thousande, than an houres tolling of a bell bring to the sermon a hundred? Nay, even heere in the citie, without it be at this place, and some other certaine ordinarie audience, where shall you find a reasonable company? Whereas if you resort to *the Theatre, the Curtaine*, and other places of playes in the citie, you shall on the *Lord's day* have these places, with many other that I can reckon, so full as possible they can throng."

See also Stubbes's *Anatomic of Abuses*, 1583, in pref.; and *The Mirrour of Magistrates for Cities*, 1584, p. 24.

⁵ P. 37.

⁶ Peck's *Memoirs of Cromwell*, No. IV. p. 15.

entertainments

entertainments were performed at court on Sundays⁷, I believe, no plays were *publickly* represented on that day⁸; and by the statute 3 Car. I. c. i. their exhibition

⁷ This is ascertained by the following account of "REVELLS and PLAYES performed and acted at Christmas in the court at Whitehall, 1622;" for the preservation of which we are indebted to Sir John Astley, then Master of the Revels:

"Upon St. Steevens daye at night *The Spanish Curate* was acted by the kings players.

"Upon St. Johns daye at night was acted *The Beggars Bush* by the kings players.

"Upon Childermas daye no playe.

"Upon the *Sunday* following *The Pilgrim* was acted by the kings players.

"Upon New-years day at night *The Alchemist* was acted by the kings players.

"Upon Twelwe night, the Masque being put off, the play called *A Vow and a good one* was acted by the princes servants.

"Upon *Sunday*, being the 19th of January, the Princes Masque appointed for Twelwe daye, was performed. The speeches and songs composed by Mr. Ben. Johnson, and the scene made by Mr. Inigo Jones, which was three times changed during the tyme of the masque: where in the first that was discovered was a prospective of Whitehall, with the Banqueting House; the second was the Masquers in a cloud; and the third a forrest. The French embassador was present.

"The Antemasques of tumblers and jugglers.

"The Prince did leade the measures with the French embassadors wife.

"The measures, braules, corrantos, and galliards, being ended, the Masquers with the ladies did daunce 2 contrey daunces, namely *The Soldiers Marche*, and *Huff Hamukin*, where the French Embassadors wife and Mademoysala St. Luke did [daunce].

"At Candlemas *Maluslio* was acted at court, by the kings servants.

"At Shrovetide, the king being at Newmarket, and the prince out of England, there was neyther masque nor play, nor any other kind of Revels held at court." Ms. Herbert.

⁸ In the *Refutation of the Apologie for Actors*, by J. G. quarto, 1615, it is asked, "If plays do so much good, why are they not suffered on the *Sabbath*, a day select whereon to do good?" From hence it appears that plays were not permitted to be publickly acted on Sundays in the time of James I.

Yet Beard in his *Theatre of God's Judgment*, p. 212, edit. 1631, tells us, that in the year 1607, "at a towne in Bedfordshire called Ridley, the floore of a chamber wherein many were gathered together

tion on the Sabbath day was absolutely prohibited: yet, notwithstanding this act of parliament, both plays and masques were performed at court on sundays, during the first sixteen years of the reign of that king⁹, and certainly in private houses, if not on the publick stage.

It

to see a stage-play on the sabbath day, fell downe." But this was a private exhibition.—From a passage also in Prynne's *Histrionastix*, p. 243, it appears that plays had been sometimes represented on Sundays in the time of James the First, though the practice was then not common. "Dancing therefore on the Lords day is an unlawful pastime punishable by the statute 1 Caroli, c. 1. which intended to suppress dancing on the lords day, as well as beare-bayting, bull-bayting, *enterludes and common playes*, which were not so rife, so common, as dancing, when this law was first enacted."

It is uncertain whether this writer here alludes to publick or private exhibitions.

9 May, in his *History of the Parliament of England*, 1646, taking a review of the conduct of king Charles and his ministers from 1628 to 1640, mentions that plays were usually represented at court on Sundays during that period.

There were during this period similar exhibitions on Sundays elsewhere as well at court, notwithstanding the statute made in the beginning of this reign: but whether they were permitted then in the publick theatres, I am unable to ascertain. Prynne in his *Histrionastix*, p. 645, has the following passage: "Neither will it hereupon follow, that we may dance, dice, see masques or playes on *Lords-day nights*, (as too many do,) because the Lords day is then ended," &c. and in p. 717, he insinuates that the statute 3 Car. I. c. 4. (which prohibited the exhibition of any interlude or stage-play on the Lord's-day,) was not very strictly enforced: "If it were as diligently executed as it was piously enacted, it would suppress many great abuses, that are yet continuing among us, to Gods dishonour and good christians' grief in too many places of our kingdom; which our justices, our inferiour magistrates, might soon reforme, would they but set themselves seriously about it, as some here and there have done."

See also Withers's *Britaines Remembrancer*, Canto VI. p. 197, b. edit. 1628:

"And seldom have they leifure for a play

"Or masque, except upon God's holiday."

In John Spencer's *Discourses of diverse petitions*, &c. 4to. 1641, (as I learn from Oldys's Manuscript notes on Langbaine,) it is said, that "John Wilfon, a cunning musician, contrived a curious comedy, which being acted on a Sunday night after that John bishop of Lincoln had consecrated the earl of Cleaveland's sumptuous chapel, the said John
Spencer

It has been a question, whether it was formerly a common practice to ride on horseback to the playhouse; a circumstance that would scarcely deserve consideration, if it were not in some sort connected with our author's history¹, a plausible story having been built on this foundation, relative to his first introduction to the stage.

The modes of conveyance to the theatre, anciently, as at present, seem to have been various; some going in coaches², others on horseback³, and many by

Spencer (newly made the bishop's commissary general) did present the said bishop at Huntingdon for suffering the said comedy to be acted in his house on a Sunday, though it was nine o'clock at night; also Sir Sydney Montacute and his lady, Sir Thomas Hadley and his lady, Master Wilfon, and others, actors of the same: and because they did not appear, he sentenced the bishop to build a school at Eaton, and endow it with 20l. a year for a master; Sir Sydney Montacute to give five pounds and five coats to five poor women, and his lady five pounds and five gowns to five poor widows; and the censure, (says he) stands yet unrepealed."

¹ See Vol. I. Part I. p. 154.

- ² "A pipe there, sirrah; no sophistate;
 "Villaine, the best,—whate'er you prize it at.
 "Tell yonder lady with the yellow fan,
 "I shall be proud to usher her anon;
 "My coach stands ready."——

Notes from Black-fryers, 1617.

The author is describing the behaviour of a gallant at the *Black-friars theatre*.

³ See the induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, 1601: "Besides, they could wish, your poets would leave to be promoters of other men's jests, and to way-lay all the stale apothegms or old books they can hear of, in print or otherwise, to farce their scenes withal:—again, that feeding their friends with nothing of their own but what they have twice or thrice cook'd, they should not wantonly give out, how soon they had drest it, nor how many coaches came to carry away the broken meat, besides bobby-horses, and foot-cloth nags."

"By this time," (says Decker, describing an ordinary,) "the parings of fruit and cheese are in the voyder, cardes and dice lie stinking in the fire, the guests are all up, the guilt rapiers ready to be hanged, the French lacquey and Irish footboy shrugging at the doores, with their masters' bobby-horses, to ride to the new play; that's the randevous, thither they are gallopt in post; let us take a paire of oares and row lustily after them." *Guls Hornebooke*, 4to. 1609.

water,

water⁴. To *the Globe* playhouse the company probably

4 In the year 1613, the Company of Watermen petitioned his majesty, "that the players might not be permitted to have a playhouse in London or in Middlesex, within four miles of the city on that side of the Thames." From Taylor's *True Cause of the Watermen's Suit concerning Players, and the reasons that their playing on London side, is their* [i. e. the Watermen's] *extreme bindrance*, we learn, that the theatres on the Bankside in Southwark were once so numerous, and the custom of going thither by water so general, that many thousand watermen were supported by it.—As the book is not common, and the passage contains some anecdotes relative to the stage at that time, I shall transcribe it:

"Afterwards," [i. e. as I conjecture, about the year 1596,] says Taylor, who was employed as an advocate in behalf of the watermen, "the players began to play on *the Bankside*, and to leave playing in London and Middlesex, *for the most part*. Then there went such great concourse of people by water, that the small number of watermen remaining at home [the majority being employed in the Spanish war] were not able to carry them, by reason of the court, the terms, the players, and other employments. So that we were inforced and encouraged, hoping that this golden stirring world would have lasted ever, to take and entertaine men and boyes, which boyes are grown men, and keepers of houses; so that the number of watermen, and those that live and are maintained by them, and by the only labour of the oare and the scull, betwixt the bridge of Windsor and Gravesend, cannot be fewer than *forty thousand*; the cause of the greater halfe of which multitude hath bene the players playing on *the Bankside*; for I have known three companies, besides the bear-baiting, at once there; to wit, *the Globe, the Rose, and the Swan*."

"And now it hath pleased God in this peaceful time, [from 1604 to 1613,] that there is no employment at the sea, as it hath bene accustomed, so that all those great numbers of men remains at home; and the players have all (except the kings men) left their usual residency on *the Bankside*, and doe play in Middlesex, far remote from the Thames; so that every day in the weeke they do draw unto them three or four thousand people, that were used to spend their monies by water.—

"His majesties players did exhibit a petition against us, in which they said, that our suit was unreasonable, and that we might as justly remove the Exchange, the walkes in Pauls, or Moorfields, to the Bankside, for our profits, as to confine them."

The affair appears never to have been decided. "Some (says Taylor) have reported that I took bribes of the players, to let the suit fall, and to that purpose I had a supper of them, at *the Cardinal's hat*, on the Bankside." *Works of Taylor the water-poet*, p. 171, edit. 1633.

were conveyed by water⁵; to that in *Blackfriars*, the gentry went either in coaches⁶, or on horseback; and the common people on foot⁷.

Plays

⁵ See an epilogue to a vacation-play at *the Globe*, by Sir William D'Avenant; *Works*, p. 245:

"For your own sakes, poor souls, you had not best
 "Believe my fury was so much suppress'd
 "I' the heat of the last scene, as now you may
 "Boldly and safely too cry down our play;
 "For if you dare but murmur one false note,
 "Here in the house, or going to *take boat*;
 "By heaven I'll mow you off with my long sword,
 "Yeoman and squire, knight, lady, and her lord."

So in the *Guls Hornebook*, 1609: "If you can either for love or money, provide your selfe a lodging by the water-side;—it adds a kind of state to you to be carried from thence to the *staiers of your play-house*."

⁶ See a letter from Mr. Garrard to Lord Strafford, dated Jan. 9, 1633-4; Strafford's *Letters*, Vol. I: p. 175: "Here hath been an order of the lords of the council hung up in a table near *Paul's* and *the Black-fryars*, to command all that resort to the playhouse there, to send away their *coaches*, and to disperse abroad in *Paul's Church-yard*, *Carter Lane*, *the Conduit in Fleet Street*, and other places, and not to return to fetch their company; but they must trot a-foot to find their *coaches*:—'twas kept very strictly for two or three weeks, but now, I think, it is disordered again."—It should, however, be remembered that this was written above forty years after Shakspeare's first acquaintance with the theatre. Coaches, in the time of queen Elizabeth were possessed but by very few. They were not in ordinary use till after the year 1605. See Stowe's *Annals*, p. 867.

In *A pleasant Dialogue between Coach and Sedan*, 4to. 1636, it is said, that "the first coach that was seen in England was that presented to Queen Elizabeth by the earl of Arundel, in which she went from Somerset-House to St. Paul's Crosse, to hear a sermon on the victory obtained against the Spaniards in 1588."

"I wonder in my heart," (says the writer, who was born in 1578,) "why our nobilitie cannot in faire weather walke the streets as they were wont; as I have seene the earles of Shrewsbury, Darbie, Suffex, Cumberland, Essex, &c.—besides those inimitable presidents of courage and valour, Sir Frances Drake, Sir P. Sydney, Sir Martin Forbisher, &c. with a number of others,—when a coach was almost as rare as an elephant."

Even when the above mentioned order was made, there were no *hackney* coaches. These, as appears from another letter in the same collection, were established a few months afterwards. "I cannot

Plays in the time of King James the First, (and probably afterwards,) appear to have been performed every day at each theatre during the winter season⁸, except in

(says Mr. Garrard) omit to mention any new thing that comes up amongst us, though never so trivial. Here is one captain Bailly; he hath been a sea-captain, but now lives on the land, about this city, where he tries experiments. He hath erected, according to his ability, some *four hackney coaches*, put his men in livery, and appointed them to stand at the *May-pole* in the *Strand*, giving them instructions at what rates to carry men into several parts of the town, where all day they may be had. Other hackney-men seeing this way, they flocked to the same place, and perform their journeys at the same rate. So that sometimes there is twenty of them together, which disperse up and down, that they and others are to be had every where, as water-men are to be had by the water-side. Every body is much pleased with it. For whereas, before, coaches could not be had but at great rates, now a man may have one much cheaper." This letter is dated April 1, 1634.—Strafford's *Letters*, Vol. I. p. 227.

A few months afterwards hackney chairs were introduced: "Here is also another project for carrying people up and down in *close chairs*, for the sole doing whereof, Sir Sander Duncombe, a traveller, now a pensioner, hath obtained a patent from the king, and hath forty or fifty making ready for use." Ibid. p. 336.

This species of conveyance had been used long before in Italy, from whence probably this *traveller* introduced it. See Florio's Italian Dictionary, 1598, in v. *Carrivola*: "A kinde of chaire covered, used in *Italie* for to carrie men up and downe by porters, unseene of any bodie." In his second edition, 1611, he defines it, "A kind of covered chaire used in Italy, wherein men and women are carried by porters upon their shoulders."

⁷ See p. 128, n. 3. In an epigram by Sir John Davies, persons of an inferior rank are ridiculed for presuming to imitate noblemen and gentlemen in riding to the theatre:

"Faustus, nor lord, nor knight, nor wife, nor old,

"To every place about the town doth ride;

"He rides into the fields, plays to behold;

"He rides to take boat at the water-side."

Epigrams, printed at Middleburg, about 1598.

⁸ See Taylor's *Suit of the Watermen*, &c. Works, p. 171. "But my love is such to them, [the players,] that whereas they do play but once a day, I could be content they should play twice or thrice a day." "The players have all (except the Kings men,) left their usual residency on the Bankside, and doe play in Middlesex far remote from the Thames, so that every day in the week they do draw unto them three or four thousand people." *Ibidem*.

in the time of Lent, when they were not permitted on the sermon days, as they were called, that is, on Wednesday and Friday; nor on the other days of the week, except by special licence; which however was obtained by a fee paid to the Master of the Revells. In the summer season the stage exhibitions were continued, but during the long vacation they were less frequently repeated. However, it appears from Sir Henry Herbert's Manuscript, that the king's company usually brought out two or three new plays at the Globe every summer².

Though, from the want of newspapers and other periodical publications, intelligence was not so speedily circulated in former times as at present, our ancient theatres do not appear to have laboured under any disadvantage in this respect; for the players printed and exposed accounts of the pieces that they intended to exhibit¹, which, however, did not contain a list of the characters,

In 1598, Hentzner says, plays were performed in the theatres which were then open, *almost every day*. "Sunt porro Londini extra urbem theatra aliquot, in quibus histriones Angli comædias et tragædias singulis fere diebus in magna hominum frequentia agunt." *Itin.* 4to. 1598.

⁹ In D'Avenant's Works we find "an Epilogue to a *vacation* play at the Globe." See also the Epistle to the Reader, prefixed to *Andromache*, a tragedy acted at the Duke's theatre, in 1675: "This play happening to be in my hands in the *long vacation*, a time when the playhouses are willing to catch at any reed to save themselves from sinking, to do the house a kindness, and to serve the gentleman who it seemed was desirous to see it on the stage, I willingly perused it.— The play deserved a better liking than it found; and had it been acted in the good well meaning times, when the *Cid*, *Heraclius*, and other French plays met such applause, this would have passed very well; but since our audiences have tasted so plentifully the firm English wit, these thin *regalios* will not down."

¹ "They use to set up their billes upon posts some certaine days before, to admonish the people to make resort to their theatres, that they may thereby be the better furnished, and the people prepared to fill their purses with their treasures." *Treatise against Idleness, vaine Playes and Interludes*, bl. let. (no date).

The antiquity of this custom likewise appears from a story recorded by Taylor the water-poet, under the head of *Wit and Mirth*. 30. "Master Field, the player, riding up Fleet-street a great pace, a gentleman called him, and asked him, what play was played that day. He being angry to be staied on so frivolous a demand, answered, that he might

characters, or the names of the actors by whom they were represented².

The long and whimsical titles which are prefixed to the quarto copies of our author's plays, were undoubtedly either written by booksellers, or transcribed from the play-bills of the time³. They were equally calculated

might see what play was to be plaied (upon every *posse*. I cry you mercy, said the gentleman, I took you for a *posse*, you rode so fast." Taylor's *Works*, p. 183.

Ames, in his *History of Printing*, p. 342, says, that James Roberts [who published some of our author's dramas] printed *bills for the players*.

It appears from the following entry on the Stationers' books that even the right of printing play-bills was at one time made a subject of monopoly :

" Oct. 1587. John Charlewoode.] Lycenced to him by the whole consent of the assistants, the *onlye* ymprinting of all manner of *billes for players*. Provided that if any trouble arise herebye, then *Charlewoode* to beare the charges."

² This practice did not commence till the beginning of the present century. I have seen a play-bill printed in the year 1697, which expressed only the titles of the two pieces that were to be exhibited, and the time when they were to be represented. Notices of plays to be performed on a future day, similar to those now daily published, first appeared in the original edition of the *Spectators* in 1711. In these early theatrical advertisements our author is always styled the *immortal* Shakspeare. Hence Pope :

" Shakspeare, whom you and every *play-house* bill

" Style the *divine*, the matchless, what you will,—."

³ Since the first edition of this essay I have found strong reason to believe that the former was the case. Nashe in the second edition of his *Supplication to the Devil*, 4to. 1592, complains that the printer had prefixed a pompous title to the first impression of his pamphlet, (published in the same year,) which he was much ashamed of, and rejected for one more simple. " Cut off," says he to his printer, " that long-tayld title, and let mee not in the fore-front of my booke make a tedious mountebanks oration to the reader." The printer's title, with which Nashe was displeased, is as follows : "*Pierce Pennileffe his Supplication to the Diuell, describing the over-spreading of Vice and suppression of Vertue. Pleasantly interlaced with variable delights, and pathetically intermixt with conceipted reprooves*. Written by Thomas Nashe, Gent. 1592." There is a striking resemblance between this and the titles prefixed to some of the copies of our author's plays, which are given at length in the next note. In the title-page of our author's *Merry Wives of Windsor*, 4to. 1602, (see the next note,) *Sir Hugh* is called the

lated to attract the notice of the idle gazer in the walks at St. Paul's, or to draw a crowd about some vociferous Autolycus, who perhaps was hired by the players thus to raise the expectations of the multitude. It is indeed absurd to suppose, that the modest Shakspeare, who has more than once apologized for his *untutored lines*, should in his manuscripts have entitled any of his dramas *most excellent and pleasant performances*†.

It

Welch knight; a mistake into which Shakspeare could not have fallen.

Instead of the spurious title above given, Nashe in his second edition, printed apparently under his own inspection, (by Abel Jeffes, for John Busbie,) calls his book only—*Pierce Penniless his Supplication to the Diuell*.

4 The titles of the following plays may serve to justify what is here advanced :

“ The *most excellent* Historie of the Merchant of Venice. With the extreame crueltie of Shylocke the Jewe towards the sayd Merchant, in cutting a iust pound of his flesh, and obtayning of Portia by the choyse of three caskets. As it hath been diverse times acted by the Lord Chamberlaine his Servants. Written by William Shakspeare. 1600.”

“ Mr. William Shak-speare his True Chronicle Historie of the Life and Death of King LEAR and his three Daughters. With the unfortunate life of Edgar, Sonne and Heire to the Earle of Gloster, and his sullen assumed humor of TOM of bedlam : As it was played before the Kings Majestie at Whitehall upon S. Stephens Night in Christmase Holli-dayes. By his Majesties Servants playing usually at the Globe on the Bank-side. 1608.”

“ A *most Pleasant and Excellent Conceited* Comedie of Syr John Falstaffe, and the Merry Wives of Windfor. Entermixed with fundrie variable and pleasing Humors of Sir Hugh, the Welch Knight, Justice Shallow, and his wife cousin, Mr. Slender. With the Swaggering Vaine of ancient Pistoll, and Corporal Nym. By William Shakspeare. As it hath been divers times acted by the Right Honourable my Lord Chamberlaines Servants; both before her Majestie and elsewhere. 1602.”

“ The History of Henrie the Fourth; With the Battel at Shrewsburie, betweene the King and Lord Henrie Percy, surnamed Henry Hot-spur of the North. With the humorous conceits of Sir John Falstaffe. Newly corrected by W. Shakspeare. 1598.”

The

It is uncertain at what time the usage of giving authors a benefit on the third day of the exhibition of their piece, commenced. Mr. Oldys, in one of his manuscripts, intimates that dramatick poets had anciently their benefit on the first day that a new play was represented; a regulation which would have been very favourable to some of the ephemeral productions of modern times. I have found no authority which proves this to have been the case in the time of Shakspeare; but at the beginning of the present century it appears to have been customary in Lent for the *players* of the theatre in Drury-lane to divide the profits of the first representation of a new play among them⁵.

From D'Avenant, indeed, we learn, that in the latter part of the reign of queen Elizabeth, the poet had his benefit on the second day⁶. As it was a general practice, in the time of Shakspeare, to sell the copy of the play to the theatre, I imagine, in such cases, an author derived no other advantage from his piece, than what arose from the sale of it. Sometimes, however, he found

“ The Tragedie of King Richard The Third. Containing his treacherous Plots against his brother Clarence: The pitiful Murther of his innocent Nephews: his tiranous usurpation: with the whole course of his detested Life, and most deserved Death. As it hath been lately acted by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his Servants. By William Shakespeare. 1597.”

“ The late and much-admired Play, called Pericles Prince of Tyre, With the true Relation of the whole Historie, adventures, and fortunes, of the said Prince: As also, the no less strange and worthy accidents in the Birth and Life of his Daughter *Mariana*. As it hath been divers and sundry times acted by his Majesties Servants at the Globe on the Bank-side. By William Shakespeare. 1609.”

⁵ Gildon's *Comparison between the Stages*, 1702, p. 9.

⁶ See *The Play-House to be Let*:

“ *Player.* — There is an old tradition,
 “ That in the times of mighty *Tamberlane*,
 “ Of conjuring *Faustus* and the *Beauchamps bold*,
 “ You poets us'd to have the *second day*;
 “ This shall be ours, sir, and to-morrow yours.
 “ *Poet.* I'll take my venture; 'tis agreed,”

it more beneficial to retain the copy-right in his own hands; and when he did so, I suppose he had a benefit. It is certain that the giving authors the profits of the third exhibition of their play, which seems to have been the usual mode during a great part of the last century, was an established custom in the year 1612; for Decker, in the prologue to one of his comedies, printed in that year, speaks of the poet's *third day*⁷.

The unfortunate Otway had no more than one benefit on the production of a new play; and this too, it seems, he was sometimes forced to mortgage, before the piece was acted⁸. Southerne was the first dramatick

- 7 “ It is not praise is sought for now, but pence,
 “ Though dropp'd from greasy-apron'd audience.
 “ Ciapp'd may he be with thunder, that plucks bays
 “ With such foul hands, and with squint eyes doth gaze
 “ On Pallas' shield, not caring, so he gains
 “ A cram'd *third day*, what filth drops from his brains!”

Prologue to *If this be not a good play, the Devil's in't*, 1612.

Yet the following passages intimate, that the poet at a subsequent period had some interest in the *second day's* exhibition:

- “ Whether their sold scenes be disliked or hit,
 “ Are cares for them who eat by the stage and wit;
 “ He's one whose unbought muse did never fear
 “ An empty *second day*, or a thin share.”

Prologue to *The City Match*, a comedy, by J. Mayne, acted at Blackfriars in 1639.

So, in the prologue to *The Sophy*, by Sir John Denham, acted at Blackfriars in 1642:

- “ ——— Gentlemen, if you dislike the play,
 “ Pray make no words on't till the *second day*
 “ Or *third* be past; for we would have you know it,
 “ The loss will fall on us, not on the poet,
 “ For he writes not for money.”—

In other cases, then, it may be presumed, the loss, either of the *second* or *third day*, did affect the author.

Since the above was written, I have learned from Sir Henry Herbert's office-book, that between the year 1625 and 1641, benefits were on the second day of representation.

- 8 “ But which amongst you is there to be found,
 “ Will take his *third day's pawn*, for fifty pound?”

Epilogue to *Caius Marius*, 1680.
 writer

writer who obtained the emoluments arising from two representations⁹; and to Farquhar, in the year 1700, the benefit of a third was granted¹; but this appears to have been a particular favour to that gentleman; for for several years afterwards dramatick poets had only the benefit of the third and sixth performance².

The profit of three representations did not become the established right of authors till after the year 1720*.

To the honour of Mr. Addison, it should be remembered, that he first discontinued the ancient, but humiliating, practice of distributing tickets, and soliciting company to attend at the theatre, on the poet's nights³.

9 "I must make my boast, though with the most acknowledging respect, of the favours of the fair sex—in so visibly promoting my interest on those days chiefly, (the *third* and the *sixth*,) when I had the tenderest relation to the welfare of my play."

Southerne's *Dedication of Sir Antony Love*, a comedy, 1691.
Hence Pope:

"May Tom, whom heaven sent down to raise

"The price of prologues and of plays," &c.

It should seem, however, to have been some time before this custom was uniformly established; for the author of *The Treacherous Brothers*, acted in 1696, had only one benefit:

"See't but three days, and fill the house, the *last*,

"He shall not trouble you again in haste." *Epilogue*.

¹ On the representation of *The Constant Couple*, which was performed fifty-three times in the year 1700. Farquhar, on account of the extraordinary success of that play, is said by one of his biographers, to have been allowed by the managers, the profits of four representations.

² "Let this play live; then we stand bravely fixt!

"But let none come his *third* day, nor the *sixth*."

Epilogue to The Island Princess, 1701.

"But should this fail, at least our author prays,

"A truce may be concluded for *six* days."

Epilogue to The Perplex'd Lovers, 1712.

In the preface to *The Humours of the Army*, printed in the following year, the author says, "It would be impertinent to go about to justify the play, because a prodigious full third night and a very good *sixth* are prevailing arguments in its behalf."

* Cibber in his *Dedication to Ximena or the Heroick Daughter*, printed in 1719, talks of bad plays lingering through *six* nights. At that time therefore poets certainly had but two benefits.

³ Southerne, by this practice, is said to have gained seven hundred pounds by one play.

When

When an author sold his piece to the sharers or proprietors of a theatre, it could not be performed by any other company⁴, and remained for several years unpublished⁵; but, when that was not the case, he printed it

4 “Whereas William Biefton, gent. governor of the kings and queenes young company of players at the Cockpit in Drury Lane, has represented unto his majesty, that the severall plays hereafter mentioned, viz. *Wit without Money: The Night-Walkers: The Knight of the Burning Pestle: Father's owne Sonne: Cupids Revenge: The Bondman: The Renegado: A new Way to pay Debts: The great Duke of Florence: The Maid of Honour: The Traytor: The Example: The Young Admiral: The Opportunity: A witty fayre One: Loves Cruelty: The Wedding: The Maids Revenge: The Lady of Pleasure: The Schoole of Complement: The grateful Servant: The Coronation: Hide Parke: Philip Cbabot, Admiral of France: A Mad Couple well met: All's lost by Lust: The Changeling: A fayre Quarrel: The Spanish Gypsie: The World: The Sunnes Darling: Loves Sacrifice: 'Tis pity shes a Whore: George a Greene: Loves Mistress: The Cunning Lovers: The Rape of Lucrece: A Trick to cheat the Diuell: A Foole and her Maydenhead soone parted: King John and Matilda: A City Night-cap: The Bloody Banquet: Cupids Revenge: The conceited Duke: and Appius and Virginia*, doe all and every of them properly and of right belong to the sayd house, and consequently that they are all in his propriety. And to the end that any other companies of actors in or about London shall not presume to act any of them to the prejudice of him the sayd William Biefton and his company, his majesty hath signified his royal pleasure unto mee, thereby requiring mee to declare soe much to all other companies of actors hereby concernable, that they are not any wayes to intermeddle with or act any of the above-mentioned plays. Whereof I require all masters and governors of playhouses, and all others whom it may concerne, to take notice, and to forbear to impeach the sayd William Biefton in the premises, as they tender his majesties displeasure, and will answer the contempt. Given, &c. Aug. 10. 1639.” Ms. in the Lord Chamberlain's office, entitled in the margin, *Cockpit plays appropriated*.

⁵ Sometimes, however, an author, after having sold his piece to the theatre, either published it, or suffered it to be printed; but this appears to have been considered as dishonest. See the pref. to Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece*, 1638: “I had rather subscribe in that to their severe censure, than, by seeking to avoid the imputation of weakness, to incur a great suspicion of honesty; for though some have used a double sale of their labours, first to the stage, and after to the presse,” &c.

How careful the proprietors were to guard against the publication of the plays which they had purchased, appears from the following admonition,

it for sale, to which many seem to have been induced from an apprehension that an imperfect copy might be issued

monition, directed to the Stationers' Company in the year 1637, by Philip earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, then Lord Chamberlain.

"After my hearty commendations.—Whereas complaint was heretofore presented to my dear brother and predecessor, by his majesties servants, the players, that some of the company of printers and stationers had procured, published, and printed, diverse of their books of comedyes and tragedyes, chronicle histories, and the like, which they had (for the special service of his majesty and for their own use) bought and provided at very dear and high rates. By means whereof, not only they themselves had much prejudice, but the books much corruption, to the injury and disgrace of the authors. And thereupon the master and wardens of the company of printers and stationers were advised by my brother to take notice thereof, and to take order for the stay of any further impression of any of the playes or interludes of his majesties servants without their consents; which being a caution given with such respect, and grounded on such weighty reasons, both for his majesties service and the particular interest of the players, and soe agreeable to common justice and that indifferent measure which every man would look for in his own particular, it might have been presumed that they would have needed no further order or direction in the business, notwithstanding which, I am informed that some copies of playes belonging to the king and queenes servants, the players, and purchased by them at dear rates, having beene lately stolen or gotten from them by indirect means, are now attempted to be printed, and that some of them are at the press, and ready to be printed; which, if it should be suffered, would directly tend to their apparent detriment and great prejudice, and to the disenabling them to do their majesties service: for prevention and redresse whereof, it is desired that order be given and entered by the master and wardens of the company of printers and stationers, that if any playes be already entered, or shall hereafter be brought unto the hall to be entered for printing, that notice thereof be given to the king and queenes servants, the players, and an enquiry made of them to whom they do belong; and that none bee suffered to be printed untill the assent of their majesties' said servants be made appear to the Master and Wardens of the company of printers and stationers, by some certificate in writing under the hands of John Lowen, and Joseph Taylor, for the kings servants, and of Christopher Beeston for the king and queenes young company, or of such other persons as shall from time to time have the direction of these companies; which is a course that can be hurtfull unto none but such as are about unjustly to peravayle themselves of others' goods, without respect of order or good government; which I am confident you will be careful to avoyd, and therefore I recommend it to your special care.

And

issued from the press without their consent⁶. The customary price of the copy of a play, in the time of Shakspeare, appears to have been twenty nobles, or six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence⁷. The play when
printed

And if you shall have need of any further authority or power either from his majesty or the countell-table, the better to enable you in the execution thereof, upon notice given to mee either by yourselves or the players, I will endeavour to apply that [further remedy thereto, which shall be requisite. And soe I bidd you very heartily farewell, and rest

Your very loving friend,

June 10, 1637.

P. and M.

"To the Master and Wardens of the Company of Printers and Stationers."

⁶ "One only thing affects me; to think, that scenes invented merely to be spoken, should be inforcively published to be read; and that the least hurt I can receive, is, to do myself the wrong. But since others otherwise would do me more, the least inconvenience is to be accepted: I have therefore myself set forth this comedie." Marston's pref. to the *Malecontent*, 1604.

⁷ See *The Defence of Coneycatching*, 1592: "Master R. G. [Robert Greene] would it not make you blush—if you sold *Orlando Furioso* to the queenes players for twenty nobles, and when they were in the country, sold the same play to Lord Admirals men, for as much more? Was not this plain coneycatching, M. G.?"

Oldys, in one of his manuscripts, says, that Shakspeare received but five pounds for his *Hamlet*; whether from the players who first acted it, or the printer or bookseller who first published it, is not distinguished. I do not believe he had any good authority for this assertion.

In the latter end of the last century, it should seem, an author did not usually receive more from his bookseller for a dramattick performance than 20l. or 25l. for, Dryden in a letter to his son, written about the year 1698, mentions, that the whole emoluments which he expected from a new play that he was about to produce, would not exceed one hundred pounds. Otway and Lee got, but that sum by *Venice Preserved*, *The Orphan*, *Theodosius*, and *Alexander the Great*; as Gildon, their contemporary, informs us. The profits of the third night were probably seventy pounds; the dedication produced either five or ten guineas, according to the munificence of the patron; and the rest arose from the sale of the copy.

Southerne, however, in consequence of the extraordinary success of his *Fatal Marriage* in 1694, sold the copy of that piece for thirty-six pounds, as appears from a letter which has been kindly communicated to me by my friend, the Right Hon.^{ble} Mr. Windham, and which, as
it

printed was sold for sixpence⁸; and the usual present from

it contains some new stage anecdotes, I shall print entire. This letter has been lately found by Mr. Windham among his father's papers, at Felbrigg in Norfolk; but, the signature being wanting, by whom it was written has not been ascertained:

"Dear Sir, London, March the 22, 1693-4.

"I received but 10 days since the favour of your obliging letter, dated January the last, for which I return you a thousand thanks. I wish my scribbling could be diverting to you, I should oftner trouble you with my letters; but there is hardly any thing now to make it acceptable to you, but an account of our winter diversions, and chiefly of the new plays which have been the entertainment of the town.

"The first that was acted was Mr. Congreve's, called *The Double Dealer*. It has fared with that play, as it generally does with beauties officiously cried up; the mighty expectation which was raised of it made it sink, even beneath its own merit. The character of the Double Dealer is artfully writt, but the action being but single, and confined within the rules of true comedy, it could not please the generality of our audience, who relish nothing but variety, and think any thing dull and heavy which does not border upon farce.—The criticks were severe upon this play, which gave the authour occasion to lash 'em in his Epistle Dedicatory, in so defying or hectoring a style, that it was counted rude even by his best friends; so that 'tis generally thought he has done his business, and lost himself: a thing he owes to Mr. Dryden's treacherous friendship, who, being jealous of the applause he had gott by his *Old Batchelour*, deluded him into a foolish imitation of his own way of writing angry prefaces.

"The 2d play is Mr. Dryden's, called *Love Triumphant, or Nature will prevail*. It is a tragi-comedy, but in my opinion one of the worst he ever writt, if not the very worst; the comical part descends beneath the style and shew of a Bartholomew-fair droll. It was damn'd by the universal cry of the town, *nemine contradicente*, but the conceited poet. He says in his prologue, that this is the last the town must expect from him: he had done himself a kindness, had he taken his leave before.

"The 3d is Mr. Southern's, calld *The Fatal Marriage, or the Innocent Adultery*. It is not only the best that authour ever writt, but is generally admired for one of the greatest ornaments of the stage, and the most entertaining play has appeared upon it these 7 years. The plot is taken out of Mrs. Behn's novel, calld *The Unhappy View-Breaker*. I never saw Mrs. Barry act with so much passion as she does in it; I could not forbear being moved even to tears to see her act. Never was poet better rewarded or encouraged by the town; for besides an extraordinary full house, which brought him about 140l. 50 noblemen, among whom my lord Winchelsea was one, gave him guineas apiece, and the printer 36l. for his copy.

"This kind usage will encourage desponding minor poets, and vex huffing Dryden and Congreve to madness.

"We

from a patron, in return for a dedication, was forty shillings⁹.

“ We had another new play yesterday, called *The Ambitious Slave, or a generous Revenge*. Elkanah Settle is the authour of it, and the success is answerable to his reputation. I never saw a piece so wretched, nor worse contrived. He pretends 'tis a Persian story, but not one body in the whole audience could make any thing of it; 'tis a meer babel, and will sink for ever. The poor poet, seeing the house would not act it for him, and give him the benefit of the third day, made a present of it to the women in the house, who act it, but without profit or encouragement.”

In 1707 the common price of the copy-right of a play was fifty pounds; though in that year Lintot the bookseller gave Edmund Smith sixty guineas for his *Phædra and Hippolitus*.

In 1715, Sir Richard Steele sold Mr. Addison's comedy, called *The Drummer*, to J. Tonson for fifty pounds: and in 1721, Dr. Young received the same price for his tragedy of *The Revenge*. Two years before, however, (1719) Southerne, who seems to have understood author-craft better than any of his contemporaries, sold his *Spartan Dame* for the extraordinary sum of 120l.; and in 1726 Lintot paid the celebrated plagiarist, James Moore Smyth, one hundred guineas for a comedy, entitled *The Rival Modes*. From that time, this appears to have been the customary price for several years; but of late, (though rarely) one hundred and fifty pounds have been given for a new play. The finest tragick poet of the present age, MR. JEPHSON, received that price for two of his admirable tragedies.

⁸ See the preface to the quarto edition of *Troilus and Cressida*, 1609: “ Had I time, I would comment upon it, though it needs not, for so much as will make you think your *testerne* well bestowed, but for so much worth as even poor I know to be stult in it,” &c.

See also the preface to Randolph's *Jealous Lovers*, a comedy, 1632: “ Courteous reader, I beg thy pardon, if I put thee to the expence of a *fixpence*, and the loss of half an hour.”

⁹ “ I did determine not to have *dedicated* my play to any body, because *forty shillings* I care not for; and above, few or none will bestow on these matters.” Dedication to *A Woman's a Weathercock*, a comedy, by N. Field, 1612.

See also the *Author's Epistle popular*, prefixed to *Cynthia's Revenge*, 1613: “ Thus do our pie-bald naturalists depend upon poor wages, gape after the drunken harvest of *forty shillings*, and shame the worthy *benefactors of Helicon*.”

Soon after the Revolution, five, and sometimes ten, guineas seems to have been the customary present on these occasions. In the time of George the First, it appears from one of Swift's Letters that twenty guineas were usually presented to an author for this piece of flattery.

On

On the first day of exhibiting a new play, the prices of admission appear to have been raised¹, sometimes to double, sometimes to treble, prices²; and this seems to have been occasionally practised on the benefit-nights of authors, and on the representation of expensive plays, to the year 1726 in the present century³.

Dramatick poets in ancient times, as at present, were admitted gratis into the theatre⁴.

It

¹ This may be collected from the following verses by J. Mayne, to the memory of Ben Jonson:

"He that writes well, writes quick, since the rule's true,

"Nothing is slowly done, that's always new;

"So when thy *Fox* had ten times acted been,

"Each day was first, but that 'twas cheaper seen."

² See the last line of the Prologue to *Tunbridge Wells*, 1672, quoted in p. 80, n. 7.

³ Downes, speaking of *the Squire of Alsatia*, acted in 1688, says, "[t]he poet received for his third day in the house in Drury Lane at single prices, 130l. which was the greatest receipt they ever had at single prices." Hence it appears that the prices were sometimes raised; and after the Restoration the additional prices were, I believe, demanded during what is called in the language of the theatre the first run of a new piece. At least this was the case in the present century. See the Epilogue to *Hecuba*, a tragedy, 1726:

"What, a new play, without new scenes and cloaths!

"Without a friendly party from the Rose!

"And what against *a run* still prepossesses,

"'Twas on the bills put up at common prices."

See also the Epilogue to *Love at first sight*:

"Wax tapers, gawdy cloaths, rais'd prices too,

"Yet even the play thus garnish'd would not do."

In 1702 the prices of admission were in a fluctuating state. "The people," says Gildon, "never were in a better humour for plays, nor were the houses ever so crowded, though *the rates have run very high*, sometimes to a scandalous excess; never did printed plays rise to such a price,—never were so many poets preferred as in the last ten years." *Comparison between the two stages*, 1702. The price of a printed play about that time rose to eighteen-pence.

⁴ See verses by J. Stephens, "to his worthy friend," H. Fitz-Jeffery, on his *Notes from Black-fryers*, 1617:

"————— I must,

"Though it be a player's vice to be unjust

"To verse not yielding coyne, let players know,

"They cannot recompence your labour, though

"They grace you with a chayre upon the stage,

"And take no money of you, nor your page."

It appears from Sir Henry Herbert's Office-book that the king's company between the years 1622 and 1641 produced either at Blackfriars or the Globe at least four new plays every year. Every play, before it was represented on the stage, was licensed by the Master of the Revels, for which he received in the time of Queen Elizabeth but a noble, though at a subsequent period the stated fee on this occasion rose to two pounds.

Neither Queen Elizabeth, nor King James the First, nor Charles the First, I believe, ever went to the publick theatre; but they frequently ordered plays to be performed at court, which were represented in the royal theatre called the Cockpit, in Whitehall: and the actors of the king's company were sometimes commanded to attend his majesty in his summer's progress, to perform before him in the country^s. Queen Henrietta Maria, however,

So, in *The Play-house to be let*, by Sir W. D'Avenant:

"Poet. Do you set up for yourselves, and profess wit,

"Without help of your authors? Take heed, sirs,

"You'll get few customers.

"Housekeeper. Yes, we shall have the poets.

"Poet. 'Tis because they pay nothing for their entrance."

5 "Whereas William Pen, Thomas Hobbes, William Trigg, William Patrick, Richard Baxter, Alexander Gough, William Hart, and Richard Hawley, together with ten more or thereabouts of their fellows, his majesties comedians, and of the regular company of players in the Blackfryers, London, are commaunded to attend his majestie, and be nigh about the court this summer progress, in readines, when they shall be called upon to act before his majestie: for the better enabling and encouraging them whereunto, his majesty is graciously pleased that they shall, as well before his majesties setting forth on his maine progresse, as in all that time, and after, till they shall have occasion to returne homewards, have all freedome and liberty to repaire unto all towns corporate, mercate townes, and other, where they shall thinke fitt, and there in their common halls, mootehalls, school-houses or other convenient roomes, act playes, comedyes, and interludes, without any lett, hinderance, or molestation whatsoever (behaving themselves civilly). And herein it is his majesties pleasure, and he does expect, that in all places where they come, they be treated and entertayned with such due respect and courtesie as may become his majesties loyal and loving subjects towards his servants. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seale at arms. Dated at Whitehall, the 17th of May, 1636.

To all Mayors, &c.

P. and M."

Mf. in the Lord Chamberlain's office.

This

however, went sometimes to the publick theatre at Blackfriars⁶. I find from the Council-books that in the time of Elizabeth ten pounds was the payment for a play performed before her; that is, twenty nobles, or six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four-pence, as the regular and stated fee; and three pounds, six shillings, and eight-pence, by way of bounty or reward. The same sum, as I learn from the manuscript notes of lord Stanhope, Treasurer of the Chamber to king James the First, continued to be paid during his reign: and this was the stated payment during the reign of his successor also. Plays at court were usually performed at night, by which means they did not interfere with the

This is entitled in the margin—*A Player's Pass*.

William Hart, whose name occurs in the foregoing list, and who undoubtedly was the eldest son of Joan Hart, our poet's sister, is mentioned in another warrant, with ten others, as *a dependant* on the players,—“employed by his Majesties servants of the Blackfryers, and of special use unto them, both on the stage and otherwise.”

This paper having escaped my memory, when a former part of this work was printing, [see Vol. I. P. I. p. 162, n. 1. and p. 179, n. 1.] I suggested that *Michael Hart*, our poet's youngest nephew, was probably the father of Charles Hart, the celebrated tragedian; but without doubt his father was William, (the elder brother of Michael,) who, we find, settled in London, and was an actor. It is highly probable that he left Stratford before his uncle Shakspeare's death, at which time he was sixteen years old; and in consequence of that connexion found an easy introduction to the stage. He probably married in the year 1625, and his son Charles was, I suppose, born in 1626. Before the accession of Charles the First, the christian name of Charles was so uncommon, that it scarcely ever occurs in our early parish-registers. Charles Hart was a lieutenant under Sir Thomas Dallison in Prince Rupert's regiment, and fought at the battle of Edgehill, at which time, according to my supposition, he was but seventeen years old; but such early exertions were not at that time uncommon. William Hart, who has given occasion to the present note, died in 1639, and was buried at his native town of Stratford on the 28th of March in that year.

⁶ “The 13 May, 1634, the Queene was at Blackfryers, to see Messengers playe.”—The play which her majesty honoured with her presence was *The Tragedy of Cleander*, which had been produced on the 7th of the same month, and is now lost, with many other pieces of the same writer.

regular exhibition at the publick theatres, which was early in the afternoon; and thus the royal bounty was for so much a clear profit to the company: but when a play was commanded to be performed at any of the royal palaces in the neighbourhood of London, by which the actors were prevented from deriving any profit from a publick exhibition on the same day, the fee, as appears from a manuscript in the Lord Chamberlain's office, was, in the year 1630, and probably in Shakspeare's time also, twenty pounds⁷; and this circumstance I formerly stated, as strongly indicating that the sum last mentioned was a very considerable produce on any one representation at the Blackfriars or Globe playhouse. The office-book which I have so often quoted, has fully confirmed my conjecture.

The custom of passing a final censure on plays at their first exhibition⁸, is as ancient as the time of our author; for

7 "Whereas by virtue of his majesties letters patent bearing date the 16th of June, 1625, made and graunted in confirmation of diverse warrants and privy seales unto you formerly directed in the time of our late soveraigne king James, you are authorized (amongst other things) to make payment for playes acted before his majesty and the queene. Theis are to pray and require you, out of his majesties treasure in your charge, to pay or cause to be payed unto *John Lowing*, in the behalfe of himselfe and the rest of the company his majesties players, the sum of two hundred and sixty pounds; that is to say, *twenty pounds* apiece for foure playes acted at Hampton Court, in respect and consideration of the travaile and expence of the whole company in dyet and lodging during the time of their attendance there; and the like *somme of twenty pounds* for one other play which was acted in *the day-time* at Whitehall, by meanes whereof the players lost the benefit of their house for *that day*; and *ten pounds* apiece for sixteen other playes acted before his majesty at Whitehall: amounting in all unto the sum of two hundred and sixty pounds for one and twenty playes his majesties servaunts acted before his majestie and the queene at severall times, between the 30th of Sept. and the 21st of Feb. last past. As it may appeare by the annexed schedule.

"And theis, &c. March 17, 1630-1."

Ms. in the Lord Chamberlain's office.

8 The custom of expressing disapprobation of a play, and interrupting the drama, by the noise of *catcalls*, or at least by imitating the tones of a cat, is probably as ancient as Shakspeare's time; for Decker in his *Guls Horne-book*, counsels the gallant, if he wishes to disgrace the poet,

for no less than three plays⁹ of his rival, Ben Jonson, appear to have been deservedly damned¹; and Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*², and *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, written by him and Beaumont, underwent the same fate³.

It is not easy to ascertain what were the emoluments of a successful actor in the time of Shakspeare. They

poet, "to *whew* at the children's action, to whistle at the songs, and *mew* at the passionate speeches." See also the induction to *The Isle of Gulls*, a comedy, 1606: "Either see it all or none; for 'tis grown into a custom at plays, if any one rise, (especially of any fashionable sort,) about what serious business soever, the rest, thinking it in dislike of the play, (though he never thinks it,) cry—"mew,—by Jesus, vile,"—and leave the poor heartless children to speak their epilogue to the empty seats."

⁹ *Sejanus*, *Catiline*, and *The New Inn*. Of the two former Jonson's *Ghost* is thus made to speak in an epilogue to *Every Man in his Humour*, written by Lord Buckhurst, about the middle of the last century:

- "Hold, and give way, for I myself will speak:
- "Can you encourage so much insolence,
- "And add new faults still to the great offence
- "Your ancestors so rashly did commit,
- "Against the mighty powers of art and wit,
- "When they condemn'd those noble works of mine,
- "*Sejanus*, and my best-lov'd *Catiline*?"

The title-page of *The New Inn*, is a sufficient proof of its condemnation. Another piece of this writer does not seem to have met with a very favourable reception; for Mr. Drummond of Hawthornden (Jonson's friend) informs us, that "when the play of *The Silent Woman* was first acted, there were found verses, after, on the stage, against him, [the author,] concluding, that that play was well named *The Silent Woman*, because there was never one man to say *plaudite* to it." Drummond's *Works*, fol. p. 226.

¹ The term, as well as the practice, is ancient. See the epilogue to *The Unfortunate Lovers*, by Sir W. D'Avenant, 1643:

- "——— Our poet—
- "—— will never wish to see us thrive,
- "If by an humble epilogue we strive
- "To court from you that privilege to-day,
- "Which you so long have had, to damn a play."

² See in p. 99 (n. 4.) Verses addressed to Fletcher on his *Faithful Shepherdess*.

³ See the epistle prefixed to the first edition of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, in 1613.

had not then annual benefits, as at present⁴. The clear emoluments of the theatre, after deducting the nightly expences for lights, men occasionally hired for the evening, &c. which in Shakspeare's house was but forty-five shillings, were divided into shares, of which part belonged to the proprietors, who were called housekeepers, and the remainder was divided among the actors, according to their rank and merit. I suspect that the whole clear receipt was divided into forty shares, of which perhaps the house-keepers or proprietors had fifteen, the actors twenty-two, and three were devoted to the purchase of new plays, dresses, &c. From Ben Jonson's *Poetaster*, it should seem that one of the performers had seven shares and a half⁵; but of what integral sum is not mentioned. The person alluded to, (if any person was alluded to, which is not certain,) must, I think, have been a proprietor, as well as a principal actor. Our poet in his *Hamlet* speaks of a *whole share*, as no contemptible emolument; and from the same play we learn that some of the performers had only half a share⁶. Others probably had still less.

It

4 Cibber says in his *Apology*, p. 96, "Mrs. Barry was the first person whose merit was distinguished by the indulgence of having an annual benefit-play, which was granted to her alone, if I mistake not, first in king James's time; and which became not common to others, till the division of this company, after the death of king William's queen Mary."

But in this as in many other facts he is inaccurate; for it appears from an agreement entered into by Dr. D'Avenant, Charles Hart, Thomas Betterton, and others, dated October 14, 1681, that the actors had *then* benefits. By this agreement five shillings, apiece, were to be paid to Hart and Kynaston the players, "for every day there shall be any tragedies or comedies or other representations acted at the Duke's theatre in Salisbury Court, or wherever the company shall act, during the respective lives of the said Charles Hart and Edward Kynaston, *excepting the days the young men or young women play for their own profit only*." Gildon's *Life of Betterton*, p. 8.

5 "Tucca. Fare thee well, my honest penny-biter: commend me to seven shares and a half, and remember to-morrow.—If you lack a service, you shall play in my name, rascals; [alluding to the custom of actors calling themselves the *servants* of certain noblemen,] but you shall buy your own cloth, and I'll have two shares for my countenance." *Poetaster*, 1602.

6 "Would not this, fir, and a forest of feathers, (if the rest of my

It appears from a deed executed by Thomas Killigrew and others, that in the year 1666, the whole profit arising from acting plays, masques, &c. at the king's theatre, was divided into *twelve shares and three quarters*⁷, of which Mr. Killigrew, the manager, had two shares

my fortunes turn Turk with me,) with two Provencial roses on my razed shoes, get me a fellowship in a cry of players, sir?

"Hor. Half a share.

"Ham. A whole share, I." *Hamlet*, Act III. sc. ii.

In a poem entitled *I would and I would not*, by B. N. 1614, the writer makes a player utter a wish to possess *five shares* in every play; but I do not believe that any performer derived so great an emolument from the stage, unless he were also a proprietor. The speaker seems to wish for excellence that was never yet attained, (to be able to act every part that was ever written,) that he might gain an emolument *superior* to any then acquired by the most popular and successful actor:

"I would I were a player, and could act

"As many partes as came upon a stage,

"And in my braine could make a full compact

"Of all that passeth betwixt youth and age;

"That I might have *five shares* in every play,

"And let them laugh that bear the bell away."

The actors were treated with less respect than at present, being sometimes interrupted during their performance, on account of supposed personalities; for the same author adds—

"And yet I would not; for then do I feare,

"If I should gall some *goose-cap* with my speech,

"That he would freat, and fume, and chafe, and swear,

"As if some flea had bit him by the breech;

"And in some passion or strange agonie

"Disturb both mee and all the companie."

On some occasions application was made by individuals to the Master of the Revels, to restrain this licentiousness of the stage; as appears from the following note:

"Octob. 1633. Exception was taken by Mr. Sewster to the second part of *The City Shuffer*, which gave mee occasion to stay the play, till the company [of Salisbury Court] had given him satisfaction; which was done the next day, and under his hande he did certifie mee that he was satisfied." *Mss. Herbert*.

⁷ In an indenture tripartite, dated December 31, 1666, (which I have seen) between Thomas Killigrew and Henry Killigrew, his son and heir, of the first part, Thomas Porter, Esq. of the second part, and Sir John Sayer and Dame Catharine Sayer, his wife, of the third part, it is recited, (*inter alia*,) that the profits arising by acting of plays, masques, &c. then performed by the company of actors called the king and queen's players, were by agreement amongst themselves and

shares and three quarters; and if we may trust to the statement in another very curious paper, inserted below, (which however was probably exaggerated,) each share produced, at the lowest calculation, about 250l.^s per ann. *net*; and the total clear profits consequently were about 3187l. 10s. od.

These shares were then distributed among the proprietors of the theatre, who at that time were not actors, the performers, and the dramattick poets, who were retained in the service of the theatre, and received a part of the annual produce as a compensation for the pieces which they produced⁹.

In

Thomas Killigrew, divided into *twelve shares and three quarters*, and that Thomas Killigrew was to have two full shares and three quarters. And by agreement between Henry and Thomas, Henry was to have four pounds *per week*, out of the two shares of Thomas, except such weeks when the players did not act.

In 1682, when the two companies united, the profits of acting, we are told by Colley Cibber, were divided into *twenty shares*, ten of which went to the proprietors or patentees, and the other moiety to the actors, in different divisions proportioned to their merit.

⁸ Wright says in his *História Histrionica* that he had been assured by an old actor, that “for several years next after the Restoration every whole sharer in Mr. Hart’s company, [that is, the King’s servants,] got 1000l. *per ann.*” But his informer was undoubtedly mistaken, as is proved by the petition or memorial printed below, (see n. 9.) and by Sir Henry Herbert’s statement of Thomas Killigrew’s profits. If every whole sharer had got 1000l. *per ann.* then the annual receipts must have been near 13000l. In 1743, after Mr. Garrick had appeared, the theatre of Drury-lane did not receive more than 15000l. *per ann.*

⁹ Gildon in his *Laws of Poetry*, 8vo. 1721, observes, that “after the Restoration, when the two houses struggled for the favour of the town, the taking poets were secured to either house by a sort of retaining fee, which seldom or never amounted to more than forty shillings a week, nor was that of any long continuance.” He appears to have under-rated their profits; but the fact to which he alludes is incontestably proved by the following paper, which remained long in the hands of the Killigrew family, and is now in the possession of Mr. Reed of Staple-Inn, by whom it was obligingly communicated to me some years ago. The superscription is lost, but it was probably addressed to the Lord Chamberlain, or the King, about the year 1678:

“Whereas upon Mr. Dryden’s binding himself to write three playes a yeere, hee the said Mr. Dryden was admitted and continued as a sharer in the king’s playhouse for diverse years, and received for his *share and a quarter three or four hundred pounds, communibus annis*;

but

In a paper delivered by Sir Henry Herbert to Lord Clarendon and the Lord Chamberlain, July 11, 1662, which will be found in a subsequent page, he states the

but though he received the moneys, we received not the playes, not one in a yeare. After which, the house being burnt, the company in building another contracted great debts, so that shares fell much short of what they were formerly. Thereupon Mr. Dryden complaining to the company of his want of proffit, the company was so kind to him that they not only did not presse him for the playes which he so engaged to write for them, and for which he was paid beforehand, but they did also at his earnest request give him a third day for his last new play called *All for Love*; and at the receipt of the money of the said third day, he acknowledged it as a guift, and a particular kindnesse of the company. Yet notwithstanding this kind proceeding, Mr. Dryden has now, jointly with Mr. Lee, (who was in pension with us to the last day of our playing, and shall continue,) written a play called *Oedipus*, and given it to the Duke's company, contrary to his said agreement, his promise, and all gratitude, to the great prejudice and almost undoing of the company, they being the only poets remaining to us. Mr. Crowne, being under the like agreement with the duke's house, writt a play called *The Destruction of Jerusalem*, and being forced by their refusall of it, to bring it to us, the said company compelled us, after the studying of it, and a vast expence in scenes and cloathes, to buy off their clayme, by paying all the pension he had received from them, amounting to one hundred and twelve pounds paid by the king's company, besides neere forty pounds he the said Mr. Crowne paid out of his owne pocket.

"These things considered, if, notwithstanding Mr. Dryden's said agreement, promise, and moneys freely given him for his said last new play, and the many titles we have to his writings, this play be judged away from us, we must submit.

(Signed)

Charles Killigrew.

Charles Hart.

Rich. Burt.

Cardell Goodman,

Mic. Mohun."

It has been thought very extraordinary that Dryden should enter into a contract to produce three new plays every year; and undoubtedly that any poet should formally *stipulate* that his genius should be thus productive, is extraordinary. But the exertion itself was in the last age not uncommon. In ten years, from the death of Beaumont in 1615 to the year 1625, I have good reason to believe that Fletcher produced near thirty plays. Massinger between 1623 and 1638 brought out nearly the same number; and Shirley in fifteen years furnished various theatres with forty plays. Thomas Heywood was still more prolific.

emolument which Mr. Thomas Killigrew then derived (from his two shares and three quarters,) at £19. 6. 0. *per week*; according to which statement each share in the king's company produced but two hundred and ten pounds ten shillings a year. In Sir William D'Avenant's company, from the time their new theatre was opened in Portugal-row near Lincoln's Inn fields, (April 1662,) the total receipt (after deducting the nightly charges of "men hirelings and other customary expences,") was divided into fifteen shares, of which it was agreed by articles previously entered into¹, that ten should belong to D'Avenant; viz. two "towards the house-rent, buildings, scaffolding, and making of frames for scenes; one for a provision of habits, properties, and scenes, for a supplement of the said theatre; and seven to maintain all the women that are to perform or represent women's parts, in tragedies, comedies, &c. and in consideration of erecting and establishing his actors to be a company, and his pains and expences for that purpose for many years." The other five shares were divided in various proportions among the rest of the troop.

In the paper above referred to it is stated by Sir Henry Herbert, that D'Avenant "drew from these ten shares two hundred pounds a week;" and if that statement was correct, each share in his playhouse then produced annually six hundred pounds, supposing the acting season to have then lasted for thirty weeks.

Such were the emoluments of the theatre soon after the Restoration; which I have stated here, from authentick documents, because they may assist us in our conjectures concerning the profits derived from stage-exhibitions at a more remote and darker period.

From the prices of admission into our ancient theatres in the time of Shakspeare, which have been already noticed, I formerly conjectured that about twenty pounds was a considerable receipt at the Blackfriars and Globe theatre, on any one day; and my conjecture is now confirmed by indisputable evidence. In Sir Henry Her-

¹ These articles will be found in a subsequent page.

bert's Office-book I find the following curious notices on this subject, under the year 1628 :

" The kinges company with a generall consent and alacritye have given mee the benefitt of too dayes in the yeare, the one in summer, thother in winter, to bee taken out of the second daye of a revived playe, att my owne choyse. The housekeepers have likewyse given their shares, their dayly charge only deducted, which comes to some 2l. 5s. this 25 May, 1628.

" The benefitt of the first day, being a very unseasonable one in respect of the weather, comes but unto £. 4. 15. 0."

This agreement subsisted for five years and a half, during which time Sir Henry Herbert had ten benefits, the most profitable of which produced seventeen pounds, and ten shillings, *net*, on the 22d of Nov. 1628, when Fletcher's *Custom of the Country* was performed at Blackfriars; and the least emolument which he received was on the representation of a play which is not named, at the Globe, in the summer of the year 1632, which produced only the sum of one pound, and five shillings, after deducting from the total receipt in each instance the nightly charge above mentioned. I shall give below the receipt taken by him on each of the ten performances; from which it appears that his clear profit at an average, on each of his nights, was £. 8. 19. 4.² and the total nightly receipt was at an average—£. 11. 4. 4.

On

² 1628. May 25, [the play not named,]—£. 4. 15. 0.

" The benefitt of the winters day, being the second day of an old play called *The Custome of the Cuntrye*, came to £. 17. 10. 0. this 22 of Nov. 1628. From the Kinges company att the Blackfryers.

1629. " The benefitt of the summers day from the kinges company being brought mee by Blagrove, upon the play of *The Propheets*, comes to, this 21 of July, 1629,—£. 6. 7. 0.

" The benefitt of the winters day from the kinges company being brought mee by Blagrove, upon the play of *The Moore of Venise*, comes, this 22 of Nov. 1629, unto—£. 9. 16. 0.

1630. [No play this summer, on account of the plague.]

" Received of Mr. Taylor and Lowins, in the name of their company, for the benefitt of my winter day, upon the second

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On the 30th of October, 1633, the managers of the king's company agreed to pay him the fixed sum of ten pounds

day of Ben Jonson's play of *Every man in his humour*, this 18 of February, 1630, [1630-31]—£. 12. 4. 0.

1631. "Received of Mr. Shanke, in the name of the kings company, for the benefit of their summer day, upon y^e second daye of *Richard y^e Seconde*, at the Globe, this 12 of June, 1631,—£. 5. 6. 6.

"Received of Mr. Blagrove, in the name of the kings company, for the benefit of my winter day, taken upon *The Alchemiste*, this 1 of Decemb. 1631,—£. 13. 0. 0.

1632. "Received for the summer day of the kings company y^e 6 Novemb. 1632,—£. 1. 5. 0.

"Received for the winter day upon *The Wild goose chase*, y^e same day,—£. 15. 0. 0.

1633. "R. of y^e kings company, for my summers day, by Blagrove, the 6 of June 1633, y^e somme of £. 4. 10. 0.

I likewise find the following entry in this book:

"Received of Mr. Benfelde, in the name of the kings company, for a gratuity for ther liberty gained unto them of playinge, upon the cessation of the plague, this 10 of June, 1631,—£. 3. 10. 0."—"This (Sir Henry Herbert adds) was taken upon *Pericles* at the Globe."

In a copy of a play called *A Game at Chesse*, 1624, which was formerly in possession of Thomas Pearson, Esq. is the following memorandum in an old hand: "After nine days, wherein I have heard some of the actors say they took fifteen hundred pounds, the Spanish faction, being prevalent, got it suppressed, and the author Mr. Thomas Middleton committed to prison." According to this statement, they received above 166l. 12s. on each performance. The foregoing extracts shew, that there is not even a semblance of truth in this story. In the year 1685, when the London theatres were much enlarged, and the prices of admission greatly increased, Shadwell received by his third day on the representation of *The Squire of Alsatia*, only 130l. which Downes the prompter says was the greatest receipt had been ever taken at Drury-lane playhouse at single prices. *Roscius Anglicanus*, p. 41.

The use of Arabick figures has often occasioned very gross errors to pass current in the world. I suppose the utmost receipt from the performance of Middleton's play for nine days, (if it was performed so often,) could not amount to more than one hundred and fifty pounds. To the sum of 150l. which perhaps this old actor had seen as the profit made by this play, his fancy or his negligence added a cipher, and thus made fifteen hundred pounds.

The play of *Holland's Leaper* was acted six days successively at Salisbury Court, in December 1631, and yet Sir Henry Herbert received on account of the six representations but *one pound nineteen shillings*, in virtue of the *ninth* share which he possessed as one of the proprietors of

pounds every Christmas, and the same sum at Midsummer, in lieu of his two benefits, which sums they regularly pay'd him from that time till the breaking out of the civil wars.

From the receipts on these benefits I am led to believe that the prices were lower at the Globe theatre, and that therefore, though it was much larger than the winter theatre at Blackfriars, it did not produce a greater sum of money on any representation. If we suppose twenty pounds, clear of the nightly charges already mentioned, to have been a very considerable receipt at either of these houses, and that this sum was in our poet's time divided into forty shares, of which fifteen were appropriated to the housekeepers or proprietors, three to the purchase of copies of new plays, stage-habits, &c. and twenty-two to the actors, then the performer who had two shares on the representation of each play, received, when the theatre was thus successful, twenty shillings. But supposing the *average* nightly receipt (after deducting the nightly expences) to be about nine pounds, which we have seen to be the case, then his nightly dividend would be but nine shillings, and his weekly profit, if they played five times a week, two pounds five shillings. The acting season, I believe, at that time lasted forty weeks. In each of the companies then subsisting there were about twenty persons, six of whom probably were principal, and the others subordinate; so that we may suppose *two shares* to have been the reward of a principal actor; six of the second class perhaps enjoyed a whole share each; and each of the remaining eight half a share. On all these *data*, I think it may be safely concluded, that the performers of the first class did not derive from their profession more than ninety pounds a year at the utmost³. Shakspeare, Heminge, Condell,
Burbadge,

that house. Supposing there were twenty-one shares divided among the actors, the piece, though performed with such extraordinary success, did not produce more than *six pounds ten shillings* each night, exclusive of the occasional nightly charges already mentioned.

³ "The very hyerlings of some of our plaiers," [i. e. men occasionally hired by the night] says Stephen Gosson in the year 1579,
"which

Burbadge, Lowin, and Taylor, had without doubt other shares as proprietors or leaseholders; but what the different proportions were which each of them possessed in that right, it is now impossible to ascertain. According to the supposition already stated, that fifteen shares out of forty were appropriated to the proprietors, then was there on this account a sum of six hundred and seventy-five pounds annually to be divided among them. Our poet, as author, actor, and proprietor, probably received from the theatre about two hundred pounds a year.—Having after a very long search lately discovered the will of Mr. Heminge, I hoped to have derived from it some information on this subject; but I was disappointed. He indeed more than once mentions his several parts or *shares held by lease in the Globe and Blackfriars play-houses*⁴; but uses no expression by which the value of each of those shares can be ascertained. His books of account, which he appears to have regularly kept, and which, he says, will shew that his shares yielded him “*a good yearly profit*,” will probably, if they shall ever be found, throw much light on our early stage history.

Thus scanty and meagre were the apparatus and accommodations of our ancient theatres, on which those dramas were first exhibited, that have since engaged the attention of so many learned men, and delighted so many thousand spectators. Yet even then, we are told by a writer of that age⁵, “*dramatick poesy was so lively*

“*which stand at reversion of vis. by the weeke, jet under gentlemen noses in futes of filke.*” *School of Abuse*, p. 22.

Hart, the celebrated tragedian, after the Restoration had but three pounds a week as an *actor*, that is, about ninety pounds a year; for the acting season did not, I believe, at that time exceed thirty weeks; but he had besides, as a proprietor, six shillings and three-pence every day on which there was any performance at the king's theatre, which produced about £.56. 5. c. more. Betterton even at the beginning of the present century had not more than five pounds a week.

⁴ See his Will in a subsequent page.

⁵ Sir George Buc. This writer, as I have already observed, wrote an express treatise concerning the English stage, which was never printed, and, I fear, is now irrecoverably lost. As he was a friend of Sir Robert Cotton, I hoped to have found the Manuscript in the Cottonian

lively expressed and represented on the publick stages and theatres of this city, as Rome in the *auge* of her pomp and glory, never saw it better performed; in respect of the action and art, not of the cost and sumptuousness."

Of the actors on whom this high encomium is pronounced, the original performers in our author's plays were undoubtedly the most eminent. The following is the only information that I have obtained concerning them.

tonian library, but was disappointed. "Of this art," [the dramatick] says Sir George, "have written largely *Petrus Vicerius*, &c. as it were in vaine for me to say any thing of the art, besides that *I have written thereof a particular treatise*." *The third University of England*, printed originally in 1615, and re-printed at the end of Howes' edition of Stowe's *Annals*, folio, 1631, p. 1082. It is singular that a similar work on the Roman stage, written by Suetonius, (*De Spectaculis et Certaminibus Romanorum*,) has also perished. Some little account of their scenery, and of the separation of the mimes and pantomimes from comedies, in which they were originally introduced, are the only particulars of this treatise that have been preserved; for which we are indebted to Servius, and Diomedes the grammarian. The latter fragment is curious, as it exhibits an early proof of that competition and jealousy, which, from the first rise of the stage to the present time, has disturbed the peace of theatres:

"*Latinæ vero comædiæ chorum non habent, sed duobus tantum membris constant, diverbio, et cantico. Primis autem temporibus, ut asserit Tranquillus, omnia quæ in scena versantur, in comædia agebantur. Nam Pantomimus et Pithaulæ et Choraules in comædia caneant. Sed quia non poterant omnia simul apud omnes artifices pariter excellere, si qui erant inter actores comædiarum pro facultate et arte potiores, principatum sibi artificii vindicabant. Sic factum est, ut nolentibus cedere Mimis in artificio suo cæteris, seperatio fieret reliquorum. Nam dum potiores inferioribus, qui in omni ergasterio erant, servire dedignabantur, seipsos a comædia separaverunt: ac sic factum est, ut, exemplo semel sumpto, unusquisque artis suæ rem exequi cæperit, neque in comædiam venire.*"

Grammaticæ linguæ Auctores Antiqui, Putschii, p. 489.
Hanov. 1605.

I have said in a former page (47) that I believed Sir George Buc died soon after the year 1622, and I have since found my conjecture confirmed. He died, as I learn from one of Sir Henry Herbert's papers, on the 20th of September, 1623.

NAMES OF THE ORIGINAL ACTORS IN THE
PLAYS OF SHAKSPEARE.

From the folio, 1623.

WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

Having now once more occasion to mention our poet, I shall take this opportunity to correct an error into which I suspect I have fallen, in a note on the Account of his Life; and to add such notices as I have obtained relative either to him or his friends, since that Account was printed off; to which the present article is intended as a supplement.

The words in our poet's will, "Provided that if such husband as she shall at the end of the said three years be married unto," &c. seemed to me to afford a presumptive proof that Shakspeare, when he made his will, did not know of the marriage of his daughter Judith, (the person there spoken of,) which had been celebrated about a month before: a circumstance, however, which, even when I stated it, appeared to me very extraordinary, and highly improbable. On further consideration I am convinced that I was mistaken, and that the words above-cited were intended to comprehend her then husband, and any other to whom within three years she might be married. The word *discharge* in the bequest to Judith, which had escaped my notice,—“One hundred pounds in discharge of her marriage portion,”—shews that he must have been apprized of this marriage, and that he had previously *covenanted* to give her that sum.

In the transcript of the instrument by which a coat of arms was granted in 1599 to John Shakspeare, our poet's father⁶, the original has been followed with a

⁶ Vol. I. Part I. p. 182.

scrupulous fidelity ; but on perusing the rough draughts of the former grant of arms in 1596, I am satisfied that there is an error in the later grant, in which the following unintelligible paragraph is found :

“ Wherefore being solicited, and by credible report informed, that John Shakspeare, now of Stratford-upon-Avon in the counte of Warwick, gent. whose ^{great grandfather}
late

rent [^] and [^] antecessor for his faithfull and approved service to the late most prudent prince, king Henry VII. of famous memorie, was advaunced with lands and tene-ments, geven to him in those parts of Warwickshere, where they have continewed by some descents in good reputation and credit,” &c.

On reviewing this instrument, it appeared not very easy to ascertain who the person here alluded to was, if only one was meant ; nor is it at all probable that the *great grandfather* of John Shakspeare should have been his late or immediate predecessor ; to say nothing of the word *parent*, which, unless it means *relation* in general, is as unintelligible as the rest. On examining the two rough draughts of the grant of arms to John Shakspeare in 1596, I found that in one of these, (apparently the more perfect of the two,) the corresponding words run thus : “ — whose *parents and late antecessors* were for their valour and faithful services to the late most prudent prince king Henry VII.” &c. In the other thus : “ — whose *parents* [and] late antecessors for their faithful and valiant service,” &c. The word *their* is in this paper obliterated, and *his* written over it ; and over *antecessors* the word *grandfather* is written. The draughtsman however forgot to draw a line through the word for which *grandfather* was to be substituted. He evidently was in doubt which of the two expressions he should retain ; but we may presume he meant to reject the words “ — whose *parents and late antecessors*,” and to substitute instead of them, “ — whose *grandfather* for his,” &c.

In the grant of 1599, we have seen, the words originally stood, “ — whose *parent and antecessor* was,” and the words *great grandfather* and *late* are interlineations.

The

The writer forgot to erase the original words, but undoubtedly he did not mean that both those and the substituted words should be retained, but that the paragraph should stand thus: "—whose great grandfather for his faithful and approved service," &c. and, instead of "*great grandfather*," the earlier instrument induces me to think that he ought to have written, "—whose *late* grandfather."

A minute examination of these instruments led me to inquire what grounds the heralds had for their assertion that our poet's ancestor had been rewarded by a grant of lands from king Henry the Seventh. But it should seem that they were satisfied with very slight evidence of this fact; for after a very careful examination in the chapel of the Rolls⁷, from the beginning to the end of that reign, it appears, that no such grant was made. If any such had been made by that king, out of the forfeited estates of the adherents of king Richard the Third, or otherwise, it must have passed the great seal, and would have been on record. As therefore it is not found on the rolls, we may be assured that no such grant was made. However, from the words of the early instruments in the heralds-office, which have been already quoted, "—for his faithful and *valiant* service," &c. it is highly probable, that our poet's great grandfather distinguished himself in Bosworth field on the side of king Henry, and that he was rewarded for his military services by the bounty of that parsimonious prince, though not with a grant of lands.

Mr. Rowe in his account of our poet's father has said that he had ten children. From the Register of the parish of Stratford-upon-Avon it appears, that ten children of John Shakspeare were baptized there between

⁷ I cannot omit this opportunity of acknowledging the politeness of Mr. Kipling of the Rolls-office, who permitted every examination which I desired, to be made in the venerable repository under his care; and, with a liberality seldom found in publick offices, would not accept of the accustomed fee, for any search which tended to throw a light on the history of our great dramattick poet.

The year 1558, when the register commenced, and the year 1591. If therefore they were all the children of our poet's father, Mr. Rowe's account is inaccurate; for our poet had a sister named Margaret, born before the commencement of the Register. It is, however, extremely improbable, that in so numerous a family not one of the sons should have been baptized by the christian name of old Mr. Shakspeare. I now therefore believe (though I was formerly of a different opinion) that our poet's eldest brother bore his father's christian name, *John*; and that, like their eldest sister, Margaret, he was born before the register commenced. If this was the case, then without doubt the three children who were born between March 1588 and September 1591, Ursula, Humphrey, and Philip, were the issue of this younger John, by his second wife, whose christian name was Mary; and the real number of the children of our poet's father was *nine*. This Mary Shakspeare died in 1608, and is described as a widow. If therefore she was the wife of John Shakspeare the younger, then must he have died before that year.

About twenty years ago, one Mosely, a master-brick-layer, who usually worked with his men, being employed by Mr. Thomas Hart, the fifth descendant in a direct line from our poet's sister, Joan Hart, to new-tile the old house at Stratford in which Mr. Hart lives, and in which our poet was born, found a very extraordinary manuscript between the rafters and the tiling of the house. It is a small paper-book consisting of five leaves stitched together. It had originally consisted of six leaves, but unluckily the first was wanting when the book was found. I have taken some pains to ascertain the authenticity of this manuscript, and after a very careful inquiry am perfectly satisfied that it is genuine.

The writer, John Shakspeare, calls it his *Will*; but it is rather a declaration of his faith and pious resolutions. Whether it contains the religious sentiments of our poet's father or elder brother, I am unable to determine. The handwriting is undoubtedly not so ancient as that *usually* written about the year 1600; but

I have now before me a manuscript written by Alléyn the player at various times between 1599 and 1614, and another by Forde, the dramattick poet, in 1606, in nearly the same handwriting as that of the manuscript in question. The Rev. Mr. Davenport, Vicar of Stratford-upon-Avon, at my request endeavoured to find out Mr. Mosely, to examine more particularly concerning this manuscript; but he died about two years ago. His daughter, however, who is now living, and Mr. Hart, who is also living and now sixty years old, perfectly well remember the finding of this paper. Mosely some time after he had found it, gave it to Mr. Peyton, an alderman of Stratford, who obligingly transmitted it to me through the hands of Mr. Davenport. It is proper to observe that the finder of this relique bore the character of a very honest, sober, industrious man, and that he neither asked nor received any price for it; and I may also add that its contents are such as no one could have thought of inventing with a view to literary imposition.

If the injunction contained in the latter part of it (that it should be buried with the writer) was observed, then must the paper which has thus fortuitously been recovered, have been a copy, made from the original, previous to the burial of John Shakspeare.

This extraordinary will consisted originally of fourteen articles, but the first leaf being unluckily wanting, I am unable to ascertain either its date or the particular occasion on which it was written; both of which probably the first article would have furnished us with. If it was written by our poet's father, John Shakspeare, then it was probably drawn up about the year 1600; if by his brother, it perhaps was dated some time between that year and 1608, when the younger John should seem to have been dead.

III.

“ * * * * at least spiritually, in will adoring and most humbly beseeching my saviour, that he will be pleased to assist me in so dangerous a voyage, to defend me from the snares and deceites of my infernall enemies,

mies, and to conduct me to the secure haven of his eternall blisse.

IV.

“ *Item*, I John Shakspear doe protest that I will also passe out of this life, armed with the last sacrament of extreme unction: the which if through any let or hindrance I should not then be able to have, I doe now also for that time demand and crave the same; beseeching his divine majesty that he will be pleased to anoynt my senses both internall and externall with the sacred oyle of his infinite mercy, and to pardon me all my sins committed by seeing, speaking, feeling, smelling, hearing, touching, or by any other way whatsoever.

V.

“ *Item*, I John Shakspear doe by this present protest that I will never through any temptation whatsoever despaire of the divine goodness, for the multitude and greatness of my finnes; for which although I confesse that I have deserved hell, yet will I stedfastly hope in gods infinite mercy, knowing that he hath heretofore pardoned many as great sinners as my self, whereof I have good warrant sealed with his sacred mouth, in holy writ, whereby he pronounceth that he is not come to call the just, but sinners.

VI.

“ *Item*, I John Shakspear do protest that I do not know that I have ever done any good worke meritorious of life everlasting: and if I have done any, I do acknowledge that I have done it with a great deale of negligence and imperfection; neither should I have been able to have done the least without the assistance of his divine grace. Wherefore let the devill remain confounded; for I doe in no wise presume to merit heaven by such good workes alone, but through the merits and blood of my lord and saviour, jesus, shed upon the crosse for me most miserable sinner.

VII.

“ *Item*, I John Shakspear do protest by this present writing, that I will patiently endure and suffer all kind of infirmity, sickness, yea and the paine of death it self:

wherein if it should happen, which god forbid, that through violence of paine and agony, or by subtilty of the devill, I should fall into any impatience or temptation of blasphemy, or murmuration against god, or the catholike faith, or give any signe of bad example, I do henceforth, and for that present, repent me, and am most heartily sorry for the same: and I do renouncee all the evill whatsoever, which I might have then done or said; beseeching his divine clemency that he will not forsake me in that grievous and painefull agony.

VIII.

“ *Item*, I John Shakspear, by virtue of this present testament, I do pardon all the injuries and offences that any one hath ever done unto me, either in my reputation, life, goods, or any other way whatsoever; beseeching sweet jesus to pardon them for the same: and I do desire, that they will doe the like by me, whome I have offended or injured in any sort howsoever.

IX.

“ *Item*, I John Shakspear do heere protest that I do render infinite thanks to his divine majesty for all the benefits that I have received as well secret as manifest, & in particular, for the benefit of my Creation, Redemption, Sanctification, Conservation, and Vocation to the holy knowledge of him & his true Catholike faith: but above all, for his so great expectation of me to pennance, when he might most justly have taken me out of this life, when I least thought of it, yea even then, when I was plunged in the durty puddle of my sinnes. Blessed be therefore and praised, for ever and ever, his infinite patience and charity.

X.

“ *Item*, I John Shakspear do protest, that I am willing, yea, I doe infinitely desire and humbly crave, that of this my last will and testament the glorious and ever Virgin mary, mother of god, refuge and advocate of sinners, (whom I honour specially above all other saints,) may be the chiefe Executresse, togeather with these other saints, my patrons, (saint Winefride) all whome
I invoke

I inuocke and beseech to be present at the hour of my death, that she and they may comfort me with their desired presence, and craue of sweet Iesus that he will receive my soule into peace.

XI.

“ *Item*, In virtue of this present writing, I John Shakspear do likewise most willingly and with all humility constitute and ordaine my good Angel, for Defender and Protectour of my soule in the dreadfull day of Iudgement, when the finall sentance of eternall life or death shall be discuffed and given; beseeching him, that, as my soule was appointed to his custody and protection when I lived, even so he will vouchsafe to defend the same at that houre, and conduct it to eternall blis.

XII.

“ *Item*, I John Shakspear do in like manner pray and beseech all my dear friends, parents, and kinsfolks, by the bowels of our Saviour Iesus Christ, that since it is uncertain what lot will befall me, for fear notwithstanding least by reason of my finnes I be to pass and stay a long while in purgatory, they will vouchsafe to assist and succour me with their holy prayers and satisfactory workes, especially with the holy sacrifice of the masse, as being the most effectuall meanes to deliver soules from their torments and paines; from the which, if I shall by gods gracious goodnesse and by their vertuous workes be delivered, I do promise that I will not be ungratefull unto them, for so great a benefitt.

XIII.

“ *Item*, I John Shakspear doe by this my last will and testament bequeath my soule, as soon as it shall be delivered and loosened from the prison of this my body, to be entombed in the sweet and amorous coffin of the side of Iesus Christ; and that in this life-giving sepulcher it may rest and live, perpetually inclosed in that eternall habitation of repose, there to blesse for ever and ever that direfull iron of the launce, which, like a charge in a cenfore, formes so sweet and pleasant a monument within the sacred breast of my lord and saviour.

XIV.

“ *Item*, lastly I John Shakspear doe protest, that I will willingly accept of death in what manner soever it may befall me, conforming my will unto the will of god; accepting of the same in satisfaction for my sinnes, and giving thanks unto his divine majesty for the life he hath bestowed upon me. And if it please him to prolong or shorten the same, blessed be he also a thousand thousand times; into whose most holy hands I commend my soul and body, my life and death: and I beseech him above all things, that he never permit any change to be made by me John Shakspear of this my afore said will and testament. Amen.

“ I John Shakspear have made this present writing of protestation, confession, and charter, in presence of the blessed virgin mary, my Angell guardian, and all the Celestiall Court, as witneses hereunto: the which my meaning is, that it be of full value now presently and for ever, with the force and vertue of testament, codicill, and donation in cause of death; confirming it anew, being in perfect health of soul and body, and signed with mine own hand; carrying also the same about me; and for the better declaration hereof, my will and intention is that it be finally buried with me after my death.

“ Pater noster, Ave maria, Credo.

“ jesu, son of David, have mercy on me.
Amen.”

Since my remarks on the epitaph said to have been made by Shakspeare on John o'Comb, were printed, it occurred to me, that the manuscript papers of Mr. Aubrey, preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, might throw some light on that subject. Mr. Aubrey was born in the year 1625, or 1626; and in 1642 was entered a gentleman commoner of Trinity college in Oxford. Four years afterwards he was admitted a member of the Inner Temple, and in 1662 elected a member of the Royal Society. He died about the year 1700. It is acknowledged, that his literary attainments

ments were considerable; that he was a man of good parts, of much learning and great application; a good Latin poet, an excellent naturalist, and, what is more material to our present object, a great lover of and indefatigable searcher into antiquities. That the greater part of his life was devoted to literary pursuits, is ascertained by the works which he has published, the correspondence which he held with many eminent men, and the collections which he left in manuscript, and which are now repositied in the Ashmolean Museum. Among these collections is a curious account of our English poets and many other writers. While Wood was preparing his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, this manuscript was lent to him, as appears from many queries in his handwriting in the margin; and his account of Milton, with whom Aubrey was intimately acquainted, is (as has been observed by Mr. Warton) literally transcribed from thence. Wood afterwards quarreled with Mr. Aubrey, whom in the second volume of his *Fasti*, p. 262, he calls his *friend*, and on whom in his History of the University of Oxford he bestows the highest encomium*; and, after their quarrel, with his usual warmth, and in his loose diction, he represented Aubrey as “a pretender to antiquities, roving, magottie-headed, and little better than crazed.” To Wood every lover of antiquity and literary history has very high obligations; and in all matters of fact he may be safely relied on; but his opinion of men and things is of little value. According to his representation, Dr. Ralph Bathurst, a man highly esteemed by all his contemporaries, was “a most vile person,” and the celebrated John Locke, “a prating, clamorous, turbulent fellow.” The virtuous and learned Dr. John Wallis, if we are to believe Wood, was a man who could “at any time make black white, and white black, for his own ends, and who had

* “Transmissum autem nobis est illud epitaphium a viro perhumano, Johanne Alberico, vulgo Aubrey, Armigero, hujus collegii olim generoso commensali, jam vero é Regio Societate, Londini; viro inquam, tam bono, tam benigno, ut publico solum commodo, nec sibi omnino, natus esse videatur.” *Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* l. ii. p. 297.

a ready knack at sophistical evasion⁸." How little his judgment of his contemporaries is to be trusted, is also evinced by his account of the ingenious Dr. South, whom, being offended by one of his witticisms, he has grossly reviled⁹. Whatever Wood in a peevish humour may have thought or said of Mr. Aubrey, by whose labours he highly profited, or however fantastical Aubrey may have been on the subject of chemistry and ghosts, his character for veracity has never been impeached; and as a very diligent antiquarian, his testimony is worthy of attention. Mr. Toland, who was well acquainted with him, and certainly a better judge of men than Wood, gives this character of him: "Though he was extremely superstitious, or seemed to be so, yet HE WAS A VERY HONEST MAN, AND MOST ACCURATE IN HIS ACCOUNT OF MATTERS OF FACT. But the facts he knew, not the reflections he made, were what I wanted¹." I do not wish to maintain that all his accounts of our English writers are on these grounds to be implicitly adopted; but it seems to me much more reasonable to question such parts of them as seem objectionable, than to reject them altogether, because he may sometimes have been mistaken.

He was acquainted with many of the players, and lived in great intimacy with the poets and other celebrated writers of the last age; from whom undoubtedly many of his anecdotes were collected. Among his friends and acquaintances we find Hobbes, Milton,

⁸ Letter from Wood to Aubrey, dated Jan. 16, 1689-90. Mss. Aubrey. No. 15, in Mus. Ashmol. Oxon.—Yet in the preface to his *History of the University of Oxford*, he describes Dr. Wallis as a man—"eruditione pariter et humanitate præstans."

⁹ "Wood's account of South (says Mr. Warton) is full of malicious reflections and abusive stories: the occasion of which was this. Wood, on a visit to Dr. South, was complaining of a very painful and dangerous suppression of urine; upon which South in his witty manner, told him, that, 'if he could not *make water* he must *make earth*.' Wood was so provoked at this unseasonable and unexpected jest, that he went home in a passion, and wrote South's *Life*." *Life of Ralph Bathurst*, p. 184. Compare Wood's *Athen. Gxon.* II. 1041.

¹ Specimen of a critical history of the Celtick religion, &c. p. 122.

Dryden, Ray, Evelyn², Ashmole, Sir William Dugdale, Dr. Bathurst, Bishop Skinner, Dr. Gale, Sir John Denham, Sir Bennet Hoskyns, (son of John Hoskyns, who was well acquainted with the poets of Shakspeare's time,) Mr. Josiah Howe, Toland, and many more³. The anecdotes concerning D'Avenant in Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, which have been printed in a former page⁴, were, like the copious and accurate account of Milton, transcribed literally from Aubrey's papers. What has been there suggested, (that D'Avenant was Shakspeare's son) is confirmed by a subsequent passage in the Ms. which has been imperfectly obliterated, and which Wood did not print, though in one of his own unpublished manuscripts now in the Bodleian library he has himself told the same story. The line which is imperfectly obliterated in a different ink, and therefore probably by another hand than that of Aubrey, tells us, (as Mr. Warton who has been able to trace the words through the obliteration, informs me,) that D'Avenant was Shakspeare's son by the hostess of the Crown inn. The remainder of the context confirms this; for it says, that "D'Avenant was proud of being thought so, and had often (in his cups) owned the report to be true, to Butler the poet."—From Dr. Bathurst, Sir Bennet Hoskyns, Lacy the player, and others, Aubrey got some anecdotes of Ben Jonson, which, as this part of the manuscript has not been published, I shall give below⁵; and from Dryden and Mr. William

² "With incredible satisfaction I have perused your Natural History of the county of Surrey, and greatly admire both your industry in undertaking so profitable a work, and your judgment in the several observations you have made." Letter from John Evelyn, Esq. to Mr. Aubrey, prefixed to his *Antiquities of Surrey*.

³ Hobbes, whose life Aubrey wrote, was born in 1588, Milton in 1608, Dryden in 1630, Ray in 1628, Evelyn in 1621, Ashmole in 1616, Sir W. Dugdale in 1606, Dr. Bathurst in 1620, Bishop Skinner in 1591, Dr. Gale about 1630, Sir John Denham in 1615, Sir Bennet Hoskyns (the son of John Hoskyns, Ben Jonson's poetical father, who was born in 1566,) about 1600, and Mr. Jos. Howe in 1611.

⁴ Part I. p. 160, n. 6.

⁵ The article relative to this poet immediately precedes that of Shakspeare, and is as follows:

"MR.

William Beeston, (son of Christopher Beeston, Shakspeare's fellow-comedian, who was a long time manager of the Cockpit

“ MR. BENJAMIN JOHNSON, Poet Laureat.

“ I remember when I was a scholar at Trin. Coll. Oxon. 1646, I heard Mr. Ralph Bathurst [now Dean of Welles] say, that Ben: Johnson was a Warwyckshire man. 'Tis agreed, that his father was a minister; and by his Epistle DD of *Every Man* ——— to Mr. W. Camden, that he was a Westminster scholar, and that Mr. W. Camden was his schoolmaster. His mother, after his father's death, married a bricklayer, and 'tis g^rally sayd that he wrought some time with his father-in-lawe, & p^ticularly on the garden wall of Lincoln's inne next to Chancery lane; & that a knight, a benchor, walking thro, and hearing him repeat some Greeke verses out of Homer, discoursing with him & finding him to have a witt extraordinary, gave him some exhibition to maintain him at Trinity College in Cambridge, where he was ———: then he went into the Lowe countreys, and spent some time, not very long, in the armie; not to the disgrace of [it], as you may find in his Epigrammes. Then he came into England, & acted & wrote at the Green Curtaine, but both ill; a kind of Nursery or obscure play-house somewhere in the suburbs (I think towards Shoreditch or Clarkenwell). Then he undertooke againe to write a play, & did hitt it admirably well, viz. *Every Man* ——— which was his first good one. Sergeant Jo. Hoskins of Herefordshire was his *Father*. I remember his sonne (Sir Bennet Hoskins, Baronet, who was something poetical in his youth) told me, that when he desired to be adopted his sonne, No, sayd he, 'tis honour enough for me to be your brother: I am your father's sonne: 'twas he that polished me: I doe acknowledge it. He was [or rather had been] of a clear and faire skin. His habit was very plain. I have heard Mr. Lacy the player say, that he was wont to weare a coate like a coachman's coate, with flitts under the arm-pitts. He would many times exceede in drinke: Canarie was his beloved liquour: then he would tumble home to bed; & when he had thoroughly perspired, then to studie. I have seen his studyeing chaire, which was of strawe, such as old women used; & as Aulus Gellius is drawn in. When I was in Oxon: Bishop Skinner [BP of Oxford] who lay at our coll: was wont to say, that he understood an author as well as any man in England. He mentions in his Epigrammes, a sonne that he had, and his epitaph. Long since in King James time, I have heard my uncle Dāvers [Danvers] say, who knew him, that he lived withoute temple barre at a combe-maker's shop about the Eleph.^{ts} Castle. In his later time he lived in Westminster, in the house under whiche you passe, as you goe out of the church-yard into the old palace; where he dyed. He lyes buried in the north aisle, the path of square stones, the rest is lozenge, opposite to the scutcheon of Robertus de Ros, with this inscription only on him, in a pavement square of blew marble, 14 inches square, O RARE BEN: IONSON: which was donne at the charge of Jack Young, afterwards knighted,

who

Cockpit playhouse in Drury-lane,) some particulars concerning Spenser. I mention these circumstances only to shew that Aubrey was a curious and diligent inquirer, at a time when such inquiries were likely to be attended with success.

Dr. Farmer in his admirable *Essay on the learning of Shakspeare*, by which, as Dr. Johnson justly observed, "the question is for ever decided," has given an extract from Mr. Aubrey's account of our poet, and the part which he has quoted has been printed in a former

who walking there, when the grave was covering, gave the fellow eighteen pence to cutt it."

It is observable that none of the biographers of the last age, but Aubrey, appear to have known that Jonson went to the Low Countries, in his younger years; a fact which is confirmed by the conversation that passed between old Ben and Mr. Drummond of Hawthornden, which was not published till eleven years after Mr. Aubrey's death. A long account of Serjeant John Hoskyns, and Skinner, bishop of Oxford, may be found in Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* I. 614—II. 1156.

Not knowing that this poet had a son who arrived at man's estate, I had no doubt that the reversionary grant of the office of Master of the Revels, which I found in the chapel of the Rolls, was made to old Ben; [see Vol. I. Part I. p. 400,] but I am now convinced that I was mistaken, and that this grant was made either to his son, Benjamin Jonson the younger, who was also a poet, though he has not been noticed by any of our biographical writers, or to some other person of the same name. A paper which has lately fallen into my hands, pointed out my mistake. It appears that Sir Henry Herbert soon after the Restoration brought an action on the case against Mr. Betterton, for the injury Sir Henry suffered by the performance of plays without the accustomed fees being paid to the Master of the Revels. On the trial it was necessary for him to establish his title to that office; and as the grant made to him was not to take effect till after either the death, resignation, forfeiture, or surrender of Benjamin Jonson and Sir John Astley, it became necessary to shew that those two persons were dead: and accordingly it was proved on the trial that the said Benjamin Jonson died, Nov. 20, 1635. The poet-laureat died, August 16, 1637. The younger Jonson was a dramatick author, having in conjunction with Brome, produced a play called *A Fault in Friendship*, which was acted at the Curtain by the Prince's company in October, 1623; and in 1672 a collection of his poems was published. To this volume are prefixed verses addressed "to all the ancient family of the *Lucyes*," in which the writer describes himself as "a little stream from that clear spring;" a circumstance which adds support to Dr. Bathurst's account of his father's birth-place. It should seem that he was not on good terms with his father. "He was not very happy in his children, (says Fuller in his account of Ben Jonson,) "and *most happy in those which died first*, though none lived to survive him."

page⁶: but as the manuscript memoir is more copious, and the account given by Aubrey of our poet's verses on John o'Combe, (which has never been published) is materially different from that transmitted by Mr. Rowe, I shall give an exact transcript of the whole article relative to Shakspeare, from the original.

MS. Aubrey. Mus. ASHMOL. Oxon. *Lives*,
P. I. fol. 78. a. [Inter Cod. Dugdal.]

MR. WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

“ William Shakespeare's father was a butcher, and I have been told heretofore by some of the neighbours, that when he was a boy, he exercised his father's trade; but when he killed a calfe, he would do it in a *high style*, and make a speech. This William, being inclined naturally to poetry and acting, came to London, I guesse about 18, and was an actor at one of the play-houses, and did act exceedingly well. Now Ben Johnson was never a good actor, but an excellent instructor. He began early to make essays in dramatique poetry, which at that time was very lowe, and his plays took well. He was a handsome well shaped man; verie good company, and of a very ready, and pleasant, and smooth witt. The humour of the constable in *A Midfommer-night Dreame* he happened to take at Crendon in Bucks, (I think it was Midfommer-night that he happened to be there;) which is the road from London to Stratford; and there was living that constable about 1642, when I came first to Oxon. Mr. Jos. Howe is of the parish, and knew him. Ben Johnson and he did gather humours of men, wherever they came. One time as he was at the taverne at Stratford, Mr. Combes, an old usurer, was to be buryed; he makes then this extemporary epitaph upon him:

“ Ten in the hundred the Devill allowes,
“ But Combes will have twelve, he sweares and he vowes:
“ If any one aske who lies in this tomb,
“ Hoh! quoth the Devill, 'tis my John o'Comb.

⁶ Part I. p. 166. Dr. Farmer supposed that Aubrey's anecdotes of Shakspeare came originally from Mr. Beeston, but this is a mistake. Mr. Beeston is quoted by Aubrey only for some particulars relative to Spenser.

“ He

“ He was wont to go to his native country once a yeare, I think I have been told that he left near 300l. to a sifter. He understood latin pretty well; for he had been in his younger yeares a scoll-master in the country.”

Let us now proceed to examine the several parts of this account.

The first assertion, that our poet's father was a butcher, has been thought unworthy of credit, because “ not only contrary to all other tradition, but, as it may seem, to the instrument in the heralds-office,” which may be found in a former page. But for my own part, I think, this assertion, (which it should be observed is positively affirmed on the information of his neighbours, procured probably at an early period,) and the received account of his having been a wool-stapler, by no means inconsistent. Dr. Farmer has illustrated a passage in *Hamlet* from information derived from a person who was at once a wool-man and butcher; and, I believe, few occupations can be named, which are more naturally connected with each other. Mr. Rowe first mentioned the tradition that our poet's father was a dealer in wool, and his account is corroborated by a circumstance which I have just now learned. In one of the windows of a building in Stratford which belonged to the Shakspeare family, are the arms of the merchants of the staple;—*Nebule, on a chief gules, a lion passant, or*; and the same arms, I am told, may be observed in the church at Stratford, in the fret-work over the arch which covers the tomb of John de Clopton, who was a merchant of the staple, and father of Sir Hugh Clopton, lord-mayor of London, by whom the bridge over the Avon was built. But it should seem from the records of Stratford that John Shakspeare, about the year 1579, at which time our poet was fifteen years old, was by no means in affluent circumstances⁷; and why may we not suppose that at that period he endeavoured to support his numerous family by adding the trade of a butcher to that of

⁷ Vol. I. Part I. p. 103, n. 1.

his principal business; though at a subsequent period he was enabled, perhaps by his son's bounty, to discontinue the less respectable of these occupations? I do not, however, think it at all probable, that a person who had been once bailiff of Stratford should have suffered any of his children to have been employed in the servile office of killing calves.

Mr. Aubrey proceeds to tell us, that William Shakspeare came to London and began his theatrical career, according to his conjecture, when he was about eighteen years old;—but as his merit as an actor is the principal object of our present disquisition, I shall postpone my observations on this paragraph, till the remaining part of these anecdotes has been considered.

We are next told, that “ he began early to make essays in dramatique poetry, which at that time was very lowe, and his playes took well.”

On these points, I imagine, there cannot be much variety of opinion. Mr. Aubrey was undoubtedly mistaken in his conjecture, (for he gives it only as conjecture,) that our poet came to London at eighteen; for as he had three children born at Stratford in 1583 and 1584, it is very improbable that he should have left his native town before the latter year. I think it most probable that he did not come to London before the year 1586, when he was twenty-two years old. When he produced his first play, has not been ascertained; but if Spenser alludes to him in his *Tears of the Muses*, Shakspeare must have exhibited some piece in or before 1590, at which time he was twenty six years old; and though many have written for the publick before they had attained that time of life, any theatrical performance produced at that age, would, I think, sufficiently justify, Mr. Aubrey in saying that he began *early* to make essays in dramattick poetry. In a word, we have no *proof* that he did *not* woo the dramattick Muse, even so early as in the year 1587 or 1588; in the first of which years he was but twenty three; and therefore till such proof shall be produced, Mr. Aubrey's assertion, founded apparently on the information of those who lived very near the time, is entitled to some weight.

“ He was a handsome well-shaped man, verie good company, and of a very ready, and pleasant, and smooth witt.”

I suppose none of my readers will find any difficulty in giving full credit to this part of the account. Mr. Aubrey, I believe, is the only writer, who has particularly mentioned the beauty of our poet's person; and there being no contradictory testimony on the subject, he may here be safely relied on. All his contemporaries who have spoken of him, concur in celebrating the gentleness of his manners, and the readiness of his wit.

“ As he was a happy imitator of nature, (say his fellow comedians,) so was he a most gentle expresser of it. His mind and hand went together; and what he thought he uttered with that easiness, that we have scarce received from him a blot in his papers.” “ My gentle Shakspeare,” is the compellation used to him by Ben Jonson. “ He was indeed (says his old antagonist) *honest, and of an open and free nature*; had an excellent fancy, brave notions, and gentle expressions; wherein he flowed with that facility, that sometimes it was necessary he should be stopped. *Sustaminandus erat*, as Augustus said of Harterius.” So also in his verses on our poet:

“ ——— Look how the father's face
 “ Lives in his issue, even so the race
 “ Of Shakspeare's *mind and manners* brightly shines
 “ In his *well-torned and true-filed* lines.”

In like manner he is represented by Spenser (if in *the Tears of the Muses* he is alluded to, which, it must be acknowledged, is extremely probable,) under the endearing description of “ our *pleasant Willy*,” and “ that same *gentle spirit*, from whose pen flow copious streams of honey and nectar.” In a subsequent page I shall have occasion to quote another of his contemporaries, who is equally lavish in praising the uprightness of his conduct and the gentleness and civility of his demeanour. And conformable to all these ancient testimonies is that of Mr. Rowe, who informs us, from the traditional accounts received from his native town, that our poet's “ pleasurable wit and good-nature engaged him

him in the acquaintance and entitled him to the friendship of the gentlemen of his neighbourhood at Stratford."

A man, whose manners were thus engaging, whose wit was thus ready, and whose mind was stored with such a plenitude of ideas and such a copious assemblage of images as his writings exhibit, could not but have been what he is represented by Mr. Aubrey, a delightful companion.

"The humour of the constable in *A Midsummer-night-Dreame*, he happened to take at Crendon in Bucks, (I think it was Midsummer-night that he happened to be there;) which is the road from London to Stratford; and there was living that constable about 1642, when I came first to Oxon. Mr. Jos. Howe is of the parish, and knew him."

It must be acknowledged that there is here a slight mistake, there being no such character as a constable in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*. The person in contemplation undoubtedly was DOGBERRY in *Much ado about nothing*. But this mistake of a name does not, in my apprehension, detract in the smallest degree from the credit of the fact itself; namely, that our poet in his admirable character of a foolish constable had in view an individual who lived in Crendon or Grendon, (for it is written both ways,) a town in Buckinghamshire, about thirteen miles from Oxford. Leonard Digges, who was Shakspeare's contemporary, has fallen into a similar error; for in his eulogy on our poet, he has supposed the character of MALVOLIO, which is found in *Twelfth Night*, to be in *Much ado about nothing*^s.

As some account of the person from whom Mr. Aubrey derived this anecdote, who was of the same college with him at Oxford, may tend to establish its credit, I shall transcribe from Mr. Warton's preface to his *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, such notices of Mr. Josias Howe, as he has been able to recover.

"He was born at Crendon in Bucks, [about the year 1611] and elected a scholar of Trinity College

^s See Vol. I. Part I. p. 213.

June 12, 1632; admitted a fellow, being then bachelor of arts, May 26, 1637. By Hearne he is called a great cavalier and loyalist, and a most ingenious man⁹. He appears to have been a general and accomplished scholar, and in polite literature one of the ornaments of the university.—In 1644 he preached before king Charles the First, at Christ Church cathedral, Oxford. The sermon was printed, and in red letters, by his majesty's special command.—Soon after 1646, he was ejected from his fellowship by the presbyterians; and restored in 1660. He lived forty-two years, greatly respected, after his restitution, and arriving at the age of ninety, died fellow of the college where he constantly resided, August 28, 1701." Mr. Thomas Howe, the father of this Mr. Josias Howe, (as I learn from Wood) was minister of Crendon, and contemporary with Shakspeare; and from him his son perhaps derived some information concerning our poet, which he might have communicated to his fellow-collegian, Aubrey. The anecdote relative to the constable of Crendon, however, does not stand on this ground, for we find that Mr. Josias Howe personally knew him, and that he was living in 1642.

I now proceed to the remaining part of these anecdotes:

" Ben Jonson and he did gather humours of men wherever they came. One time as he was at the taverne at Stratford, Mr. Combes¹, an old usurer, was to be buried²; he makes then this extemporary epitaph upon him:

⁹ Rob. Glouc. Gloss. p. 669.

¹ This custom of adding an s to many names, both in speaking and writing, was very common in the last age. Shakspeare's fellow-comedian, *John Heminge*, was always called Mr. *Hemings* by his contemporaries, and Lord Clarendon constantly writes Bishop *Earles*, instead of Bishop *Earle*.

" S (says Camden in his *Remaines*, 4to. 1605,) also is joyned to most [names] now, as Manors, Knoles, Crofts, Hilles, *Combes*," &c.

² Mr. Combe was buried at Stratford, July 12, 1614. The entry in the Register of that parish confirms the observation made above; for, though written by a clergyman, it stands thus: " July 12, 1614. Mr. John *Combes*, Gener."

- “ Ten in the hundred the devill allowes,
 “ But Combes will have twelve, he swears and he
 vowes :
 “ If any one aske³, who lies in this tomb,
 “ Hoh ! quoth the devill, ’tis my John o’Combe.”

In a former page I have proved, if I mistake not, from an examination of Mr. Combe’s will, and other circumstances, that no credit is due to Mr. Rowe’s account of our poet’s having so incensed him by an epitaph which he made on him in his presence, at a tavern in Stratford, that the old gentleman never forgave him. And Mr. Aubrey’s account of this matter, which I had not then seen, fully confirms what I suggested on the subject: for here we find, that the epitaph was made after Combe’s death. Nor is this sprightly effusion inconsistent with Shakspeare’s having lived in a certain degree of familiarity with that gentleman; whom he might have respected for some qualities, though he indulged himself in a sudden and playful censure of his inordinate attention to the acquirement of wealth, at a time when that ridicule could not affect him who was the object of it.

Mr. Steevens has justly observed, that the verses exhibited by Mr. Rowe, contain not a jocular epitaph, but a malevolent prediction; and every reader will; I am sure, readily agree with him, that it is extremely improbable that Shakspeare should have poisoned the hour of confidence and friendship by producing one of the severest censures on one of his company, and so

3 This appears to have been in our poet’s time a common form in writing epitaphs. In one which he wrote on Sir Thomas Stanley, which has been given in Vol. I. Part I. p. 130, we again meet with it:

“ *Ask, who lies here,*” &c.

Again, in Ben Jonson’s Epitaph on his son :

“ Rest in soft peace, and *ask’d*, say, *here dost lie*

“ Ben Jonson his best piece of poetry.”

wantonly and publickly exprefs his doubts concerning the falvation of one of his fellow creatures. The foregoing more accurate ftatement entirely vindicates our poet from this imputation.

Thefe extemporary verfes having, I fuppofe, not been fet down in writing by their author, and being inaccurately tranfmitted to London, appear in an intirely different fhape in *Braithwaite's Remaines*, and there we find them affixed to a tomb erected by Mr. Combe in his life-time. I have already fhewn that no fuch tomb was erected by Mr. Combe, and therefore Braithwaite's ftory is as little to be credited as Mr. Rowe's. That fuch various representations fhould be made of verfes of which the author probably never gave a written copy, and perhaps never thought of after he had uttered them, is not at all extraordinary. Who has not, in his own experience, met with fimilar variations in the accounts of a tranfaction which paffed but a few months before he had occafion to examine minutely and accurately into the real ftate of the fact?

In further fupport of Mr. Aubrey's exhibition of thefe verfes, it may be obferved, that in his copy the firft couplet is original; in Mr. Rowe's exhibition of them it is borrowed from preceding epitaphs. In the fourth line, *Ho* (not *Oh ho*, as Mr. Rowe has it,) was in Shakfpeare's age the appropriate exclamation of *ROBIN GOODFELLOW, alias PUCKE, alias HOBGOBLIN*⁴.

Mr. Aubrey informs us laftly, that Shakfpeare “was wont to go to his native country once a yeare. I think I have been told that he left near 300*l.* to a fifter. He underftood Latin pretty well, for he had been in his younger years a fchool-mafter in the country.”

Many traditional anecdotes, though not perfectly accurate, contain an adumbration of the truth. It is obfervable that Mr. Aubrey fpeaks here with fome degree of doubt;—“*I think I have been told;*” and his memory, or that of his informer, led him into an error

⁴ See Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, Vol. III. p. 202.

with respect to the person to whom our poet bequeathed this legacy, who, we find from his will, was his daughter, not his sister: but though Aubrey was mistaken as to the person, his information with respect to the amount of the legacy was perfectly correct; for 300*l.* was the precise sum which Shakspeare left to his second daughter, Judith.

In like manner, I am strongly inclined to think that the last assertion contains, though not the truth, yet something like it: I mean, that Shakspeare had been employed for some time in his younger years as a *teacher* in the country; though Dr. Farmer has incontestably proved, that he could not have been a teacher of *Latin*. I have already suggested my opinion, that before his coming to London he had acquired some share of legal knowledge in the office of a petty country conveyancer, or in that of the steward of some manerial court. It is not necessary here to repeat the reasons on which that opinion is founded. If he began to apply to this study at the age of eighteen, two years afterwards he might have been sufficiently conversant with conveyances to have taught others the forms of such legal assurances as are usually prepared by country attorneys; and perhaps spent two or three years in this employment before he removed from Stratford to London. Some uncertain rumour of this kind might have continued to the middle of the last century; and by the time it reached Mr. Aubrey, our poet's original occupation was changed from a scrivener's to that of a school-master.

I now proceed to the more immediate object of our present inquiry; our poet's merit as an actor.

“Being inclined naturally (says Mr. Aubrey) to poetry and acting, he came to London, I guess about 18, and was an actor at one of the playhouses, and did act exceedingly well. Now Ben Jonson never was a good actor, but an excellent instructor.”

The first observation that I shall make on this account is; that the latter part of it, which informs us that Ben Jonson was a bad actor, is incontestably confirmed by one of the comedies of Decker; and therefore, though there
were

were no other evidence, it might be plausibly inferred that Mr. Aubrey's information concerning our poet's powers on the stage was not less accurate. But in this instance I am not under the necessity of resting on such an inference; for I am able to produce the testimony of a contemporary in support of Shakspeare's histrionick merit. In the preface to a pamphlet entitled *Kinde-Hartes Dreame*, published in December 1592, which I have already had occasion to quote for another purpose, the author, Henry Chettle, who was himself a dramatick writer, and well acquainted with the principal poets and players of the time, thus speaks of Shakspeare:

“The other⁵, whom at that time I did not so much spare, as since I wish I had, for that as I have moderated the hate of living writers, and might have used my own discretion, (especially in such a case, the author [Robert Greene] being dead,) I am as sorry as if the original fault had been my fault; because my selfe have seen his demeanour no less civil than he EXCELLENT in the *qualitie he professes*: besides, divers of worship have reported his uprightness of dealing, which argues his honestie, and his facetious grace in writing, that approves his art.”

To those who are not conversant with the language of our old writers, it may be proper to observe, that the words, “*the qualitie he professes*,” particularly denote his profession as an *actor*. The latter part of the paragraph indeed, in which he is praised as a good man and an elegant *writer*, shews this: however, the following passage in Stephen Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse*, 1579, in which the very same words occur, will put this matter beyond a doubt. “Over-lashing in apparell (says Gosson) is so common a fault, that the verye hyerlings of some of our plaiers, which stand at the reversion of vi. s. by the weeke, jet under gentlemen's noses in futes of filke, exercising themselves in prating on the stage, and

⁵ That by the words *The other*, was meant Shakspeare, has been already shewn in the *Essay on the order of his plays*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 274.

common scoffing when they come abroad; where they looke askance at every man of whom the sonday before they begged an almes. I speak not this, as though every one that *professeth the qualitie*, so abused him selfe; for it is wel knownen, that some of them are sober, discrete, properly learned, honest householders, and citizens well thought on amonge their neighbours at home, though the pride of their shadowes (I meane those hangebyes whome they succour with stipend) cause them to bee somewhat talked of abroad⁶."

Thus early was Shakspeare celebrated as an actor, and thus unfounded was the information which Mr. Rowe obtained on this subject. Wright, a more diligent inquirer, and who had better opportunities of gaining theatrical intelligence, had said about ten years before, that he had "heard our author was a better poet than an actor;" but this description, though probably true, may still leave him a considerable portion of merit in the latter capacity: for if the various powers and peculiar excellencies of all the actors from his time to the present, were united in one man, it may well be doubted, whether they would constitute a performer whose merit should entitle him to "bench by the side" of Shakspeare as a poet.

A passage indeed in Lodge's *Incarnate Devills of the age*, 1596, has been pointed out, as levelled at our poet's performance of the Ghost in *Hamlet*. But this in my apprehension is a mistake. The ridicule intended to be conveyed by the passage in question was, I have no doubt, aimed at the actor who performed the part of the Ghost in some miserable play which was produced before Shakspeare commenced either actor or writer. That such a play once existed, I have already shewn to be highly probable; and the tradition transmitted by Betterton, that our poet's performance of the Ghost in his own *Hamlet* was his *chef d'oeuvre*, adds support to my opinion.

⁶ In the margin this cautious puritan adds—"Some players modest, if I be not deceived."

That

That Shakspeare had a perfect knowledge of his art, is proved by the instructions which are given to the player in *Hamlet*, and by other passages in his works; which, in addition to what I have already stated, incline me to think that the traditional account transmitted by Mr. Rowe, relative to his powers on the stage, has been too hastily credited. In the celebrated scene between Hamlet and his mother, she thus addresses him :

- “ — Alas, how is't with you ?
 “ That *you do bend your eye on vacancy,*
 “ *And with the incorporeal air do hold discourse ?*
 “ *Forth at your eyes your spirits wildly peep ;*
 “ And, as the sleeping foldiers in the alarm,
 “ Your bedded hair, like life in excrements,
 “ Starts up, and stands on end.—Whereon do you
 look ?
 “ *Ham.* On him ! on him ! look you, how pale he
 glares !
 “ His form and cause conjoin'd, preaching to stones,
 “ Would make them capable. Do not *look upon me,*
 “ Lest with *this piteous action,* you convert
 “ My stern effects : then what I have to do
 “ Will want true colour ; tears perchance for blood.”

Can it be imagined that he would have attributed these lines to Hamlet, unless he was confident that in his own part he could give efficacy to that *piteous action* of the Ghost, which he has so forcibly described ? or that the preceding lines spoken by the Queen, and the description of a tragedian in *King Richard III.* could have come from the pen of an ordinary actor ?

- “ *Rich.* Come, cousin, can'st thou quake and *change*
 thy colour ?
 “ *Murder thy breath in middle of a word ?*
 “ *And then again begin, and stop again,*
 “ *As if thou wert distraught, and mad with terror ?*

- " *Buck.* Tut, I can counterfeit the deep tragedian ;
 " Speak, and look big, and pry on every side,
 " Tremble and start at wagging of a straw,
 " Intending deep suspicion : ghastly looks
 " Are at my service, like enforced smiles ;
 " And both are ready in their offices,
 " At any time, to grace my stratagems."

I do not, however, believe, that our poet played parts of the first rate, though he probably distinguished himself by whatever he performed. If the names of the actors prefixed to *Every Man in his humour* were arranged in the same order as the persons of the drama, he must have represented *Old Knowell* ; and if we may give credit to an anecdote related in a former page, he was the *Adam* in his own *As you like it*. Perhaps he excelled in representing old men. The following contemptible lines written by a contemporary, about the year 1611, might lead us to suppose that he also acted Duncan in *Macbeth*, and the parts of King Henry the Fourth, and King Henry the Sixth :

- " To our English Terence, Mr. William Shakespeare,
 " Some say, good Will, which I in sport do sing,
 " Hadst thou not play'd some *kingly parts* in sport,
 " Thou hadst been a companion for a king,
 " And been a king among the meaner sort.
 " Some others raile, but raile as they think fit,
 " Thou hast no railing but a raigning wit ;
 " And honesty thou sow'st, which they do reape,
 " So to increase their stock which they do keepe."

The Scourge of Folly, by John Davies, of Hereford, no date.

RICHARD BURBADGE*,

the most celebrated tragedian of our author's time, was the son of James Burbadge, who was also an actor, and

* In writing this performer's name I have followed the spelling used by his brother, who was a witness to his will ; but the name ought rather to be written *Burbidge*, (as it often formerly was,) being manifestly an abbreviation or corruption of *Borough-bridge*.

perhaps

perhaps a countryman of Shakspeare. He lived in Holywell-street in the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, from which circumstance I conjecture that he had originally played at the Curtain theatre, which was in that neighbourhood; for he does not appear to have been born in that parish; at least I searched the register from its commencement in 1558, in vain, for his birth. It is strange, however, that he should have continued to live from the year 1600 to his death, in a place which was near three miles distant from the Blackfriars play-house, and still further from the Globe, in which theatres he acted during the whole of that time. He appears to have married about the year 1600; and if at that time we suppose him thirty years old, his birth must be placed in 1570. By his wife, whose christian name was Winefrid, he had four daughters; Juliet, or Julia, (for the name is written both ways in the register,) who was baptized Jan. 2, 1602-3, and died in 1608; Frances, baptized Sep. 16, 1604; Winefrid, baptized Octob. 5, 1613, and buried in October, 1616; and a second Juliet, (or Julia,) who was baptized Dec. 26, 1614. This child and Frances appear to have survived their father. His fondness for the name of Juliet, perhaps arose from his having been the original Romeo in our author's play.

Camden has placed the death of Burbadge on the 9th of March, 1619⁷. On what day he died, is now of little consequence; but to ascertain the degree of credit due to historians is of some importance; and it may be worth while to remark how very seldom minute accuracy is to be expected even from contemporary writers. The fact is, that Burbadge died some days later, probably on the 13th of that month; for his will was made on the 12th, and he was buried in the church of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, on the 16th of March, 1618-19. His last will, extracted from the registry of the Prerogative court, is as follows.

7 " 1619. Martii 9. Richardus Burbadge, alter Roscius, obiit."
Regni regis Jacobi I. Annalium Apparatus, 4to. 1691.

“ MEMORANDUM, That on Frydaye the twelfth of March, Anno Domini, one thousand six hundred and eighteen, Richard Burbage of the parish of Saint Leonard, Shoreditch, in the county of Middlesex, gent. being sick in body, but of good and perfect remembrance, did make his last will and testament, nuncupative, in manner and form following; viz, He the said Richard did nominate and appoint his well beloved wife Winifride Burbage to be his sole executrix of all his goods & chattels whatsoever, in the presence and hearing of the persons undernamed :

Cuthbert Burbadge, brother to the testator.

+ The mark of Elizabeth, his wife.

Nicholas Tooley.

Anne Lancafter.

Richard Robinson.

+ The mark of Elizabeth Graves.

Henry Jacksone.

Probatum fuit testamentum superscriptum apud London, coram iudice, 22^o Aprilis, 1619, juramento Winifride Burbadge, relictæ dicti defuncti et executricis in eodem testamento nominat. cui commissæ fuit administratio de bene, &c. jurat.

Richard Burbadge is introduced in person in an old play called *The Returne from Parnassus*, (written in or about 1602,) and instructs a Cambridge scholar how to play the part of King Richard the Third, in which Burbadge was greatly admired. That he represented this character, is ascertained by Bishop Corbet, who in his *Iter Boreale*, speaking of his host at Leicester, tells us,

“ — when he would have said, King Richard died,

“ And call'd a horse, a horse, he *Burbage* cry'd.”

He probably also performed the parts of King John, Richard the Second, Henry the Fifth, Timon, Brutus, Coriolanus, Macbeth, Lear, and Othello.

He was one of the principal sharers or proprietors of the Globe and Blackfriars theatres; and was of such eminence

eminence, that in a letter preserved in the British Museum, written in the year 1613, (Mss. Harl. 7002,) the actors at the Globe are called *Burbadge's Company*⁸.

The following character of this celebrated player is given by Fleckno in his *Short Discourse of the English Stage*, 1664.

“ He was a delightful Proteus, so wholly transforming himself into his parts, and putting off himself with his cloaths, as he never (not so much as in the tyring house) assumed himself again, untill the play was done. — He had all the parts of an excellent orator, animating his words with speaking, and speech with action; his auditors being never more delighted than when he spake, nor more sorry than when he held his peace: yet even then he was an excellent actor still; never failing in his part, when he had done speaking, but with his looks and gesture maintaining it still to the height.”

It should not, however, be concealed, that Fleckno had previously printed this character as the portrait of *An excellent actor*, in general, and there is reason to believe that this writer never saw Burbadge: for Fleckno did not die till about the year 1682 or 1683, and consequently, supposing him then seventy-five years old, he must have been a boy when this celebrated player died. The testimony of Sir Richard Baker is of more value, who pronounces him to have been “ such an actor, as no age must ever look to see the like.” Sir Richard Baker was born in 1568, and died in 1644-5; and appears, from various passages in his works, to have paid much attention to the theatre, in defence of which he wrote a treatise.

In Philpot's additions to Camden's *Remains*, we find an epitaph on this tragedian, more concise than even that on Ben Jonson; being only, “ *Exit Burbidge.*”

⁸ In Jonson's *Masque of Christmas*, 1616, Burbadge and Heminge are both mentioned as managers: “ I could ha' had money enough for him, an I would ha' been tempted, and ha' set him out by the week to the king's players: Master Burbadge hath been about and about with me, and so has old Mr. Heminge too; they ha' need of him.”

The following old epitaph on Burbadge, which is found in a Ms. in the Museum, (Mss. Sloan. 1786,) is only worthy of preservation, as it shews how high the reputation of this actor was in his own age :

- “ Epitaph on Mr. Richard Burbadge, the player ⁸.
 “ This life’s a play, scean’d out by natures arte,
 “ Where every man hath his allotted parte.
 “ This man hathe now (as many more can tell)
 “ Ended his part, and he hath acted well.
 “ The play now ended, think his grave to be
 “ The detiring howse of his sad tragedie ;
 “ Where to give his fame this, be not afraid,
 “ Here lies the best tragedian ever plaid.”

JOHN HEMINGE

is said by Roberts the player to have been a tragedian, and in conjunction with Condell, to have followed the business of printing⁹; but it does not appear that he had any authority for these assertions. In some tract of which I forgot to preserve the title, he is said to have been the original performer of Falstaff.

I searched the register of St. Mary’s Aldermanbury, (in which parish this actor lived,) for the time of his birth, in vain. Ben Jonson in the year 1616, as we

⁸ I did not till lately discover that there is an original picture of this admired actor in Dulwich College, or his portrait should have been engraved for this work. However, the defect will very speedily be remedied by *Mr. Sylvester Harding*, the ingenious artist whom I employed to make a copy of the picture of Lowin at Oxford, which he executed with perfect fidelity; and who means to give the publick in twenty numbers, at a very moderate price, not only all such portraits as can be found, of the actors who personated the principal characters in our author’s plays, while he was on the stage, but also an assemblage of genuine heads of the real personages represented in them; together with various views of the different places in which the scene of his historical dramas is placed. Each plate will be of the same size as that of Lowin, so as to suit the present edition.

⁹ Answer to Pope, 1729.

have just seen, calls him *old* Mr. Heminge: if at that time he was sixty years of age, then his birth must be placed in 1556. I suspect that both he and Burbadge were Shakspeare's countrymen, and that Heminge was born at Shottery, a village in Warwickshire at a very small distance from Stratford-upon-Avon; where Shakspeare found his wife. I find two families of this name settled in that town early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Elizabeth, the daughter of *John Heming* of Shottery, was baptized at Stratford-upon-Avon, March 12, 1567. This John might have been the father of the actor, though I have found no entry relative to his baptism: for he was probably born before the year 1558, when the Register commenced. In the village of Shottery also lived *Richard Hemyng*, who had a son christened by the name of John, March 7, 1570. Of the Burbadge family the only notice I have found, is, an entry in the register of the parish of Stratford, October 12, 1565, on which day Philip Green was married in that town to Ursula Burbadge, who might have been sister to James Burbadge, the father of the actor, whose marriage I suppose to have taken place about that time. If this conjecture be well founded, our poet, we see, had an easy introduction to the theatre.

John Heminge appears to have married in or before the year, 1589, his eldest daughter, Alice, having been baptized October 6, 1590. Beside this child, he had four sons; John, born in 1598, who died an infant; a second John, baptized August 7, 1599; William, baptized October 3, 1602, and George, baptized February 11, 1603-4; and eight daughters; Judith, Thomasine, Joan, Rebecca, Beatrice, Elizabeth, Mary, (who died in 1611,) and Margaret. Of his daughters four only appear to have been married; Alice to John Atkins in January 1612-13; Rebecca to Captain William Smith; Margaret to Mr. Thomas Sheppard, and another to a person of the name of Merefield. The eldest son, John, probably died in his father's life-time, as by his last will he constituted his son William his executor.

William,

William, whose birth Wood has erroneously placed in 1605, was a student of Christ-church, Oxford, where he took the degree of a Master of Arts in 1628. Soon after his father's death he commenced a dramatick poet, having produced in March 1632-3 a comedy entitled *The Course of a Hare, or the Madcapp*¹, which was performed at the Fortune theatre, but is now lost. He was likewise author of two other plays which are extant; *The Fatal Contract*, published in 1653, and *The Jews Tragedy*, 1662.

From an entry in the Council-books at Whitehall, I find that John Heminge was one of the principal proprietors of the Globe playhouse, before the death of Queen Elizabeth. He is joined with Shakspeare, Burbadge, &c. in the licence granted by King James immediately after his accession to the throne in 1603; and all the payments made by the Treasurer of the Chamber in 1613, on account of plays performed at court, are "to *John Heminge* and the rest of his fellows." So also in several subsequent years, in that and the following reign. In 1623, in conjunction with Condell, he published the first complete edition of our author's plays; soon after which it has been supposed that he withdrew from the theatre; but this is a mistake. He certainly then ceased to act*, but he continued chief director of the king's company of comedians to the time of his death. He died at his house in Aldermanbury, where he had long lived, on the 10th of October 1630, in, as I conjecture, the 74th or 75th year of his age, and was buried on the

¹ M^r. Herbert.

* That he and Condell had ceased to act in the year 1623, is ascertained by a passage in their Address "to the great varietie of readers," prefixed to our poet's plays. "Reade him therefore, and againe, and againe: and if then you do not like him, surely you are in some manifest danger not to understand him. And so we leave you to *other of his friends*, whom if you need, can be your guides." i. e. their fellow-comedians, who still continued on the stage, and, by representing our author's plays, could elucidate them, and thus serve as guides to the publick.

12th, as appears by the Register of St. Mary's Aldermanbury, in which he is styled, "John Heminge, *player*."

I suspect he died of the plague, which had raged so violently that year, that the playhouses were shut up in April, and not permitted to be opened till the 12th of November, at which time the weekly bill of those who died in London of that distemper, was diminished to twenty-nine². His son William, into whose hands his papers must have fallen, survived him little more than twenty years, having died some time before the year 1653: and where those books of account of which his father speaks, now are, cannot be ascertained. One cannot but entertain a wish that at some future period they may be discovered, as they undoubtedly would throw some light on our ancient stage-history. The day before his death, John Heminge made his will, of which I subjoin a copy, extracted from the Registry of the Prerogative Court. In this instrument he styles himself *a grocer*, but how he obtained his freedom of the grocers' company, does not appear.

"**I**N the name of God, Amen, the 9th day of October, 1630, and in the sixth year of the reign of our sovereign Lord, Charles, by the grace of God king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. I John Heminge, citizen and grocer of London, being of perfect mind and memory, thanks be therefore given unto Almighty God, yet well knowing and considering the frailty and incertainty of man's life, do therefore make, ordain, and declare this my last will and testament in manner and form following.

First, and principally, I give and bequeath my soul into the hands of Almighty God, my Maker and Creator, hoping and assuredly believing through the only merits, death and passion, of Jesus Christ my saviour and redeemer, to obtain remission and pardon of all my sins, and to enjoy eternal happiness in the kingdom of heaven; and

² M^s. Herbert.

my body I commit to the earth, to be buried in christian manner, in the parish church of Mary Aldermanbury in London, as near unto my loving wife Rebecca Heminge, who lieth there interred, and under the same stone which lieth in part over her there, if the same conveniently may be: wherein I do desire my executor herein after named carefully to see my will performed, and that my funeral may be in decent and comely manner performed in the evening, without any vain pomp or cost therein to be bestowed.

Item, My will is, that all such debts as I shall happen to owe at the time of my decease to any person or persons, (being truly and properly mine own debts,) shall be well and truly satisfied and paid as soon after my decease as the same conveniently may be; and to that intent and purpose my will and mind is, and I do hereby limit and appoint, that all my leases, goods, chattles, plate, and household stuffe whatsoever, which I leave or shall be possessed of at the time of my decease, shall immediately after my decease be sold to the most and best benefit and advantage that the same or any of them may or can, and that the monies thereby raised shall go and be employed towards the payment and discharge of my said debts, as soon as the same may be converted into monies and be received, without fraud or covin; and that if the same leases, goods, and chattels, shall not raise so much money as shall be sufficient to pay my debts, then my will and mind is, and I do hereby will and appoint, that the moiety or one half of the yearly benefit and profit of the several parts which I have by lease in the several play-houses of the Globe and Black-fryers, for and during such time and term as I have therein, be from time to time received and taken up by my executor herein after named, and by him from time to time faithfully employed towards the payment of such of my said own proper debts which shall remain unsatisfied, and that proportionably to every person and persons to whom I shall then remain indebted, until by the said moiety or one half of the
the

the said yearly benefit and profit of the said parts they shall be satisfied and paid without fraud or covin. And if the said moiety or one half of the said yearly benefit of my said parts in the said play-houses shall not in some convenient time raise sufficient moneys to pay my said own debts, then my will and mind is, and I do hereby limit and appoint, that the other moiety or half part of the benefit and profit of my said parts in the said play-houses be also received and taken up by my said executor herein after named, and faithfully from time to time employed and paid towards the speedier satisfaction and payment of my said debts. And then, after my said debts shall be so satisfied and paid, then I limit and appoint the said benefit and profit arising by my said parts in the said play-houses, and the employment of the same, to be received and employed towards the payment of the legacies by me herein after given and bequeathed, and to the raising of portions for such of my said children as at the time of my decease shall have received from me no advancement. And I do hereby desire my executor herein after named to see this my will and meaning herein to be well and truly performed, according to the trust and confidence by me in him reposed.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath, unto my daughter Rebecca Smith, now wife of Captain William Smith, my best suit of linen, wrought with cutwork, which was her mother's; and to my son Smith, her husband, his wife's picture, set up in a frame in my house.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my daughter Margaret Sheppard, wife of Mr. Thomas Sheppard, my red cushions embroidered with bugle, which were her mother's; and to my said son Sheppard, his wife's picture, which is also set up in a frame in my house.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my daughter Elizabeth, my green cushions which were her mother's.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my daughter Merefield my clothe-of-silver striped cushions which were her mother's.

Item, I give and bequeath unto so many of my daughter Merefield's, and my daughter Sheppard's

children as shall be living at the time of my decease, fifty shillings apiece.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my grandchild, Richard Atkins, the sum of five pounds of lawful money of England, to buy him books.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my son-in-law John Atkins, and his now wife; if they shall be living with me at the time of my decease, forty shillings, to make them two rings in remembrance of me.

Item, I give and bequeath unto every of my fellows and sharers, his majesties servants, which shall be living at the time of my decease, the sum of ten shillings apiece, to make them rings for remembrance of me.

Item, I give and bequeath unto John Rice, Clerk, of St. Saviour's in Southwark, (if he shall be living at the time of my decease,) the sum of twenty shillings of lawful English money, for a remembrance of my love unto him.

Item, I give and bequeath unto the poor of the parish of Saint Mary, Aldermanbury, where I long lived, and whither I have bequeathed my body for burial, the sum of forty shillings of lawful English money, to be distributed by the churchwardens of the same parish where most need shall be.

Item, My will and mind is, and I do hereby limit and appoint, that the several legacies and sums of money by me herein before bequeathed to be paid in money, be raised and taken out of the yearly profit and benefit which shall arise or be made by my several parts and shares in the several playhouses called the Globe and Blackfriars, after my said debts shall be paid, with as much speed as the same conveniently may be; and I do hereby will, require, and charge my executor herein after named especially to take care that my debts, first, and then those legacies, be well and truly paid and discharged, as soon as the same may be so raised by the sale of my goods and by the yearly profits of my parts and shares; and that my estate may be so ordered to the best profit and advantage for the better payment of my debts and discharge of my legacies before mentioned with as much speed as the same conveniently may be,
according

according as I have herein before in this will directed and appointed the same to be, without any lessening, diminishing, or undervaluing thereof, contrary to my true intent and meaning herein declared. And for the better performance thereof, my will, mind,* and desire is, that my said parts in the said play-houses should be employed in playing, the better to raise profit thereby, as formerly the same have been, and have yielded good yearly profit, as by my books will in that behalf appear. And my will and mind is, and I do hereby ordain, limit, and appoint, that after my debts, funerals, and legacies shall be paid and satisfied out of my estate, that then the residue and remainder of my goods, chattels, and credits whatsoever shall be equally parted and divided to and amongst such of my children as at the time of my decease shall be unmarried or unadvanced, and shall not have received from me any portion in marriage or otherwise, further than only for their education and breeding, part and part like; and I do hereby ordain and make my son William Heminge to be the executor of this my last will and testament, requiring him to see the same performed in and by all things, according to my true meaning herein declared. And I do desire and appoint my loving friends Mr. Burbage* and Mr. Rice to be the overseers of this my last will and testament, praying them to be aiding and assisting to my said executor with their best advice and council in the execution thereof: and I do hereby utterly revoke all former wills by me heretofore made, and do pronounce, publish, and declare this to be my last will and testament. In witness whereof I have hereunto put my hand and seal the day and year first above written.

Probatum fuit testamentum superscriptum apud London coram venerabili viro, magistro Willielmo James, legum doctore, Surrogato, undecimo die mensis Octobris, Anno Domini, 1630, juramento Willielmi Heminge filii naturalis et legitim. dicti defuncti, et executoris, cui, &c. de bene, &c. jurat.

* Cuthbert Burbadge, brother to the actor.

AUGUSTINE PHILIPS.

This performer is likewise named in the licence granted by king James in 1603. It appears from Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, printed in 1612, that he was then dead. In an extraordinary exhibition, entitled *The Seven Deadly Sins*, written by Tarleton, of which the Ms. plot or scheme is in my possession, he represented *Sardanapalus*. I have not been able to learn what parts he performed in our author's plays; but believe that he was in the same class as Kempe, and Armine; for he appears, like the former of these players, to have published a ludicrous metrical piece, which was entered on the Stationers' books in 1595. Philips's production was entitled *The Jigg of the Slippers*.

WILLIAM KEMPE

was the successor of Tarleton. "Here I must needs remember Tarleton, (says Heywood, in his *Apology for Actors*,) in his time gracious with the queen his sovereign, and in the people's general applause; whom succeeded *Will. Kemp*, as well in the favour of her majestie, as in the opinion and good thoughts of the general audience." From the quarto editions of some of our author's plays, we learn that he was the original performer of Dogberry in *Much Ado about Nothing*, and of Peter in *Romeo and Juliet*. From an old comedy called *The Returne from Parnassus*, we may collect, that he was the original Justice Shallow; and the contemporary writers inform us that he usually acted the part of a Clown; in which character, like Tarleton, he was celebrated for his *extemporal* wit⁴. Launcelot in the *Merchant of Venice*, Touchstone in *As you like it*, Launce in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and the Grave-digger in *Hamlet*, were probably also performed by this

⁴ See p. 112, n. 1.

ccmedian. He was an author as well as an actor⁵.

So early as in the year 1589 Kempe's comick talents appear to have been highly estimated, for an old pamphlet called *An Almond for a Parrot*, written, I think, by Thomas Nashe, and published about that time, is dedicated "to that most comicall and conceited Cava-leire *Monsieur du Kempe*, Jestmonger, and vice-gerent generall to the Ghost of Dick^e Tarleton."

From a passage in one of Decker's tracts it may be presumed that this comedian was dead in the year 1609⁶.

In Braithwaite's *Remains*, 1618, he is thus commemorated;

⁵ See *The Returne from Parnassus*, a comedy, 1606: "Indeed, *M. Kempe*, you are very famous, but that is as well for *workes in print* as your part in cue." Kempe's *New Jigge of the Kitchen-stuff Woman* was entered on the books of the Stationers' company in 1595; and in the same year was licensed to Thomas Gosson, "*Kempes New Jigge betwixt a souldier and a miser and Sym the clown.*"

Sept. 7, 1593, was entered on the Stationers' Books, by R. Jones, "A comedie entituled *A knack how to know a knave*, newly set forth, as it hath been sundrye times plaied by Ned Allen and his company, with *Kempes* applauded merriment of *the Men of Gotham.*"

In the Bodleian Library, among the books given to it by Robert Burton, is the following tract, bound up with a few others of the same size, in a quarto volume marked L, 62d. art.

"Kemps nine daies wonder performed in a daunce from London to
"Norwich. Containing the pleasure, paines and kind entertainment
"of William Kemp between London and that city, in his late mor-
"rice. Wherein is somewhat set downe worth note; to reprooue the
"slanders spred of him: many things merry, nothing hurtfull.
"Written by himselfe, to satis e his friends." (Lond. E. A. for
Nicholas Ling. 1600. b. l.—With a wooden cut of Kempe as a morris-
dancer, preceded by a fellow with a pipe and drum, whom he (in the
book) calis Thomas Slye, his taberer.) It is dedicated to "The true
"ennobled lady, and his most bountifull mistris, mistris Anne
"Fitton, mayde of honour to the most sacred mayde royall queene
"Elizabeth."

⁶ "Tush, tush, Tarleton, *Kempe*, nor Singer, nor all the litter
of fooles that *now* come drawling behind them, never played the
clownes part more naturally than the arrantest sot of you all."

Gul; Hornebooke, 1609.

“ UPON KEMPE AND HIS MORICE, WITH HIS
EPITAPH.

“ Welcome from Norwich, Kempe : all joy to see
 “ Thy safe return moriscoed lustily.
 “ But out alas ! how soone’s thy morice done,
 “ When pipe and tabor, all thy friends be gone ;
 “ And leave thee now to dance the second part
 “ With feeble nature, not with nimble art !
 “ Then all thy triumphs fraught with strains of mirth,
 “ Shall be cag’d up within a chest of earth :
 “ Shall be ? they are ; thou hast danc’d thee out of
 breath ;
 “ And now must make thy parting dance with death.”

THOMAS POPE.

This actor likewise performed the part of a Clown⁷.
 He died before the year 1600⁸.

GEORGE BRYAN.

I have not been able to gather any intelligence concerning this performer, except that in the exhibition of *The Seven Deadly Sins* he represented the earl of Warwick. He was, I believe, on the stage before the year 1588.

HENRY CUNDALL

is said by Roberts the player to have been a comedian, but he does not mention any other authority for this assertion but stage-tradition. In Webster’s *Dutchess of*

7 “ — what meanes Singer then,
 “ And Pope, the clowne, to speak so borish, when
 “ They counterfaite the clownes upon the stage ?”

*Humours Ordinarie, where a man may be verie merie and
 exceeding well used for his sixpence.* (No date.)

8 Heywood’s *Apology for Actors*.

Malfy he originally acted the part of the Cardinal ; and as, when that play was printed in 1623, another performer had succeeded him in that part, he had certainly before that time retired from the stage. He still, however, continued to have an interest in the theatre, being mentioned with the other players to whom a licence was granted by King Charles the First in 1625. He had probably a considerable portion of the *shares* or property of the Globe and Blackfriars theatres. This actor as well as Heminge lived in Aldermanbury, in which parish he served the office of *Sideman* in the year 1606. I have not been able to ascertain his age ; but he appears to have married about the year 1598, and had eight children, the eldest of whom was born in Feb. 1598-99, and died an infant. Three only of his children appear to have survived him ; Henry, born in 1600 ; Elizabeth in 1606 ; and William, baptized May 26, 1611. Before his death he resided for some time at Fulham, but he died in London, and was buried in his parish church in Aldermanbury, Dec. 29, 1627. On the 13th of that month he made his will, of which I subjoin a copy, extracted from the registry of the Pre-rogative Court.

“ In the name of God, Amen, I Henry Cundall of London, gentleman, being sick in body, but of perfect mind and memory, laud and praise be therefore given to Almighty God, calling to my remembrance that there is nothing in this world more sure and certain to mankind than death, and nothing more uncertain than the hour thereof, do therefore make and declare this my last will and testament in manner and form following ; that is to say, first I commend my soul into the hands of Almighty God, trusting and assuredly believing that only by the merits of the precious death and passion of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ I shall obtain full and free pardon and remission of all my sins, and shall enjoy everlasting life in the kingdom of heaven, amongst the elect children of God. My body I commit to the

earth, to be decently buried in the night-time in such parish where it shall please God to call me. My worldly substance I dispose of as followeth. And first concerning all and singular my freehold messuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments whatsoever, with their and every of their appurtenances, whereof I am and stand seized of any manner of estate of inheritance, I give, devise and bequeath the same as followeth.

Imprimis, I give, devise and bequeath all and singular my freehold messuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments whatsoever, with their and every of their appurtenances, situate, lying and being in Helmettcourt in the Strand, and elsewhere, in the county of Middlesex, unto Elizabeth my well beloved wife, for and during the term of her natural life; and from and immediately after her decease, unto my son Henry Cundall, and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten, and for want of such issue unto my son William Cundall, and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten; and for default of such issue unto my daughter Elizabeth Finch, and to her heirs and assigns for ever.

Item, I give, devise and bequeath all and singular my freehold messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, whatsoever, with their and every of their appurtenances, situate, lying and being in the parish of St. Bride, alias Bridgett, near Fleet-street, London, and elsewhere in the city of London, and the suburbs thereof, unto my well beloved wife Elizabeth Cundall and to her assigns, until my said son William Cundall his term of apprenticeship shall be fully expired by effluxion of time; and from and immediately after the said term of apprenticeship shall be so fully expired, I give, devise and bequeath the same messuages and premises situate in the city of London, and the suburbs thereof, unto my said son William Cundall and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten, and for default of such issue, unto my said son Henry Cundall, and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten, and for default of such issue unto my said daughter Elizabeth Finch,

Finch, and to her heirs and assigns for ever. And as concerning all and singular my goods, chattels, plate, household stuff, ready money, debts and personal estate, whatsoever and wheresoever, I give, devise, and bequeath the same as followeth: viz.

Imprimis, Whereas I am executor of the last will and testament of John Underwood, deceased, and by force of the same executorship became possessed of so much of the personal estate of the said John Underwood, which is expressed in an inventory thereof, made and by me exhibited in due form of law into the ecclesiastical court. And whereas also in discharge of my said executorship I have from time to time disbursed divers sums of money in the education and bringing up of the children of the said John Underwood deceased as by my accompts kept in that behalf appeareth. Now in discharge of my conscience, and in full performance of the trust reposed in me by the said John Underwood, I do charge my executrix faithfully to pay to the surviving children of the said John Underwood all and whatsoever shall be found and appear by my accompts to belong unto them, and to deliver unto them all such rings as was their late father's, and which are by me kept by themselves apart in a little casket.

Item, I do make, name, ordain and appoint my said well beloved wife, Elizabeth Cundall, the full and sole executrix of this my last will and testament, requiring and charging her, as she will answer the contrary before Almighty God at the dreadfull day of judgment, that she will truly and faithfully perform the same, in and by all things according to my true intent and meaning; and I do earnestly desire my very loving friends, John Heminge, gentleman, Cuthbert Burbage, gentleman, my son-in-law Herbert Finch, and Peter Saunderson, grocer, to be my overseers, and to be aiding and assisting unto my said executrix in the due execution and performance of this my last will and testament. And I give and bequeath to every of my said four several overseers the sum of five pounds apiece to buy each of them a piece of plate.

Item,

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath, unto my said son William Cundall, all the clear yearly rents and profits which shall arise and come from the time of my decease, of and by my leases and terms of years, of all my messuages, houses, and places, situate in the Blackfriars, London, and at the Bank-side in the county of Surry, until such time as that the full sum of three hundred pounds by those rents and profits may be raised for a stock for my said son William*, if he shall so long live.

Item, for as much as I have by this my will dealt very bountifully with my well beloved wife Elizabeth Cundall, considering my estate, I do give and bequeath unto my son Henry Cundall for his maintenance, either at the university or elsewhere, one annuity or yearly sum of thirty pounds of lawful money of England, to be paid unto my said son Henry Cundall, or his assigns, during all the term of the natural life of the said Elizabeth my wife, if my said son Henry Cundall shall so long live, at the four most usual feast-days or terms in the year, that is to say, at the feasts of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary, the Nativity of Saint John Baptist, and St. Michael the Archangel; or within the space of twenty and eight days next ensuing after every of the same feast-days, by even and equal portions: the first payment thereof to begin and to be made at such of the said feast-days as shall first and next happen after the day of my decease, or within the space of twenty and eight days next ensuing after the same feast-day.

Item, I give and bequeath unto widow Martin and widow Gimber, to each of them respectively, for and during all the terms of their natural lives severally, if my leases and terms of years of and in my houses in Aldermanbury in London shall so long continue unexpired, one annuity or yearly sum of twenty shillings apiece, of lawful money of England, to be paid unto them severally, by even portions quarterly, at

* He was probably bound apprentice to Peter Saunderson, grocer.

the feast-days above mentioned, or within the space of twenty and eight days next ensuing after every of the same feast-days; the first payment of them severally to begin and to be made at such of the said feasts as shall first and next happen after my decease or within the space of twenty and eight days next ensuing after the same feast.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath unto the poor people of the parish of Fulham in the county of Middlesex, where I now dwell, the sum of five pounds, to be paid to master Doctor Clewett, and master Edmond Powell of Fulham, gentleman, and by them to be distributed.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath, unto my said, well beloved wife Elizabeth Cundall, and to my said well beloved daughter Elizabeth Finch, all my household stuff, bedding, linen, brass and pewter, whatsoever, remaining and being as well at my house in Fulham aforesaid, as also in my house in Aldermanbury in London; to be equally divided between them part and part alike. And for the more equal dealing in that behalf, I will, appoint, and request my said overseers, or the greater number of them, to make division thereof, and then my wife to have the preferment of the choice.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my cousin Frances Gurney, alias Hulse, my aunt's daughter, the sum of five pounds, and I give unto the daughter of the said Frances the like sum of five pounds.

Item, I give, devise and bequeath unto such and so many of the daughters of my cousin Gilder, late of New Buckenham in the county of Norfolk, deceased, as shall be living at the time of my decease, the sum of five pounds apiece.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my old servant Elizabeth Wheaton a mourning gown and forty shillings in money, and that place or privilege which she now exerciseth and enjoyeth in the houses of the Blackfryers, London, and the Globe on the Bankside, for and during all the term of her natural life, if my estate shall so long
continue

continue in the premises ; and I give unto the daughter of the said Elizabeth Wheaton the sum of five pounds, to be paid unto the said Elizabeth Wheaton, for the use of her said daughter, within the space of one year next after my decease. And I do hereby will, appoint and declare, that an acquittance under the hand and seal of the said Elizabeth Wheaton, upon the receipt of the said legacy of five pounds, for the use of her said daughter, shall be, and shall be deemed, adjudged, construed, and taken to be, both in law and in equity, unto my now executrix a sufficient release and discharge for and concerning the payment of the same.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath, all the rest and residue of my goods, chattels, leases, money, debts, and personal estate, whatsoever and wheresoever, (after my debts shall be paid and my funeral charges and all other charges about the execution of this my will first paid and discharged) unto my said well beloved wife, Elizabeth Cundall.

Item, My will and mind is, and I do hereby desire and appoint, that all such legacies, gifts and bequests as I have by this my will given, devised or bequeathed unto any person or persons, for payment whereof no certain time is hereby before limited or appointed, shall be well and truly paid by my executrix within the space of one year next after my decease. Finally, I do hereby revoke, countermand, and make void, all former wills, testaments, codicils, executors, legacies, and bequests, whatsoever, by me at any time heretofore named, made, given, or appointed ; willing and minding that these presents only shall stand and be taken for my last will and testament, and none other. In witness whereof I the said Henry Cundall, the testator, to this my present last will and testament, being written on nine sheets of paper, with my name subscribed to every sheet, have set my seal, the thirteenth day of December, in the third year of the reign of our sovereign lord Charles, by the grace of God king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.

HENRY CUNDALL.

Signed,





*Engraved by T. Holloway, from an original Picture
in the Ashmole Museum, Oxford.*

Published as the Act directs by J. Rivington & Partners 1 June 1789.

Signed, sealed, pronounced and declared, by the said Henry Cundall, the testator, as his last will and testament, on the day and year above written, in the presence of us whose names are here under written:

Robert Yonge.

Hum. Dyson, Notary Publique.

And of me Ro. Dickens, servant unto the said Notary.

Probatum fuit testamentum superscriptum apud Lond. coram magistro Richardo Zouche, legum doctore, Surrogato, 24^o die Februarii, 1627, juramento Elizabethæ Cundall, relicte dicti defuncti et executr. cui, &c. de bene, &c. jurat.

WILLIAM SLY

was joined with Shakspeare, &c. in the licence granted in 1603.—He is introduced, personally, in the induction to Marston's *Malecontent*, 1604, and from his there using an affected phrase of Osrick's in *Hamlet*, we may collect that he performed that part. He died before the year 1612⁹.

RICHARD COWLEY

appears to have been an actor of a low class, having performed the part of Verges in *Much ado about Nothing*. He lived in the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, and had two sons baptized there; Cuthbert, born in 1597, and Richard born in 1599. I know not when this actor died.

JOHN LOWIN

was a principal performer in these plays. If the date on his picture¹ in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, is

⁹ Heywood's *Apology for Actors*:

¹ This date, which the engraver of the annexed portrait has inadvertently omitted, is—"1640, Ætat. 64."

accurate,

accurate, he was born in 1576. Wright mentions in his *Historia Histrionica* that “before the wars he used to act the part of Falstaff with mighty applause;” but without doubt he means during the reign of king Charles the First, from 1625 to 1641. When our poet’s *King Henry IV.* was first exhibited, Lowin was but twenty-one years old; it is therefore probable that Heminge, or some other actor, originally represented the fat knight, and that several years afterwards the part was resigned to Lowin.

He is said by Roberts the player to have also performed king Henry the Eighth and Hamlet; but with respect to the latter his account is certainly erroneous; for it appears from more ancient writers, that Joseph Taylor was the original performer of that character².

Lowin is introduced, in person, in the induction to Marston’s *Malecontent*, printed in 1604; and he and Taylor are mentioned in a copy of verses, written in the year 1632, soon after the appearance of Jonson’s *Magnetick Lady*, as the two most celebrated actors of that time:

“Let Lowin cease, and Taylor scorn to touch
“The loathed stage, for thou hast made it such.”

Beside the parts already mentioned, this actor represented the following characters: Morose, in *The Silent Woman*;—Volpone, in *The Fox*;—Mammon, in *The Alchymist*;—Melantius, in *The Maid’s Tragedy*;—Aubrey, in *The Bloody Brother*;—Bosola, in *The Dutcheſs of Malfy*;—Jacomio, in *The Deserving Favourite*;—Eubulus, in Massinger’s *Picture*;—Domitian, in *The Roman Actor*;—and Belleur, in *The Wild Goose Chase*.

Though Heminge and Condell continued to have an interest in the theatre to the time of their death, yet about the year 1623, I believe, they ceased to act; and that the management had in the next year devolved on Lowin and Taylor, is ascertained by the following note

² *Histor. Histrion. and Roscius Anglicanus.*

made by Sir Henry Herbert in his office-book, under the year 1633.

“ On friday the 19th of October³, 1633, I sent a warrant by a messenger of the chamber to suppress *The Tamer Tamd*, to the Kings players, for that afternoone, and it was obeyd; upon complaints of foule and offensive maters conteyned therein.

“ They acted *The Scornfull Lady* instead of it. I have enterd the warrant here.

“ These are to will and require you to forbear the actinge of your play called *The Tamer tamd or the Taminge of the Tamer*, this afternoone, or any more till you have leave from mee; and this at your perill. On friday morninge the 18 Octob. 1633.

“ To Mr. Taylor, Mr. Lowins, or any of the Kings players at the Blackfryers.

“ On saterday morninge followinge the booke was brought mee, and at my Lord of Hollands request I returned it to the players y^e monday morninge after, purgd of oaths, prophanes, and ribaldrye, being y^e 21 of Octob. 1633.

“ Because the stoppage of the acting of this play for that afternoone, it being an ould play, hath rayted some discourse in the players, thogh no disobedience, I have thought fitt to insert here ther submission upon a former disobedience, and to declare that it concernes the Master of the Revells to bee carefull of their ould revived playes, as of their new, since they may conteyne offensive matter, which ought not to bee allowed in any time.

“ The Master ought to have copies of their new playes left with him, that he may be able to shew what he hath allowed or disallowed.

“ All ould plays ought to bee brought to the Master of the Revells, and have his allowance to them, for

³ So the Ms. though afterwards Sir Henry Herbert calls it “ friday the 18th.”

which he should have his fee, since they may be full of offensive things against church and state; y^e rather that in former time the poetts tooke greater liberty than is allowed them by mee.

“ The players ought not to study their parts till I have allowed of the booke.

‘ To Sir Henry Herbert, K.^t master of his Ma.^{ties} Revels.’

“ After our humble servise⁴ remembred unto your good worship, Whereas not long since we acted a play called *The Spanishe Viceroy*, not being licensed under your worships hande, nor allowd of: wee doe confesse and herby acknowledge that wee have offended, and that it is in your power to punishe this offense, and are very sorry for it; and doe likewise promise herby that wee will not act any play without your hand or substituts hereafter, nor doe any thinge that may prejudice the authority of your office: So hoping that this humble submission of ours may bee accepted, wee have therunto sett our hands. This twentieth of Decemb. 1624.

Joseph Taylor.
Richard Robinson,
Elyard Swanston.
Thomas Pollard.
Robert Benfeilde.
George Burght.

John Lowen.
John Shancke.
John Rice.
Will. Rowley.
Richard Sharpe.

“ Mr. Knight,

“ In many things you have saved mee labour; yet wher your judgment or penn fayld you, I have made bould to use mine. Purge ther parts, as I have the booke. And I hope every hearer and player will thinke that I have done God good servise, and the quality no wronge; who hath no greater enemies than oaths, prophaneſs, and publique ribaldry, wch for the future I doe absolutely forbid to bee presented unto mee in any

⁴ In the margin here Sir Henry Herbert has added this note. “ ’Tis entered here for a remembrance against their disorders.”

playbooke, as you will answer it at your perill. 21
Octob. 1633.

“ This was subscribed to their play of *The Tamer Tamd*, and directed to Knight, their book-keeper.

“ The 24 of Octob. 1633, Lowins and Swanston were sorry for their ill manners, and craved my pardon, which I gave them in presence of Mr. Taylor and Mr. Benfeilde.”

After the suppression of the theatres, Lowin became very poor. In 1652, in conjunction with Joseph Taylor, he published Fletcher's comedy called *The Wild Goose Chase*, for bread; and in his latter years, he kept an inn (*The Three Pidgeons*) at Brentford, in which town, Wright says, he died very old^s. But that writer was mistaken with respect to the place of his death, for he died in London at the age of eighty three, and was buried in the ground belonging to the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, March 18, 1658-9. On the 8th of the following October administration of the goods of John Lowin was granted to Martha Lowin, I suppose the actor's widow. In the Register of persons buried in the parish of Brentford, which I carefully examined, no person of this name is mentioned between the years 1650, and 1660.

SAMUEL CROSS.

This actor was probably dead before the year 1600; for Heywood, who had himself written for the stage before that time, says he had never seen him.

ALEXANDER COOKE.

From *The Platt of the Seven Deadly Sinns*, it appears, that this actor was on the stage before 1588, and was the stage-heroine. He acted some woman's part in Jonson's *Sejanus*, and in *The Fox*; and we may presume, performed all the principal female characters in our author's plays.

^s *Hist. Histrion.* p. 10.

SAMUEL GILBURNE. Unknown.

ROBERT ARMIN

performed in *The Alchemist* in 1610, and was alive in 1611, some verses having been addressed to him in that year by John Davies of Hereford; from which he appears to have occasionally performed the part of the Fool or Clown⁶.

He was author of a comedy called *The Two Maids of More-clacke*, [*Mortlake* it ought to be.] 1609. I have also a book, called *A Nest of Ninnies simply of themselves, without compound*, by Robert Armin, published in 1608. And at Stationers' Hall was entered in the same year, "a book called *Phantasm the Italian Tayler and his Boy*, made by Mr. Armin, servant to his majesty."

Mr. Oldys, in his Ms. notes on Langbaine, says, that "Armin was an apprentice at first to a goldsmith in Lombard-street." He adds, that "the means of his becoming a player is recorded in Tarleton's jests printed in 1611, where it appears, this 'prentice going often to a tavern in Gracechurch-street, to dun the keeper thereof, who was a debtor to his master, *Tarleton*, who of the master of that tavern was now only a lodger in it, saw some verses written by Armin on the wainscot, upon his master's said debtor, whose name was *Charles Tarleton*, and liked them so well, that he wrote others under them, prophecyng, that as he was, so *Armin* should be: therefore, calls him his adopted son, to wear the Clown's suit after him. And so it fell out, for the boy was so pleased with what Tarleton had written of him, so re-

- 6 "To honest, gamesome, *Robert Armine*,
 "Who tickles the spleene like a harmless vermin."
 "Armine, what shall I say of thee, but this,
 "Thou art a *fool* and knave;—both?—fie, I mis,
 "And wrong thee much; sith thou indeed art neither,
 "Although in *shew* thou *playest* both together."

Specified

spected his person, so frequented his plays, and so learned his humour and manners, that from his private practice he came to publick playing his parts; that he was in great repute for the same at *the Globe* on the Bank-side, &c. all the former part of king James's reign."

WILLIAM OSTLER

had been one of the children of the Chapel; having acted in Jonson's *Poetaster*, together with Nat. Field and John Underwood, in 1601, and is said to have performed women's parts. In 1610 both he and Underwood acted as men in Ben Jonson's *Alchemist*. In Davies's *Scourge of Folly*, there are some verses addressed to him with this title: "To the *Roscus* of these times, William Ostler." He acted Antonio in Webster's *Dutchess of Malfy*, in 1623. I know not when he died.

NATHANIEL FIELD. }

JOHN UNDERWOOD. }

Both these actors had been children of the chapel², and probably at the Globe and Blackfriars theatres performed female parts. Field, when he became too manly to represent the characters of women, played the part of *Bussy d'Ambois* in Chapman's play of that name. From the preface prefixed to one edition of it, it appears that he was dead in 1641.

There is a good portrait of this performer in Dulwich college, in a very singular dress.

Fleckno in his little tract on the English Stage, speaks of him as an actor of great eminence. A person of this name was the author of two comedies, called *A Woman's a Weathercock*, and *Amends for Ladies*, and assisted Massinger in writing *The Fatal Dowry*, but he scarcely could have been the player; for the first of the comedies

² See *Cynthia's Revels*, 1601, in which they both acted.

abovementioned was printed in 1612, at which time this actor must have been yet a youth, having performed as one of the Children of the Revels, in Jonson's *Silent Woman*, in 1609.

The only intelligence I have obtained of John Underwood, beside what I have already mentioned, is, that he performed the part of Delio in *The Dutchess of Malfy*, and that he died either in the latter end of the year 1624 or the beginning of the following year, having first made his will, of which the following is a copy:

In the name of God, Amen. I John Underwood, of the parish of Saint Bartholomew the Less in London, gent. being very weak and sick in body, but, thanks be given to Almighty God, in perfect mind and memory, do make and declare my last will and testament, in manner and form following: viz. First, I commend and commit my soul to Almighty God, and my body to the earth, to be buried at the discretion of my executors; and my worldly goods and estate which it hath pleased the Almighty God to bless me with, I will, bequeath, and dispose as followeth; that is to say, to and amongst my five children, namely, John Underwood, Elizabeth Underwood, Burbage Underwood, Thomas Underwood, and Isabell Underwood, (my debts and other legacies herein named paid, and my funeral and other just dues and duties discharged) all and singular my goods, household stuff, plate and other things whatsoever in or about my now dwelling house, or elsewhere; and also all the right, title, or interest, part or share, that I have and enjoy at this present by lease or otherwise, or ought to have, possess and enjoy in any manner or kind at this present or hereafter, within the Blackfryars, London, or in the company of his M^{ties} servants, my loving and kind fellows, in their house there, or at the Globe on the Bankside; and also that my part and share or due in or out of the playhouse called the Curtaine, situate in or near Holloway in the parish of St. Leonard, London, or in any other place; to my said
five

five children, equally and proportionably to be divided amongst them at their severall ages of one and twenty years; and during their and every of their minorities, for and towards their education, maintenance, and placing in the world, according to the discretion, direction, and care which I repose in my executors. Provided always and my true intent and meaning is, that my said executors shall not alienate, change or alter by sale or otherwise, directly or indirectly, any my part or share which I now have or ought to hold, have, possess and enjoy in the said play-houses called the Blackfryars, the Globe on the Bancke-side, and Curtaine aforementioned, or any of them, but that the increase and benefit out and from the same and every of them shall come, accrue and arise to my said executors, as now it is to me, to the use of my said children, equally to be divided amongst them. Provided also that if the use and increase of my said estate given (as aforesaid) to my said children, shall prove insufficient or defective, in respect of the young years of my children, for their education and placing of them as my said executors shall think meet, then my will and true meaning is, that when the eldest of my said children shall attain to the age of one and twenty years, my said executors shall pay or cause to be paid unto him or her so surviving or attaining, his or her equal share of my estate so remaining undisbursed or undisposed for the uses aforesaid in their or either of their hands, and so for every or any of my said children attaining to the age aforesaid: yet if it shall appear or seem fit at the completion of my said children every or any of them at their said full age or ages, which shall first happen, my estate remaining not to be equally shared or disposed amongst the rest surviving in minority, then my will is, that it shall be left to my executors to give unto my child so attaining the age as they shall judge will be equal to the rest surviving and accomplishing the aforesaid age; and if any of them shall die or depart this life before they accomplish the said age or ages, I will and bequeath their part, share or portion to them,

him or her surviving, at the ages aforesaid, equally to be divided by my executors as aforesaid. And I do hereby nominate and appoint my loving friends (in whom I repose my trust for performance of the premises) Henry Cundell, Thomas Sanford, and Thomas Smith, gentlemen, my executors of this my last will and testament; and do intreat my loving friends Mr. John Heminge, and John Lowyn, my fellowes, overseers of the same my last will and testament: and I give to my said executors and overseers for their pains (which I intreat them to accept) the sum of eleven shillings apiece to buy them rings, to wear in remembrance of me. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal the fourth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred twenty four.

JOHN UNDERWOOD.

A Codicil to be annexed to the last will and testament of John Underwood, late of the parish of Little St. Bartholomew, London, deceased, made the tenth day of the month of October, Anno Domini one thousand six hundred twenty four or thereabouts, viz. his intent and meaning was, and so he did will, dispose, and bequeath (if his estate would thereunto extend, and it should seem convenient to his executors,) these particulars following in manner and form following: *scilt.* to his daughter Elizabeth two seal rings of gold, one with a death's head, the other with a red stone in it. To his son John Underwood a seal ring of gold with an A and a B in it. To Burbage Underwood a seal ring with a blue stone in it. To Isabell one hoop ring of gold. To his said son John one hoop ring of gold. To his said daughter Elizabeth one wedding ring. To his said son Burbage one hoop ring, black and gold. To his said son Thomas one hoop ring of gold, and one gold ring with a knot. To his said daughter Isabell one blue saphire and one joint ring of gold. To John Underwood one half dozen of silver spoons and one gilt spoon. To Elizabeth one
silver

silver spoon and three gilt spoons. To Burbage Underwood, his son aforenamed, one great gilt spoon, one plain bowl and one rough bowl. To Thomas Underwood his son, one silver porringer, one silver taster, and one gilt spoon. To Isabell his said daughter, three silver spoons, two gilt spoons, and one gilt cup. Which was so had and done before sufficient and credible witness, the said testator being of perfect mind and memory.

Probatum fuit testamentum superscriptum una cum codicillo eidem annex. apud London, coram iudice, primo die mensis Februarii, Anno Domini 1624, juramento Henrici Cundell, unius executor. cui, &c. de bene, &c. jurat. reservata potestate similem commissionem faciendi Thome Sandford et Thome Smith, executoribus etiam in hujusmodi testamento nominat. cum venerint eam petitur.

NICHOLAS TOOLEY

acted Forobosco in *The Dutchess of Malfy*. From the *Platt of the Seven Deadly Sinns*, it appears, that he sometimes represented female characters. He performed in *The Alchemist* in 1610.

WILLIAM ECCLESTONE.

This performer's name occurs for the first time in B. Jonson's *Alchemist*, 1610. No other ancient piece (that I have seen) contains any memorial of this actor.

JOSEPH TAYLOR

appears from some verses already cited, to have been a celebrated actor. According to Downes the prompter, he was instructed by Shakspeare to play Hamlet; and Wright in his *Historia Histrionica*, says, "He performed

that part incomparably well." From the remembrance of his performance of Hamlet, Sir William D'Avenant is said to have conveyed his instructions to Mr. Betterton. Taylor likewise played Iago. He also performed True-wit in *The Silent Woman*, Face in *The Alchymist*⁸, and Mosca in *Volpone*; but not originally⁹. He represented Ferdinand in *The Dutchess of Malfy*, after the death of Burbadge. He acted Mathias in *The Picture*, by Massinger; Paris in *The Roman Actor*; the Duke in Carlell's *Deserving Favourite*; Rollo in *The Bloody Brother*; and Mirabel in *The Wild Goose Chase*. There are verses by this performer prefixed to Massinger's *Roman Actor*, 1629.

In the year 1614, Taylor appears to have been at the head of a distinct company of comedians, who were distinguished by the name of *The Lady Elizabeth's Servants**. However, he afterwards returned to his old friends; and after the death of Burbadge, Heminge and Condell, he in conjunction with John Lowin and Eliard Swanston had the principal management of the king's company. In Sept. 1639 he was appointed Yeoman of the Revels in ordinary to his Majesty, in the room of Mr. William Hunt. There were certain perquisites annexed to this office, and a salary of sixpence a day. When he was in attendance on the king he had 3l. 6s. 8d. *per month*.

I find from Fleckno's *Characters*, that Taylor died either in the year 1653 or in the following year¹: and according to Wright he was buried at Richmond. The Register of that parish antecedent to the Restoration, being lost, I am unable to ascertain that fact. He was

⁸ *Hyst. Histrion.*

⁹ Taylor's name does not occur in the list of actors printed by Jonson at the end of *Volpone*.

* *Mf. Virtue.*

¹ "He is one, who now the stage is down, acts the parasite's part at table; and, since Taylor's death, none can play Mosca so well as he." *Character of one who imitates the good companion another way.* In the edition of Fleckno's *Characters*, printed in 1665, he says, *this character was written in 1654.* Taylor was alive in 1652, having published *The Wild Goose Chase* in that year.

probably.

probably near seventy years of age at the time of his death.

He is said by some to have painted the only original picture of Shakspeare now extant, in the possession of the duke of Chandos. By others, with more probability, Richard Burbadge is reported to have been the painter: for among the pictures in Dulwich college is one, which, in the catalogue made in the time of Charles the Second by Cartwright the player, is said to have been painted by Burbadge.

ROBERT BENFIELD

appears to have been a second-rate actor. He performed Antonio in *The Dutchess of Malfy*, after the death of Ostler. He also acted the part of the King in *The Deserving Favourite*; Ladislaus in *The Picture*; Junius Rusticus in *The Roman Actor*; and De-gard in *The Wild Goose Chase*.

He was alive in 1647, being one of the players who signed the dedication to the folio edition of Fletcher's plays, published in that year.

ROBERT GOUGHE.

This actor at an early period performed female characters, and was, I suppose, the father of *Alexander Goughe*, who in this particular followed Robert's steps. In *The Seven Deadly Sins*, Robert Goughe played Aspatia; but in the year 1611 he had arrived at an age which entitled him to represent male characters; for in *The Second Maidens Tragedie*², which was produced in that year, he performed the part of the usurping tyrant.

RICHARD ROBINSON

is said by Wright to have been a comedian. He acted in Jonson's *Catiline* in 1611; and, it should seem from a passage in *The Devil is an Ass*, [Act II. sc. viii.] 1616,

² Ms. in the collection of the Marquis of Lansdown. See p. 71, n. 7.
that

that at that time he usually represented female characters. In *The Second Maidens Tragedie*, he represented the *Lady of Govianus*. I have not learned what parts in our author's plays were performed by this actor. In *The Deserving Favourite*, 1629, he played Orsinio; and in *The Wild Goose Chase* La-Castre. In Massinger's *Roman Actor*, he performed Æsopus; and in *The Dutchess of Malfy*, after the retirement of Condell, he played the Cardinal. Hart, the celebrated actor, was originally his boy or apprentice. Robinson was alive in 1647, his name being signed; with several others, to the dedication prefixed to the first folio edition of Fletcher's plays. In the civil wars he served in the king's army, and was killed in an engagement, by Harrison, who was afterwards hanged at Charing-Cross. Harrison refused him quarter, after he had laid down his arms, and shot him in the head, saying at the same time, "Curfed is he that doth the work of the Lord negligently³."

JOHN SHANCKE

was, according to Wright, a comedian. He was but in a low class, having performed the part of the Curate in Fletcher's *Scornful Lady*, and that of Hillario (a servant) in *The Wild Goose Chase*. He was a dramattick author as well as an actor, having produced a comedy entitled *Shanke's Ordinary*, which was acted at Blackfriars in the year 1623-4⁴.

JOHN RICE.

The only information I have met with concerning this player, is, that he represented the Marquis of Pescara, an inconsiderable part in Webster's *Dutchess of Malfy*. He was perhaps brother to Stephen Rice, clerk, who is mentioned in the will of John Heminge.

The foregoing list is said in the first folio to contain the names of the *principal* actors in these plays.

³ *Hist. Histron.* p. 8.

⁴ "For the kings company. *Shankes Ordinarie*, written by Shankes himselfe, this 16 March, 1623,—£. i. o. o." Ms. Herbert.

Beside these, we know that *John Wilson* played an insignificant part in *Much ado about nothing*.

Gabriel was likewise an inferior actor in these plays, as appears from *the Third Part of King Henry VI.*, p. 150, edit. 1623, where we find—"Enter *Gabriel*." In the corresponding place in the old play entitled *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, &c.* we have—"Enter a *Messenger*." *Sinkler* or *Sinelo*, and *Humphrey*⁵, were likewise players in the same theatre, and of the same class. *William Barksted*⁶, *John Duke*, and *Christopher Beeston*⁷, also belonged to this company. The latter from the year 1624 to 1638, when he died, was manager of the Cockpit theatre in Drury-lane.

In a book of the last age of no great authority, we are told that "the infamous *Hugh Peters*, after he had been expelled from the University of Cambridge, went to London, and enrolled himself as a player in *Shakespeare's* company, in which he usually performed the part of the Clown." *Hugh Peter* (for that was his name, not *Peters*, as he was vulgarly called by his contemporaries,) was born at Fowey or Foye in Cornwall in 1599, and was entered of Trinity College, in Cambridge, in the year 1613. In 1617 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and that of Master of Arts in 1622. On the 23d of December 1621, as I find from the Registry of the Bishop of London, he was ordained a deacon, by Dr. Mountaine then bishop of that see; and on June 8, 1623, he was ordained a priest. During his residence at Trinity college, he behaved so improperly, that he was once publicly whipped for his insolence and contumacy^{*}; but I do not find that he was

⁵ In *The Third Part of King Henry VI.* p. 158, first folio, the following stage-direction is found: "Enter *Sinklo* and *Humphrey*. In the old play in quarto, entitled *The true tragedie of Richard duke of Yorke*, "Enter two keepers."

⁶ He was one of the children of the Revels. See the *Dramatis Personæ* of Ben Jonson's *Silent Woman*.

⁷ *Dramatis Personæ* of *Every man in his humour*.

* *Watson's Milton*, p. 432.

expelled. It is, however, not improbable that he was rusticated for a time, for some misconduct; and perhaps in that interval, instead of retiring to his parent's house in Cornwall, his restless spirit carried him to London, and induced him to tread the stage. If this was the case, it probably happened about the time of our author's death, when Hugh Peter was about eighteen years old.

Langbaine was undoubtedly mistaken in supposing that Edward Alleyn was "an ornament to Blackfriars." Wright, who was much better acquainted with the ancient stage, says, "he never heard that Alleyn acted there:" and the list in the first folio edition of our author's plays proves decisively that he was not of his company; for so celebrated a performer could not have been overlooked, when that list was forming. So early as in 1593, we find "Ned Alleyn's company mentioned*." Alleyn was sole proprietor and manager of the Fortune theatre, in which he performed from 1599 (and perhaps before) till 1616, when, I believe, he quitted the stage. He was servant to the Lord Admiral (Nottingham): all the old plays therefore which are said to have been performed by *the Lord Admiral's Servants*, were represented at the Fortune by Alleyn's company⁸.

THE

* P. 197, n. 5.

⁸ In a former edition I had said, on the authority of Mr. Oldys, that "Edward Alleyn, the player, mentions in his *Diary*, that he once had so slender an audience in his theatre called the *Fortune*, that the whole receipt of the house amounted to no more than three pounds and some odd shillings." But I have since seen Alleyn's *Diary*, (which was then mislaid,) and find Mr. Oldys was mistaken. The memorandum on which the intelligence conveyed by the Librarian of Dulwich College to that Antiquary, was founded, is as follows: "Oct. 3, 1617. I went to the Red Bull, and rd. for *The Younger Brother* but £. 3. 6. 4."

It appears from one of Lord Bacon's Letters that Alleyn had in 1618 left the stage. "Allen that *was* the player," he calls him. The money therefore which he mentions to have received for the play of *The Younger Brother*, must have been the produce of the second day's representation, in consequence of his having sold the property of that piece to the sharers in the Red Bull theatre, or being in some other

THE history of the stage as far as it relates to Shakespeare, naturally divides itself into three periods : the period which preceded his appearance as an actor or dramattick writer ; that during which he flourished ; and the time which has elapsed since his death. Having now gone through the two former of these periods, I shall take a transient view of the stage from the death of our great poet to the year 1741, still with a view to Shakespeare, and his works.

Soon after his death, four of the principal companies then subsisting, made a union, and were afterwards called *the United Companies* ; but I know not precisely in what this union consisted. I suspect it arose from a penury of actors, and that the managers contracted to permit the performers in each house occasionally to assist their brethren in the other theatres in the representation of plays. We have already seen that John Heminge in 1618 pay'd Sir George Buck, "*in the name of the four companys*, for a lenten dispensation in the holydaies, 44s.;" and Sir Henry Herbert observes that the play called *Come see a Wonder*, "written by John Daye for a company of strangers," and represented Sept. 18, 1623, was "acted at the Red Bull, and licensed without his hand to it, because they [i. e. this company of strangers] were none of the *four companys*." The old comedy entitled *Amends for Ladies*, as appears from its title-page, was acted at *Blackfriars* before the year 1618, "both by the *Prince's servants and Lady Elizabeth's*," though

other way entitled to a benefit from it. Alleyn's own play-house, the *Fortune*, was then open, but I imagine, he had sold of his property in it to a kinsman, one Thomas Allen, an actor likewise. In his Diary he frequently mentions his going from Dulwich to London after dinner, and supping with him and some of "*the Fortune's men*." From this Ms. I expected to have learned several particulars relative to our ancient stage ; but unluckily the Diary does not commence till the year 1617, (at which time he had retired to his College at Dulwich,) and contains no theatrical intelligence whatsoever, except the article already quoted.

the

the theatre at Blackfriars then belonged to the king's servants.

After the death of Shakspeare, the plays of Fletcher appear for several years to have been more admired, or at least to have been more frequently acted, than those of our poet. During the latter part of the reign of James the First, Fletcher's pieces had the advantage of novelty to recommend them. I believe, between the time of Beaumont's death in 1615 and his own in 1625, this poet produced at least twenty-five plays. Sir Aston Cokain has informed us, in his poems, that of the thirty-five pieces improperly ascribed to Beaumont and Fletcher in the folio edition of 1647, much the greater part were written after Beaumont's death⁹; and his account is partly confirmed by Sir Henry Herbert's Manuscript, from which it appears that Fletcher produced eleven new plays in the last four years of his life. If we were possessed of the Register kept by Sir George Buck, we should there, I make no doubt, find near twenty dramas written by the same author in the interval between 1615 and 1622. As, to ascertain the share which each of these writers had in the works which have erroneously gone under their joint names, has long been a *desideratum* in dramatick history, I shall here set down as perfect a list as I have been able to form of the pieces produced by Fletcher in his latter years.

- 9 " ————— For what a foul
 " And inexcusable fault it is, (*that whole*
 " *Volume of plays being almost every one*
 " *After the death of Beaumont writ,*) that none
 " Would certifie them so much?"

Verfes addressed by Sir Aston Cokain to Mr.
 Charles Cotton.

See also his verses addressed to Mr. Humphry Moseley and Mr. Humphry Robinson:

- " In the large book of playes you late did print
 " In Beaumont and in Fletcher's name, why in't
 " Did you not justice? give to each his due?
 " For Beaumont of those many writ in few;
 " And Massinger in other few; *the main*
 " Being sole issues of sweet Fletcher's brain."

The

The Honest Man's Fortune, though it appeared first in the folio 1647, was one of the few pieces in that collection, which was the joint production of Beaumont and Fletcher. It was first performed at the Globe theatre in the year 1613, two years before the death of Beaumont*.

The Loyal Subject was the sole production of Fletcher, and was first represented in the year 1618.

It appears from Sir Henry Herbert's Manuscript that the new plays which Fletcher had brought out in the course of the year, were generally presented at court at Christmas. As therefore *The Island Princess*, *The Pilgrim*, and *The Wild Goose Chase* are found among the court exhibitions of the year 1621, we need not hesitate to ascribe these pieces also to the same poet. *The Wild-Goose Chase*, though absurdly printed under the joint names of Beaumont and Fletcher, is expressly ascribed to the latter by Lowin and Taylor, the actors who published it in 1652. *The Beggar's Bush*, being also acted at court in 1622, was probably written by Fletcher. *The Tamer tamed* is expressly call'd his by Sir Henry Herbert, as is the *Mad Lover* by Sir Aston Cokain: and it appears from the manuscript so often quoted that *The Night-Walker* and *Love's Pilgrimage*, having been left imperfect by Fletcher, were corrected and finished by Shirley.

I have now given an account of nine of the pieces in which Beaumont appears to have had no share; and subjoin a list of eleven other plays written by Fletcher, (with the assistance of Rowley in one only,) precisely in the order in which they were licensed by the Master of the Revels.

1622. May 14, he produced a new play called *The Prophetess*.

June 22, *The Sea Voyage*. This piece was acted at the Globe.

October 24, *The Spanish Curate*. Acted at Blackfriars.

* A Manuscript copy of this play is now before me, marked 1613.

1623. August 29, *The Maid of the Mill*, written by Fletcher and Rowley; acted at the Globe.
 October 17, *The Devill of Dowgate, or Usury put to use*. Acted by the king's servants. This piece is lost.
 Decemb. 6. *The Wandering Lovers*; acted at Blackfriars. This piece is also lost.
1624. May 27, *A Wife for a Month*. Acted by the King's servants.
 Octob. 19. *Rule a Wife and have a Wife*.
- 1625-6. January 22. *The Fair Maid of the Inn*. Acted at Blackfriars.
 Feb. 3. *The Noble Gentleman*. Acted at the same theatre.

In a former page an account has been given of the court-exhibitions in 1622. In Sir Henry Herbert's Office-book I find the following "Note of such playes as were acted at court in 1623 and 1624," which confirms what I have suggested, that the plays of Shakespeare were then not so much admired as those of the poets of the day.

"Upon Michelmas night att Hampton court, *The Mayd of the Mill* by the K. Company.

"Upon Allhollows night at St. James, the prince being there only, *The Mayd of the Mill* againe, with reformations.

"Upon the fifth of November att Whitehall, the prince being there only, *The Gipsye*, by the Cockpitt company.

"Upon St. Stevens daye, the king and prince being there, *The Mayd of the Mill* by the K. company. Att Whitehall.

"Upon St. Johns night, the prince only being there, *The Bondman* by the queene [of Bohemia's] company. Att Whitehall.

"Upon Innocents night, falling out upon a Sondag, *The Buck is a theif*, the king and prince being there. By the kings company. Att Whitehall.

"Upon New-years night, by the K. company,
The

The Wandering Lovers, the prince only being there. Att Whitehall.

“ Upon the Sonday after, beinge the 4 of January 1623, by the Queene of Bohemias company, *The Changelinge*; the prince only being there. Att Whitehall.

“ Upon Twelfe night, the maske being putt of, *More dissemblers besides Women**, by the kings company, the prince only being there. Att Whitehall.

“ To the Duchefs of Richmond, in the kings absence, was given *The Winters Tale*, by the K. company, the 18 Janu. 1623. Att Whitehall.

“ Upon All-hollows night, 1624, the king beinge at Roiston, no play.

“ The night after, my Lord Chamberlin had *Rule a wife and have a wife* for the ladys, by the king's company.

“ Upon St. Steevens night, the prince only being there, [was acted] *Rule a wife and have a wife*, by the king's company. Att Whitehall.

“ Upon St. Johns night, [the prince] and the duke of Brunswick being there, *The Fox*, by the ———— Att Whitehall.

“ Upon Innocents night, the [prince] and the duke of Brunswyck being there, *Cupids Revenge*, by the Queen of Bohemias Servants. Att Whitehall, 1624.

“ Upon New-years night, the prince only being there, The first part of *Sir John Falstaff*, by the king's company. Att Whitehall, 1624.

“ Upon Twelve night, the Masque being putt of, and the prince only there, *Tu Quoque*, by the Queene of Bohemias servants. Att Whitehall, 1624.

“ Upon the Sonday night following, being the ninthe of January, 1624, the Masque was performd.

“ On Candlemas night the 2 February, no play, the king being att Newmarket.”

From the time when Sir Henry Herbert came into the office of the Revels to 1642, when the theatres were shut up, his Manuscript does not furnish us with a regular

* “ The worst play that ere I saw,” says the writer, in a marginal note.

account of the plays exhibited at court every year. Such, however, as he has given, I shall now subjoin, together with a few anecdotes which he has preserved, relative to some of the works of our poet and the dramatick writers who immediately succeeded him.

“ For the king’s players. An olde playe called *Winters Tale*, formerly allowed of by Sir George Bucke, and likewise by mee on Mr. Hemmings his worde that there was nothing prophane added or reformed, thogh the allowed booke was missinge; and therefore I returned itt without a fee, this 19 of August, 1623.

“ For the king’s company. *The Historie of Henry the First*¹, written by Damport [Davenport]; this 10 April, 1624,—£. 1. 0. 0.

“ For the king’s company. An olde play called *The Honest Mans Fortune*, the originall being lost, was re-allowed by mee at Mr. Taylor’s intreaty, and on condition to give mee a booke [*The Arcadia*], this 8 Februa. 1624.”

The manuscript copy of the *Honest Man’s Fortune* is now before me, and is dated 1613. It was therefore probably the joint production of Beaumont and Fletcher. This piece was acted at the Globe, and the copy which had been licensed by Sir George Buc, was without doubt destroyed by the fire which consumed that theatre in the year 1613. The allowed copy of *The Winter’s Tale* was probably destroyed at the same time.

“ 17 July, 1626. [Received] from Mr. Hemminge for a courtesie done him about their Blackfriars hous, £. 3. 0. 0.

“ [Received] from Mr. Hemming, in their company’s name, to forbid the playing of Shakespeares plays, to the Red Bull Company, this 11 of Aprill, 1627, £. 5. 0. 0.

“ This day, being the 11 of Janu. 1630, I did refuse to allow of a play of Messinger’s², because itt did contain

¹ This play in a late entry on the Stationers’ books was ascribed by a fraudulent bookseller to Shakspeare.

² Massinger’s *Duke of Millaine* and *Virgin Martyr* were printed in 1623. It appears from the office-book of Sir Henry Herbert that his other plays were produced in the following order :

contain dangerous matter, as the deposing of Sebastian king of Portugal, by Phillip the [Second,] and ther being a peace

The Bondman, Dec. 3, 1623. Acted at the Cockpit in Drury Lane.

The Renegado, or the Gentleman of Venice, April 17, 1624. Acted at the Cockpitt.

The Parliament of Lowe, Nov. 3, 1624. Acted at the Cockpit. Of this play the last four acts are yet extant in manuscript.

The Spanish Viceroy, acted in 1624. This play is lost.

The Roman Actor, October 11, 1626. Acted by the king's company.

The Judge, June 6, 1627. Acted by the king's company. This play is lost.

The Great Duke was licensed for the Queen's Servants, July 5, 1627. This was, I apprehend, *the Great Duke of Florence*, which was acted by that company.

The Honour of Women was licensed May 6, 1628. I suspect that this was the original name of *The Maid of Honour*, which was printed in 1631, though not entered for the stage in Sir Henry Herbert's book.

The Picture, June 8, 1629. Acted by the king's company.

Minerva's Sacrifice, Nov. 3, 1629. Acted by the king's company. This play is lost.

The Emperor of the East, March 11, 1630-31. Acted by the king's company.

Believe as you list, May 7, 1631. Acted by the king's company. This play is lost.

The Unfortunate Piety, June 13, 1631. Acted by the king's company. This play is lost.

The Fatal Dowry does not appear to have been licensed for the stage under that title, but was printed in 1632. It was acted by the king's company.

The City Madam, May 25, 1632. Acted by the king's company.

A new way to pay old debts does not appear to have been licensed for the stage, but was printed in Nov. 1632.

The Guardian was licensed, Octob. 31, 1633. Acted by the king's company.

The Tragedy of Cleander, May 7, 1634. Acted by the king's company. This play is lost.

A Very Woman, June 6, 1634. Acted by the king's company.

The Orator, Jan. 10, 1634-5. Acted by the king's company. This play is lost.

The Boshful Lover, May 9, 1636. Acted by the king's company.

The King and the Subject, June 5, 1638. Acted by the same company. This title, Sir Henry Herbert says, was changed. I suspect it was new named *The Tyrant*. The play is lost.

a peace sworn twixte the kings of England and Spayne. I had my fee notwithstandinge, which belongs to me for the reading itt over, and ought to be brought always with the booke.

“ Received of Knight³, for allowing of Ben Johnsons play called *Humours reconcil'd, or the Magnetick Lady*, to bee acted, this 12th of Octob. 1632, £. 2. 0. 0.

“ 18 Nov. 1632. In the play of *The Ball*, written by Sherley⁴, and acted by the Queens players, ther were
divers

Alexius, or the Chaste Lover, Sept. 25, 1639. Acted by the king's company.

The Fair Anchorets of Pauslippa, Jan. 26, 1639-40. Acted by the king's company.

Several other pieces by this author were formerly in possession of John Warburton, Esq. Somerset Herald, but I know not when they were written. Their titles are, *Antorio and Vallia*, *The Woman's Plot*, *Pbilenzo and Hippolita*, *Tasse and Welcome*.

³ The book-keeper of Blackfriars' playhouse. The date of this piece of Ben Jonson has hitherto been unascertained. Immediately after this entry is another, which accounts for the defect of several leaves in the edition of Lord Brooke's Poems, 1633: “ Received from Henry Seyle for allowinge a booke of verses of my lord Brooks, entitled *Religion, Humane Learning, Warr, and Honor*, this 17 of October 1632, in mony, £. 1. 0. 0: in books to the value of £. 1. 4. 0.”—In all the published copies twenty leaves on the subject of Religion, are wanting, having been cancelled, probably by the order of Archbishop Laud.

The subsequent entry ascertains the date of Cowley's earliest production:

“ More of Seyle, for allowinge of two other small peeces of verses for the press, done by a boy of this town called COWLEY, at the same time, £. 0. 10. 0.”

⁴ Such of the plays of Shirley as were registered by Sir Henry Herbert, were licensed in the following order:

Love Tricks, with Complements, Feb. 10, 1624-5.

Mayds Revenge, Feb. 9, 1625-6.

The Brothers, Nov. 4, 1626.

The Witty Fair one, Octob. 3, 1628.

The Faithful Servant, Nov. 3, 1629.

The Traytor, May 4, 1631.

The Duke, May 17, 1631.

Loves Cruelty, Nov. 14, 1631.

The Changes, Jan. 10, 1631-2.

Hyde Park, April 20, 1632.

The Ball, Nov. 16, 1632.

The Bewties, Jan. 21, 1632-3.

divers personated so naturally, both of lords and others of the court, that I took it ill, and would have forbidden the play, but that Biston [Christopher Beeston] promist many things which I found faulte withall should be left out, and that he would not suffer it to be done by the poett any more, who deserves to be punisht; and the first that offends in this kind, of poets or players, shall be sure of publike punishment.

“ R. for allowinge of *The Tale of the Tubb*, Vitru Hoop's parte wholly strucke out, and the motion of the tubb, by commande from my lord chamberlin; exceptions being taken against it by Inigo Jones, surveyor of the kings workes, as a personal injury unto him. May 7, 1633,—£. 2. 0. 0.”

In this piece, of which the precise date was hitherto unknown, *Vitru Hoop*, i. e. *Vitruvius Hoop*, undoubtedly was intended to represent Inigo Jones.

“ The comedy called *The Yonge Admirall*, being free from oaths, prophaneſs, or obſceanes, hath given mee much delight and ſatisfaction in the readinge, and may ſerve for a patterne to other poetts, not only for the bettring of maners and language, but for the improvement of the quality, which hath received ſome bruſhings of late.

“ When Mr. Sherley hath read this approbation, I know it will encourage him to purſue this beneficial and cleanly way of poetry, and when other poetts heare and ſee his good ſucceſs, I am confident they will imitate

The Young Admiral, July 3, 1633.

The Gamester, Nov. 11, 1633.

The Example, June 24, 1634.

The Opportunity, Nov. 29, 1634.

The Coronation, Feb. 6, 1634-5.

Cbabot, Admiral of France, April 29, 1635.

The Lady of Pleasure, Octob. 15, 1635.

The Duke's Mistress, Jan. 18, 1635-6.

The Royal Master, April 23, 1638.

The Gentleman of Venice, 30 Octob. 1639.

Rofania, 1 June, 1640.

The Impostor, Nov. 10, 1640.

The Politique Father, May 26, 1641.

The Cardinall, Nov. 25, 1641.

The Sisters, April 26, 1642.

the original for their own credit, and make such copies in this harmles way, as shall speak them masters in their art, at the first sight, to all judicious spectators. It may be acted this 3 July, 1633.

“ I have entered this allowance, for direction to my successor, and for example to all poetts, that shall write after the date hereof.

“ Received of Bifton, for an ould play called *Hymens Holliday*, newly revived at their house, being a play given unto him for my use, this 15 Aug. 1633, £. 3. 0. 0. Received of him for some alterations in it, £. 1. 0. 0.

“ Meetinge with him at the ould exchange, he gave my wife a payre of gloves, that cost him at least twenty shillings.

“ Upon a second petition of the players to the High Commission court, wherein they did mee right in my care to purge their plays of all offense, my lords Grace of Canterbury bestowed many words upon mee, and discharged mee of any blame, and layd the whole fault of their play called *The Magnetick Lady*, upon the players. This happened the 24 of Octob. 1633, at Lambeth. In their first petition they would have excused themselves on mee and the poett.”

“ On Saterdag the 17th of Novemb.⁵, being the Queens birth day, *Richard the Thirde* was acted by the K. players at St. James, wher the king and queene were present; it being the first play the queene sawe since her M.^{tys} delivery of the Duke of York. 1633.

“ On tuesday the 19th of November, being the king's birth-day, *The Yong Admirall* was acted at St. James by the queen's players, and likt by the K. and Queen.

“ The Kings players sent mee an ould booke of Fletchers called *The Loyal Subject*, formerly allowed by Sir George Bucke, 16 Novemb. 1618, which according to their desire and agreement I did peruse, and with some

⁵ This is a mistake. It should be the 16th of November. She was born Nov. 16, 1609.

reformations allowed of, the 23 of Nov. 1633, for which they sent mee according to their promise *£. 1. 0. 0.*⁶

“ On tuesday night at Saint James, the 26 of Novemb. 1633, was acted before the King and Queene, *The Taminge of the Shrew*. Likt.

“ On thursday night at St. James, the 28 of Novemb. 1633, was acted before the King and Queene, *The Tamer Tamd*, made by Fletcher. Very well likt.

“ On tuesday night at Whitehall the 10 of Decemb. 1633, was acted before the King and Queen, *The Loyal Subject*, made by Fletcher, and very well likt by the king.

“ On Monday night the 16 of December, 1633, at Whitehall was acted before the King and Queen, *Hymens Holliday or Cupids Fegarys*, an ould play of Rowleys. Likte.

“ On Wensday night the first of January, 1633, *Cymbeline* was acted at Court by the Kings players. Well likte by the kinge.

“ On Monday night the sixth of January and the Twelfe Night, was presented at Denmark-house, before the King and Queene, Fletchers pastorall called *The Faithfull Shepheardesse*, in the clothes the Queene had given Taylor the yeare before of her owne pastorall.

“ The scenes were fitted to the pastorall, and made, by Mr. Inigo Jones, in the great chamber, 1633.

“ This morning being the 9th of January, 1633, the kinge was pleasd to call mee into his withdrawinge chamber to the windowe, wher he went over all that I had croste in Davenants play-booke, and allowing of *faith* and *flight* to bee asseverations only, and no oathes, markt them to stande, and some other few things, but in the greater part allowed of my reformations. This was done upon a complaint of Mr. Endymion Porters in December.

“ The kinge is pleasd to take *faith*, *death*, *flight*, for asseverations, and no oaths⁷, to which I doe humbly

⁶ In the margin the writer adds—“ The first ould play sent mee to be perused by the K. players.”

⁷ In a small tract of the last age, of which I have forgot the title, we are told, that Charles the Second, being reprimanded by one of his bishops for frequently introducing profane oaths in his discourse, defended himself by saying, “ Your martyr swore twice more than I do.”

submit as my masters judgment; but under favour conceive them to be oaths, and enter them here, to declare my opinion and submission.

"The 10 of January, 1633, I returned unto Mr. Davenant his play-booke of *The Witts*, corrected by the kinge.

"The kinge would not take the booke at Mr. Porters hands; but commanded him to bring it unto mee, which he did, and likewise commanded Davenant to come to mee for it, as I believe; otherwise he would not have byn so civill.

"*The Guardian*, a play of Mr. Messengers, was acted at court on Sunday the 12 January, 1633, by the Kings players, and well likte.

"*The Tale of the Tub* was acted on tuesday night at Court, the 14 Janua. 1633, by the Queenes players, and not likte.

"*The Winters Tale* was acted on thursday night at Court, the 16 Janu. 1633, by the K. players, and likt.

"*The Witts* was acted on tuesday night the 28 January, 1633, at Court, before the Kinge and Queene. Well likt. It had a various fate on the stage, and at court, though the kinge commended the language, but dislikte the plott and characters.

"*The Night-walkers* was acted on thursday night the 30 Janu. 1633, at Court, before the King and Queen. Likte as a merry play. Made by Fletcher°.

"The Inns of court gentlemen presented their masque at court, before the kinge and queene, the 2 February, 1633, and performed it very well. Their shew through the streets was glorious, and in the nature of a triumph.—Mr. Surveyor Jones invented and made the scene; Mr. Sherley the poett made the prose and verse.

"On thursday night the 6 of Febru. 1633, *The Gamesher* was acted at Court, made by Sherley, out of a plot of the king's, given him by mee; and well likte. The king sayd it was the best play he had seen for seven years.

8 In a former page the following entry is found:

"For a play of Fletchers corrected by Sherley, called *The Night Walkers*, the 11 May, 1633, £.2. 0. 0. For the queen's players."

"On

“ On Shrovetuesday night, the 18 of February, 1633, the Kinge danced his Masque, accompanied with 11 lords, and attended with 10 pages. It was the noblest masque of my time to this day, the best poetrye, best scenes, and the best habitts. The kinge and queene were very well pleasd with my service, and the Q. was pleasd to tell mee before the king, “ Pour les habits, elle n’avoit jamais rien veu de si brave.”

“ *Buffy d’Amboyse* was playd by the king’s players on Easter-monday night, at the Cockpitt in court

“ *The Pastorall* was playd by the king’s players on Easter-tuesday night, at the Cockpitt in court.

“ I committed Cromes, a broker in Longe Lane, the 16 of Febr. 1634, to the Marshallie, for lending a church-robe with the name of JESUS upon it to the players in Salisbury Court, to present a Flamen, a priest of the heathens. Upon his petition of submission, and acknowledgment of his faulte, I releasd him, the 17 Febr. 1634.

“ The Second part of *Arviragus and Philicia* playd at court the 16 Febr. 1635, with great approbation of K. and Queene.

“ *The Silent Woman* playd at Court of St. James on thursday ye 18 Febr. 1635.

“ On Wensday the 23 of Febr. 1635, the Prince d’Amours gave a masque to the Prince Elector and his brother, in the Middle Temple, wher the Queene was pleasd to grace the entertaynment by putting of majesty, to putt on a citizens habitt, and to sett upon the scaffold on the right hande amongst her subjects.

“ The queene was attended in the like habitts by the Marques Hamilton, the Countess of Denbighe, the Countess of Holland, and the Lady Elizabeth Feildinge. Mrs. Basse, the law-woman*, leade in this royal citizen and her company.

“ The Earle of Holland, the Lord Goringe, Mr. Percy, and Mr. Jermyn, were the men that attended.

“ The Prince Elector satt in the midst, his brother

* i. e. the woman who had the care of the hall belonging to the Middle Temple.

Robert on the right hand of him, and the Prince d'Amours on the left.

“ The Masque was very well performd in the dances, scenes, cloathing, and musique, and the Queene was pleasd to tell mee at her going away, that she liked it very well.

“ Henry Laufe }
“ William Laufe } made the musique.

“ Mr. Corseilles made the scenes.

“ *Loves Aftergame*^o, played at St. James by the Salisbury Court players, the 24 of Feb. 1635.

“ *The Dukes Mistres* played at St. James the 22 of Feb. 1635. Made by Sherley.

“ The same day at Whitehall I acquainted king Charles, my master, with the danger of Mr. Hunts sickness, and moved his Majesty, in case he dyed, that he would bee pleasd to give mee leave to commend a fitt man to succede him in his place of Yeoman of the Revells.

“ The kinge tould mee, that till then he knew not that Will Hunt held a place in the Revells. To my request he was pleasd to give mee this answer. Well, says the king, I will not dispose of it, or, it shall not be disposed of, till I heare you. *Ipssissimis verbis*. Which I enter here as full of grace, and for my better remembrance, since my master's custom affords not so many words, nor so significant.

“ The 28 Feb. *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* playd by the Q. men at St. James.

“ The first and second part of *Arviragus and Philicia* were acted at the Cockpitt, [Whitehall] before the Kinge and Queene, the Prince, and Prince Elector, the 18 and 19 Aprill, 1636, being monday and tuesday in Easter weeke.

“ At the increase of the plague to 4 within the city and 54 in all.—This day the 12 May, 1636, I received a warrant from my lord Chamberlin for the suppressing of playes and shews, and at the same time delivered my severall warants to George Wilson for the four companies of players, to be served upon them.

⁹ *The Proxy, or Love's Aftergame*, was produced at the theatre at Salisbury Court, November 24, 1634.

“ At Hampton Court, 1636.

“ The first part of *Arviragus*, Monday Afternoon, 26 Decemb.

“ The second part of *Arviragus*, tuesday 27 Decemb.

“ *Love and Honour*, on New-years night, soday.

“ *The Elder Brother*, on thursday the 5 Janua.

“ *The Kinge and no Kinge*, on tuesday y^e 10 Janua.

“ *The Royal Slave*, on thursday the 12 of Janu.—Oxford play, written by Cartwright. The king gave him forty pounds.

“ *Rollo*, the 24 Janu.

“ *Julius Cæsar*, at St. James, the 31 Janu. 1636.

“ *Cupides Revenge*, at St. James, by Beeston's boyes, the 7 Febru.

“ *A Wife for a month*, by the K. players, at St. James, the 9 Febru.

“ *Wit without money*, by the B. boyes, at St. James, the 14 Feb.

“ *The Governor*, by the K. players, at St. James, the 17 Febru. 1636.

“ *Philaster*, by the K. players, at St. James, shrovetuesday, the 21 Febru. 1636.

“ On thursday morning the 23 of February the bill of the plague made the number at forty foure, upon which decrease the king gave the players their liberty, and they began the 24 February 1636. [1636-7.]

“ The plague encreasinge, the players laye still untill the 2 of October, when they had leave to play.

“ Mr. Beeston was commanded to make a company of boyes, and began to play at the Cockpitt with them the same day.

“ I disposed of Perkins, Sumner, Sherlock and Turner, to Salisbury Court, and joynd them with the best of that company.

“ Received of Mr. Lowens for my paines about Messinger's play called *The King and the Subject*, 2 June, 1638, £.1. 0. 0.

“ The name of *The King and the Subject* is alterd, and I allowd the play to bee acted, the reformations most strictly observed, and not otherwise, the 5th of June, 1638.

“ At

“ At Greenwich the 4 of June, Mr. W. Murray gave mee power from the king to allowe of the play, and tould me that hee would warant it.

“ Monys? Wee’le rayse supplies what ways we please,

“ And force you to subscribe to blanks, in which

“ We’le mulct you as wee shall thinke fitt. The Cæsars

“ In Rome were wise, acknowledginge no lawes

“ But what their swords did ratifye, the wives

“ And daughters of the senators bowinge to

“ Their wills, as deities,” &c.

“ This is a peece taken out of Phillip Messingers play, called *The King and the Subject*, and enterd here for ever to bee rememberd by my son and those that cast their eyes on it, in honour of Kinge Charles, my master, who, readinge over the play at Newmarket, set his marke upon the place with his own hande, and in thes words :

“ *This is too insolent, and to bee changed.*”

“ Note, that the poett makes it the speech of a king, Don Pedro king of Spayne, and spoken to his subjects.

“ On thursday the 9 of Aprill, 1640, my Lord Chamberlen bestow’d a play on the Kinge and Queene, call’d *Cleodora, Queene of Arragon*, made by my cozen Abington. It was performd by my lords servants out of his owne family, and his charge in the cloathes and sceanes, which were very riche and curious. In the hall at Whitehall.

“ The king and queene commended the generall entertaynment, as very well acted, and well sett out.

“ It was acted the second tyme in the same place before the king and queene.

“ At Easter 1640, the Princes company went to the Fortune, and the Fortune company to the Red Bull.

“ On Monday the 4 May, 1640, William Beeston was taken by a messenger, and committed to the Marshalsey, by my Lord Chamberlens warant, for playinge a playe without licēse. The same day the company at
the

the Cockpitt was commanded by my Lord Chamberlens warant to forbear playinge, for playinge when they were forbidden by mee, and for other disobedience, and laye still monday, tuesday, and wensday. On thursday at my Lord Chamberlens entreaty I gave them their liberty, and upon their petition of submission subscribed by the players, I restored them to their liberty on thursday.

“ The play I cald for, and, forbiddinge the playinge of it, keepe the booke, because it had relation to the passages of the K.s journey into the Northe, and was complaynd of by his M.^{tye} to mee, with commande to punishe the offenders.

“ On Twelwe Night, 1641, the prince had a play called *The Scornful Lady*, at the Cockpitt, but the kinge and queene were not there; and it was the only play acted at courte in the whole Christmas.

“ [1642. June.] Received of Mr. Kirke, for a new play which I burnte for the ribaldry and offense that was in it, £. 2. 0. 0.

“ Received of Mr. Kirke for another new play called *The Irishe Rebellion*, the 8 June, 1642, £. 2. 0. 0.

“ Here ended my allowance of plaies, for the war began in Aug. 1642.”

Sir William D'Avenant, we have already seen*, about sixteen months after the death of Ben Jonson, obtained from his majesty (Dec. 13, 1638) a grant of an annuity of one hundred pounds *per ann.* which he enjoyed as poet laureat till his death. In the following year (March 26, 1639) a patent passed the great seal authorizing him to erect a playhouse, which was then intended to have been built behind *The Three Kings Ordinary* in Fleet-street: but this scheme was not carried into execution. I find from a Manuscript in the Lord Chamberlain's Office, that after the death of Christopher Beeston, Sir W. D'Avenant was appointed by the Lord Chamberlain, (June 27, 1639,) “ Governor of the King and Queens company acting at the Cockpit in Drury Lane, during the lease

* Vol. I. P. I. p. 401, n. 6.

which Mrs. Elizabeth Beeston, *alias* Hutcheson, hath or doth hold in the said house:" and I suppose he appointed her son Mr. William Beeston his deputy, for from Sir Henry Herbert's office-book, he appears for a short time to have had the management of that theatre.

In the latter end of the year 1659, some months before the Restoration of K. Charles II. the theatres, which had been suppressed during the usurpation, began to revive, and several plays were performed at the Red Bull in St. John's-street, in that and the following year, before the return of the king. In June 1660, three companies seem to have been formed; that already mentioned; one under Mr. William Beeston in Salisbury Court, and one at the Cockpit in Drury Lane under Mr. Rhodes, who had been wardrobe-keeper at the theatre in Blackfriars before the breaking out of the Civil Wars. Sir Henry Herbert, who still retained his office of Master of the Revels, endeavoured to obtain from these companies the same emoluments which he had formerly derived from the exhibition of plays; but after a long struggle, and after having brought several actions at law against Sir William D'Avenant, Mr. Betterton, Mr. Mohun, and others, he was obliged to relinquish his claims, and his office ceased to be attended with either authority or profit. It received its death's wound from a grant from King Charles II. under the privy signet, August 21, 1660, authorizing Mr. Thomas Killigrew, one of the grooms of his Majesty's bedchamber, and Sir William D'Avenant, to erect two new playhouses and two new companies, of which they were to have the regulation; and prohibiting any other theatrical representation in London, Westminster, or the suburbs, but those exhibited by the said two companies.

Among the papers of Sir Henry Herbert several are preserved relative to his disputed claim, some of which I shall here insert in their order, as containing some curious and hitherto unknown particulars relative to the stage at this time, and also as illustrative of its history at a precedent period.

I. For

I.

“ For Mr. William Beeston.

“ Whereas the allowance of plays, the ordering of players and playmakers, and the permission for erecting of playhouses, hath, time out of minde whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary, belonged to the Master of his Ma.^{ties} office of the Revells; And whereas Mr. William Beeston hath desired authority and lycence from mee to continue the house called Salisbury Court playhouse in a playhouse, which was formerly built and erected into a playhouse by the permission and lycence of the Master of the Revells.

“ These are therefore by virtue of a grant under the greate seal of England, and of the constant practice thereof, to continue and constitute the said house called Salisbury Court playhouse into a playhouse, and to authorize and lycence the said Mr. Beeston to sett, lett, or use it for a playhouse, wherein comedies, tragedies, tragicomedies, pastoralls and interludes, may be acted. Provided that noe persons be admitted to act in the said playhouse but such as shall be allowed by the Master of his Ma.^{ties} office of the Revells. Given under my hand and seale at the office of the Revells, this _____”

[This paper appears to be only a copy, and is not dated nor signed; ending as above. I believe, it was written in June 1660.]

II.

“ To the kings most excellent Majesty,

“ The humble Petition of John Rogers,

“ Most humbly sheweth,

“ That your petitioner at the beginning of the late calamitys lost thereby his whole estate, and during the warr susteyned much detriment and imprisonment, and lost his limbs or the use thereof; who served his Excellency the now Lord General, both in England and Scotland, and performed good and faithfull service; in
consideration

consideration whereof and by being soe much decreapit as not to act any more in the wars, his Excellency was favourably pleased, for your petitioners future subsistence without being further burthenfome to this kingdom, or to your Majesty for a pension, to grant him a tolleration to erect a playhouse or to have a share out of them already tollerated, your petitioner thereby undertaking to suppress all riots, tumults, or molestations that may thereby arise. And for that the said graunt remains imperfect unless corroborated by your majesty,

“ He therefore humbly implores your most sacred Majesty, in tender compassion, out of your kingly clemency to confirm unto him a share out of the profitts of the said playhouses, or such allowance by them to be given as formerly they used to alow to persons for to keep the peace of the same, that he may with his wife and family be thereby preserved and relieved in his maimed aged years; and he shall daily pray.”

“ At the Court at Whitehall, the 7th of August, 1660.

“ His Majesty is graciously pleased to refer this petition to Sir Henry Herbert, Master of his Majesties Revells, to take such order therein, as shall be agreeable to equity, without further troubling his majesty.

“ (A true Copey.)

J. HOLLIS.”

“ August 20, 1660. From the office of the Revells.

“ In obedience to his M^{ties} command I have taken the matter of the Petitioners request into consideration, and doe thereuppon conceive it very reasonable that the petitioner should have the same allowance weekly from you and every of you, for himselfe and his men*, for guarding your playhouses from all molestations and

* It appears from another paper that his men were soldiers.

injuries,

injuries, which you formerly did or doe allow or pay to other persons for the same or such like services; and that it be duly and truly paid him without denial. And the rather for that the Kings most excellent Ma.^{tie} upon the Lord General Monks recommendation, and the consideration of the Petitioners losses and sufferings, hath thought fitt to commiserate the Petitioner John Rogers his said condition, and to refer unto me the relief of the said petitioner. Given at his Ma.^{ties} office of the Revells, under my hand and the seale of the said office, the twentieth day of August, in the twelve yeare of his Ma.^{ties} raigne.

“To the Actors at the Playhouses called the Red Bull, Cockpit, and theatre in Salisbury Court, and to every of them, in and about the citties of London and Westminster.”

III.

“To the kings most excellent Majestie.

“The humble petition of Sir Henry Herbert, Knight, Master of your Majesties office of the Revels.

“Sheweth,

“That whereas your Petitioner by vertue of severall Grants under the great seale of England hath executed the said office, as Master of the Revells, for about 40 yeares, in the times of King James, and of King Charles, both of blessed memory, with exception only to the time of the late horrid rebellion.

“And whereas the ordering of playes and playmakers and the permission for erecting of playhouses are peculiar branches of the said office, and in the constant practice thereof by your petitioners predecessors in the said office and himselfe, with exception only as before excepted, and authorized by grante under the said greate seale of England; and that no person or persons have

erected any playhouses, or rayfed any company of players, without licence from your petitioners said predecessors or from your petitioner, but Sir William D'Avenant, Knight, who obtained leave of Oliver and Richard Cromwell to vent his operas, at a time when your petitioner owned not their authority.

And whereas your Majesty hath lately signified your pleasure by warrant to Sir Jeffery Palmer, Knight and Bar. your Majesties Attorney General, for the drawing of a grante for your Majesties signature to pass the greate seale, thereby to enable and empower Mr. Thomas Killegrew and the said Sir William D'Avenant to erect two new playhouses in London, Westminster, or the subburbs thereof, and to make choice of two companies of players to bee under their sole regulation, and that noe other players shall be authorized to play in London, Westminster, or the subburbs thereof, but such as the said Mr. Killegrew and Sir William D'Avenant shall allow of.

“ And whereas your petitioner hath been represented to your Ma.ty as a person consenting unto the said powers expressed in the said warrant. Your petitioner utterly denies the least consent or fore-knowledge thereof, but looks upon it as an unjust surprize, and destructive to the power granted under the said greate seale to your petitioner, and to the constant practice of the said office, and exercised in the office ever since players were admitted by authority to act playes, and cannot legally be done as your petitioner is advised; and it may be of very ill consequence, as your petitioner is advised, by a new grante to take away and cut of a branch of your ancient powers, granted to the said office under the great seale.

“ Your petitioner therefore humbly praies that your Ma.ty would be justly as graciously pleased to revoke the said warrant from your Ma.ties said Attorney Generall, or to refer the premises to the consideration of your Ma.ties said Attorney Generall, to certify your Ma.ty of the truth of them, and his judgement on the whole
matters

matters in question betwixt the said Mr. Killegrew, Sir William D'Avenant, and your petitioner, in relation to the legality and consequence of their demands and your petitioners rights.

“ And your petitioner shall ever pray.”

“ At the Court at Whitehall, 4 August, 1660.

“ His Ma.^{tie} is pleased to refer this petition to Sir Jeffery Palmer, Knight and Baronet, his Ma.^{ties} Attorney Generall; who haveing called before him all persons concerned, and examined the petitioners right, is to certify what he finds to be the true state of the matters in difference, together with his opinion thereupon. And then his M.^{tie} will declare his further pleasure.

EDW. NICHOLAS.”

“ May it please your most excellent Ma.^{ty}.

“ Although I have heard the parties concerned in this petition severally and apart, yet in respect Mr. Killigrew and Sir William D'Avenant, having notice of a time appointed to heare all parties together, did not come, I have forborne to proceed further; having also received an intimation, by letter from Sir William D'Avenant, that I was freed from further hearing this matter.

“ 14 Sept. 1660.

J. PALMER.”

IV.

“ From Mr. Mosely concerning the playes, &c.
August 30, 1660¹.

“ Sir,

“ I have beene very much solicited by the gentlemen actors of the Red Bull for a note under my hand to certify unto your worship. what agreement I had made with Mr. Rhodes of the Cockpitt playhouse. Truly, Sir, I am so farr from any agreement with him, that I never so much as treated with him, nor with any from him, nei-

¹ This is the indorsement, written by Sir Henry Herbert's own hand.

ther did I ever consent directly or indirectly, that hee or any others should act any playes that doe belong to mee, without my knowledge and consent had and procured. And the same also I doe certify concerning the Whitefryers playhouse * and players.

Sir, this is all I have to trouble you withall att present, and therefore I shall take the boldnesse to remaine,

Your Worth.^s most humble Servant,

HUMPHREY MOSELY.

August 30. 60².

V.

On the 21st of August, 1660, the following grant, against which Sir Henry Herbert had petitioned to be heard, passed the privy signet.

“ Charles the Second by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, defender of the fayth, &c. to all to whome these presents shall come greeting. Whereas wee are given to understand that certain persons in and about our citty of London, or the suburbs thereof, doe frequently assemble for the performing and acting of playes and enterludes for rewards, to which divers of our subjects doe for their entertainment resort; which said playes, as we are informed, doe containe much matter of prophanation and scurrility, soe that such kind of entertainments, which, if well managed, might serve as morall instructions in humane life, as the same are now used, doe for the most part tende to the debauchinge of the manners of such as are present at them, and are very scandalous and offensive to all pious and well disposed persons. We, takeing the premisses into our princely consideration, yett not holding it necessary totally to suppress the use of theaters, because wee are assured, that, if the evill and scandall in the playes that now are or haue bin acted were taken away,

* i. e. the playhouse in Salisbury Court.

² The date inserted by Sir Henry Herbert.

the same might serue as innocent and harmlesse diuertisement for many of our subjects; and haueing experience of the art and skill of our trusty and well beloued Thomas Killegrew, esq. one of the Groomes of our Bed-chamber, and of Sir William Dauenant, knight, for the purposes hereafter mentioned, doe hereby giue and grante vnto the said Thomas Killegrew and Sir William Dauenant full power and authority to erect two companies of players, consistinge respectively of such persons as they shall chuse and appoint, and to purchase, builde and erect, or hire at their charge, as they shall thinke fitt, two houses or theaters, with all convenient roomes and other necessaries thereunto appertaining, for the representation of tragydies, comedyes, playes, operas, and all other entertainments of that nature, in convenient places: and likewise to settle and establish such payments to be paid by those that shall resort to see the said representations performed, as either haue bin accustomedly giuen and taken in the like kind, or as shall be reasonable in regard of the great expences of SCENES, musick, and such new decorations as haue not bin formerly used; with further power to make such allowances out of that which they shall so receiue, to the actors, and other persons employed in the said representations in both houses respectively, as they shall think fitt: the said companies to be under the gouernement and authority of them the said Thomas Killigrew and Sir William Dauenant. And in regard of the extraordinary licentiousness that hath been lately used in things of this nature, our pleasure is, that there shall be noe more places of representations, nor companies of actors of playes, or operas by recitative, musick, or representations by danceing and scenes, or any other entertainments on the stage, in our citties of London and Westminster, or in the liberties of them, then the two to be now erected by vertue of this authority. Nevertheless wee doe hereby by our authority royal strictly enioine the said Thomas Killegrew and Sir William Dauenant, that they doe not at any time hereafter cause to be acted

or represented any play, enterlude, or opera, containing any matter of prophanation, scurrility or obscenity: And wee doe further hereby authorize and command them the said Thomas Killegrew and Sir William Dauenant to peruse all playes that haue been formerly written, and to expunge all prophaneſſe and scurrility from the ſame, before they be represented or acted. And this our grante and authority made to the ſaid Thomas Killegrew and Sir William Dauenant, ſhall be effectually and remaine in full force and vertue, notwithstanding any former order or direction by us given, for the ſuppreſſing of playhouſes and playes, or any other entertainments of the ſtage. Given, &c. Auguſt 21, 1660."

VI.

The following paper is indorſed by Sir Henry Herbert :

" Warrant ſent to Rhodes, and brought backe by him the 10 of Octob. 60, with this answer—
That the Kinge did authorize him."

" Whereas by vertue of a grante under the great ſeale of England, playes, players and playmakers, and the permiſſion for erecting of playhouſes, have been allowed, ordered and permitted by the Maſters of his Maties office of the Revells, my predeceſſors ſucceſſively, time out of minde, whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary, and by mee for almoſt forty yeares, with exception only to the late times:

" Theſe are therefore in his Maties name to require you to attend mee concerning your playhouſe called the Cockpitt playhouſe in Drury Lane, and to bring with you ſuch authority as you have for erecting of the ſaid houſe into a playhouſe, at your perill. Given at his Maties office of the Revells the 8th day of Octob. 1660.

HENRY HERBERT."

" To Mr. John Rhodes at the Cockpitt
playhouſe in Drury Lane."

VII.

VII.

Copy of the Warrant sent to the actors at the Cockpitt in Drury Lane by Tom Browne, the 13 Octob. 60.

“Whereas severall complaints have been made against you to the Kings most excellent Majesty by Mr. Killigrew and Sir William D’Avenant, concerning the usuall and unreasonable rates taken at your playhouse-doores, of the respective persons of quality that desire to refresh or improve themselves by the sight of your morrall entertainments which were constituted for profit and delight. And the said complaints made use of by the said Mr. Killigrew and Sir William Davenant as part of their suggestions for their pretended power, and for your late restrainte.

“And whereas complaints have been made thereof formerly to mee, wherewith you were acquainted, as innovations and exactions not allowed by mee; and that the like complaints are now made, that you doe practice the said exactions in takeing of excessive and unaccustomed rates uppon the restitution of you to your liberty.

“These are therefore in his Ma.^{ties} name to require you and every of you to take from the persons of qualitie and others as daily frequent your play-house, such usuall and accustomed rates only as were formerly taken at the Blackfryers by the late company of actors there, and noe more nor otherwise, for every new or old play that shall be allowed you by the Master of the Revells to be acted in the said playhouse or any other playhouse. *And you are hereby further required to bringe or sende to me all such old plaies as you doe intend to act at your said playhouse, that they may be reformed of prophanes and ribaldry, at your perill. Given at the office of the Revells³.*

HENRY HERBERT.”

“To Mr. Michael Mohun, and the rest of the actors of the Cockpitt playhouse in Drury Lane. The 13th of October, 1660.”

³ The words in Italick characters were added by Sir Henry Herbert's own hand.

VIII.

“ To the Kings most excellent Majestie.

“ The humble Petition of Michael Mohun, Robert Shatterel, Charles Hart, Nich. Burt, Wm. Cartwright, Walter Clun, and William Winterfell.

“ Humbly sheweth,

“ That your Majesties humble petitioners, having been suppressed by a warrant from your Majestie, Sir Henry Herbert informed us it was Mr. Killegrew had caused it, and if wee would give him soe much a weeke, he would protect them against Mr. Killegrew and all powers. The complaint against us was, scandalous plays, raising the price, and acknowledging noe authority; all which ended in soe much per weeke to him; for which wee had leave to play and promise of his protection: the which your Majesty knows he was not able to performe, since Mr. Killegrew, having your Majesties former grante, suppressed us, untill wee had by covenant obliged ourselves to act with WOEMEN, a new theatre, and habitts according to our SCEANES. And according to your Majesties approbation, from all the companies we made election of one company; and so farre Sir Henry Herbert hath bene from protecting us, that he hath been a continual disturbance unto us, who were [united] by your Majesties commande under Mr. Killegrew as Master of your Majesties Comedians; and wee have annexed unto our petition the date of the warrant by which we were suppressed, and for a protection against that warrant he forced from us soe much a weeke. And if your majestie be graciously pleased to cast your eye upon the date of the warrant hereto annexed, your majestie shall find the date to our contract succeeded; wherein he hath broke the covenants, and not your petitioners, haveing abused your majestie in giving an ill character of your petitioners, only to force a sum from their poore endeavours; who never did nor shall refuse him all the reseits and
just

just profits that belong to his place; hee having now obtained leave to arrest us, only to give trouble and vexation to your petitioners, hoping by that meanes to force a summe of money illegally from us.

“ The premises considered, your petitioners humbly beseech your majestie to be gratiouſly pleased to signify your royal pleasure to the Lord Chamberlaine, that your petitioners may not bee molested in their calling. And your petitioners in duty bound shall pray, &c.

“ Nich. Burt.
William Wintershall.
Charles Hart.”

“ Robt. Shatterel⁴.”

Mr. Thomas Betterton, having been a great admirer of Shakspeare, and having taken the trouble in the beginning of this century, when he was above seventy years of age, of travelling to Stratford-upon-Avon to collect materials for Mr. Rowe's life of our author, is entitled to particular notice from an editor of his works. Very inaccurate accounts of this actor have been given in the *Biographia Britannica* and several other books. It is observable that biographical writers often give the world long dissertations concerning facts and dates, when the fact contested might at once be ascertained by visiting a neighbouring parish-church: and this has been particularly the case of Mr. Betterton. He was the son of Matthew Betterton (under-cook to King Charles the First) and was baptized, as I learn from the register of St. Margaret's parish, August 11, 1635. He could not have appeared on the stage in 1656, as has been asserted, no theatre being then allowed. His first appearance was at the Cockpit, in Drury Lane, in Mr. Rhodes's company, who played there by a license in the year 1659, when Better-

⁴ Michael Mohun, William Cartwright, and Walter Clun did not sign.

ton was twenty-four years of age. He married Mrs. Mary Saunderfon, an actress, who had been bred by Sir William D'Avenant, some time in the year 1663, as appears by the *Dramatis Personæ* of *The Slighted Maid*, printed in that year⁵. From a paper now before me which Sir Henry Herbert has entitled a *Breviat* of matters to be proved on the trial of an action brought by him against Mr. Betterton in 1662, I find that he continued to act at the Cockpit till November 1660, when he and several other performers entered into articles with Sir William D'Avenant; in consequence of which they began in that month to play at the theatre in Salisbury Court, from whence after some time, I believe, they returned to the Cockpit, and afterwards removed to a new theatre in Portugal-Row near Lincoln's Inn Fields. These Articles were as follows:

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT tripartite, indented, made, and agreed upon this fifth day of November in the twelfth yeere of the reigne of our soveraigne Lord king Charles the Second, Annoque Domini 1660, between Sir Wm. Davenant of London, Kt. of the first part, and Thomas Batterton, Thomas Sheppey, Robert Noakes, James Noakes, Thomas Lovell, John Moseley, Cave Underhill, Robert Turner, and Thomas Lilleston, of the second part; and Henry Harris of the city of London, painter, of the third part, as followeth.

⁵ This celebrated actor continued on the stage fifty years, and died intestate in April 1710. No person appears to have administered to him. Such was his extreme modesty, that not long before his death "he confessed that he was yet learning to be an actor." His wife survived him two years. By her last will, which was made, March 10, 1711-12, and proved in the following month, she bequeathed to Mrs. Mary Head, her sister, and to two other persons, 20l. apiece, "to be paid out of the arrears of the pension which her Majesty had been graciously pleased to grant her;" to Mrs. Anne Betterton, Mr. Wilks, Mr. Dent, Mr. Dogget, and Mrs. Bracegirdle, twenty shillings each for rings, and to her residuary legatee Mrs. Frances Williamson, the wife of — Williamson, "her dearly beloved husband's picture."

Mrs. Mary Head must have been Mr. Betterton's sister; for Mrs. Betterton's own name was Mary.

Imprimis,

Imprimis, the said Sir William Davenant doth for himself, his executors, administrators and assigns, covenant, promise, grant, and agree, to and with the said Thomas Batterton, Thomas Sheppey, Robert Noakes, James Noakes, Thomas Lovell, John Moseley, Cave Underhill, Robert Turner, and Thomas Lilleston, that he the said Sir William Davenant by vertue of the authority to him derived for that purpose does hereby constitute, ordeine and erect them the said Thomas Batterton, Thomas Sheppey, Robert Noakes, James Noakes, Thomas Lovell, John Moseley, Cave Underhill, Robert Turner, and Thomas Lilleston and their associates, to bee a company, publiquely to act all manner of tragedies, comedies, and playes whatsoever, in any theatre or playhouse erected in London or Westminster or the suburbs thereof, and to take the usual rates for the same, to the uses hereafter exprest, untill the said Sir William Davenant shall provide a newe theatre with SCENES.

Item, it is agreed by and between all the said parties to these presents, that the said company (untill the said theatre bee provided by the said Sir William Davenant) be authorized by him to act tragedies, comedies, and playes in the playhouse called Salisbury Court playhouse, or any other house, upon the conditions only hereafter following, vizt.

That the generall receipte of money of the said playhouse shall (after the house-rent, hirelings*, and all other accustomary and necessary expences in that kind be defrayed) bee divided into fowerteene proportions or shares, whereof the said Sir William Davenant shall have foure full proportions or shares to his own use, and the rest to the use of the said companie.

That dureinge the time of playing in the said playhouse, (untill the aforesaid theatre bee provided by the said Sir Wm. Davenant,) the said Sir Wm. Davenant

* i. e. men hired occasionally by the night : in modern language, *supernumeraries*.

shall depute the said Thomas Batterton, James Noakes, and Thomas Sheppey, or any one of them particularly, for him and on his behalfe, to receive his proportion of those shares and to survey the accompte conducinge thereunto, and to pay the said proportions every night to him the said Sir Wm. Davenant or his assignes, which they doe hereby covenant to pay accordingly.

That the said Thomas Batterton, Thomas Sheppey, and the rest of the said company shall admit such a consort of musiciens into the said playhouse for their necessary use, as the said Sir William shall nominate and provide, duringe their playinge in the said playhouse, not exceedinge the rate of 30s. the day, to bee defrayed out of the generall expences of the house before the said fowerteene shares bee devided.

“ That the said Thomas Batterton, Thomas Sheppey, and the rest of the said companie foe authorized to play in the playhouse in Salisbury Court or elsewhere, as aforesaid, shall at one weeks warninge given by the said Sir Wm. Davenant, his heires or assignes, dissolve and conclude their playeing at the house and place aforesaid, or at any other house where they shall play, and shall remove and joyne with the said Henry Harris, and with other men and women provided or to bee provided by the said Sir Wm. Davenant, to performe such tragedies, comedies, playes, and representations in that theatre to be provided by him the said Sir William as aforesaid.

Item, It is agreed by and betweene all the said parties to these presents in manner and form followinge, vizt. That when the said companie, together with the said Henry Harris, are joyned with the men and women to be provided by the said Sir William Davenant to act and performe in the said theatre to bee provided by the said Sir Wm. Davenant, that the generall receipte of the said theatre (the generall expence first beinge deducted) shall bee devided into fifteene shares or proportions, whereof two shares or proportions shall bee paid to the said Sir Wm. Davenant, his executors, administrators, or assignes,

assignes, towards the house-rent, buildinge, scaffoldinge, and makeing of frames for SCENES, and one other share or proportion shall likewise bee paid to the said Sir William, his executors, administrators and assignes, for provision of habitts, properties, and SCENES, for a supplement of the said theatre.

That the other twelve shares (after all expences of men hirelinges and other customary expences deducted) shall bee divided into seaven and five shares or proportions, whereof the said Sir Wm. D' Avenant, his executors, administrators, or assigns, shall have seaven shares or proportions, to mainteine all the women that are to performe or represent womens parts in the aforesaid tragedies, comedies, playes, or representations; and in consideration of erectinge and establishinge them to bee a companie, and his the said Sir Wms. paines and expences to that purpose for many yeeres. And the other five of the said shares or proportions is to bee divided amongst the rest of the persons [parties] to theis presents, whereof the said Henry Harris is to have an equal share with the greatest proportion in the said five shares or proportions.

That the generall receipte of the said theatre (from and after such time as the said Companie have performed their playeing in Salisbury Court, or in any other playhouse, according to and noe longer than the tyme allowed by him the said William as aforesaid) shall bee by ballatine, or tickets sealed for all doores and boxes.

That Sir Wm. Davenant, his executors, administrators or assignes, shall at the generall chardge of the whole receipte provide three persons to receive money for the said tickets, in a roome adjoyning to the said theatre; and that the actors in the said theatre, nowe parties to these presents, who are concerned in the said five shares or proportions, shall dayly or weekly appoint two or three of themselves, or the men hirelings deputed by them, to sit with the aforesaid three persons appointed by the said Sir William, that they may survey or give an accompt of the money received for the said tickets:

That

That the said seaven shares shall bee paid nightly by the said three persons by the said Sir Wm. deputed, or by anie of them, to him the said Sir Wm. his executors, administrators, or assignes.

That the said Sir William Davenant shall appoint half the number of the door-keepers necessary for the receipt of the said tickets for doores and boxes, the wardrobe-keeper, barber, and all other necessary persons as hee the said Sir Wm. shall think fitt, and their sallary to bee defrayed at the publique chardge.

That when any sharer amongst the actors of the aforesaid shares, and parties to these presents, shall dye, that then the said Sir Wm. Davenant, his executors, administrators or assignes, shall have the denomination and appointment of the successor and successors. And likewise that the wages of the men hirelings shall be appointed and established by the said Sir Wm. Davenant, his executors, administrators, or assignes.

That the said Sir Wm. Davenant, his executors, administrators, or assignes, shall not bee obliged out of the shares or proportions allowed to him for the supplyinge of cloathes, habitts, and scenes, to provide eyther hatts, feathers, gloves, ribbons, sworde-belts, bands, stockings, or shoes, for any of the men actors aforesaid, unles it be a propertie.

That a private boxe bee provided and established for the use of Thomas Killigrew, Esq. one of the groomes of his Ma.ties bedchamber, sufficient to conteine fixe persons, into which the said Mr. Killigrew, and such as he shall appoint, shall have liberty to enter without any sallary or pay for their entrance into such a place of the said theatre as the said Sir Wm. Davenant, his heires, executors, administrators, or assignes, shall appoint.

That the said Thomas Batterton, Thomas Sheppey, Robert Noakes, James Noakes, Thomas Lovell, John Moseley, Cave Underhill, Robert Turner, and Thomas Lilleston, doe hereby for themselves covenant, promise, grant and agree, to and with the said Sir
W.D.

W. D. his executors, administrators, and assignes, by these presents, that they and every of them shall become bound to the said Sir Wm. Davenant, in a bond of 5000*l.* conditioned for the performance of these presents. And that every successor to any part of the said five shares or proportions shall enter into the like bonds before hee or they shall bee admitted to share anie part or proportion of the said shares or proportions.

And the said Henry Harris doth hereby for himself his executors, administrators, and assignes, covenant, promise, grant and agree, to and with the said Sir Wm. Davenant, his executors, administrators, and assignes, by these presents, that hee the said Henry Harris shall within one weeke after the notice given by Sir Wm. Davenant for the concluding of the playeing at Salisbury Court or any other house else abovesaid, become bound to the said Sir Wm. Davenant in a bond of 1000*l.* conditioned for the performance of these [presents]. And that every successor to any of the said five shares shall enter into the like bond, before hee or they shall bee admitted to have any part or proportion in the said five shares.

Item, it is mutually agreed by and betweene all the parties to these presents, that the said Sir William Davenant alone shall bee Master and Superior, and shall from time to time have the sole government of the said Thomas Batterton, Thomas Sheppey, Robert Noakes, James Noakes, Thomas Lovell, John Moseley, Cave Underhill, Robert Turner and Thomas Lilleston, and also of the said Henry Harris, and their associates, in relation to the playes [play-house] by these presents agreed to bee erected.

On the 15th of Nov. 1660, Sir William D'Avenant's company began to act under these articles at the theatre in Salisbury Court, at which house or at the Cockpit they continued to play till March or April 1662. In October 1660, Sir Henry Herbert had brought an action on the

case against Mr. Mohun and several others of Killigrew's company, which was tried in December 1661, for representing plays without being licensed by him, and obtained a verdict against them, as appears from a paper which I shall insert in its proper place. Encouraged by his success in that suit, soon after D'Avenant's company opened their new theatre in Portugal Row, he brought a similar action (May 6, 1662,) against Mr. Betterton, of which I know not the event*. In the declaration, now before me, it is stated that D'Avenant's company, between the 15th of November 1660, and the 6th of May 1662, produced ten new plays and 100 revived plays; but the latter number being the usual style of declarations at law, may have been inserted without a strict regard to the fact.

Sir Henry Herbert likewise brought two actions on the same ground against Sir William Davenant, in one of which he failed, and in the other was successful. To put an end to the contest, Sir William in June 1662 besought the king to interfere.

“ To the Kings most Sacred Majesty.

“ The humble petition of Sir William Davenant, Knight.

“ Sheweth,

“ That your petitioner has bin molested by Sir Henry Harbert with several prosecutions at law.

* From a paper which Sir Henry Herbert has entitled “ *A Briveat*” of matters to be proved on this trial, it appears that he was possessed of the Office-books, of his predecessors, Mr. Tilney and Sir George Buc; for, among other points of which proof was intended to be produced, he states, that “ Several plays were allowed by Mr. Tilney in 1598, which is 62 years since :

“ As	{	<i>Sir William Longsword</i> <i>The Fair Maid of London</i> <i>Richard Cordelion.</i>	}	Allowed to be acted in 1598. See the bookes.
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		<i>King and no King</i> allowed to be acted in 1611, and the same to be printed. <i>Hogg</i>	}	Allowed by Sir George Buck.”
		<i>batb lost its pearle,</i> and hundreds more.		

That

“ That those prosecutions have not proceeded by your petitioners default of not paying the said Henry Harbert his pretended fees, (he never having sent for any to your petitioner,) but because your petitioner hath publickely presented plaies; notwithstanding he is authoriz’d thereunto by pattennt from your Majesties most royall Father, and by severall warrants under your Majesties royal hand and signet.

“ That your petitioner (to prevent being out-law’d) has bin inforc’d to answer him in two tryals at law, in one of which, at Westminster, your petitioner hath had a verdict against him, where it was declar’d that he hath no jurisdiction over any plaiers, nor any right to demand fees of them. In the other, (by a London jury) the Master of Revels was allow’d the correction of plaies, and fees for soe doing; but not to give plaiers any licence or authoritie to play, it being prov’d that no plaiers were ever authoriz’d in London or Westminster, to play by the commission of y^e Master of Revels, but by authoritie immediately from the crowne. Neither was the proportion of fees then determin’d, or made certaine; because severall witnesses affirm’d that variety of payments had bin made; sometimes of a noble, sometimes of twenty, and afterwards of forty shillings, for correcting a new play; and that it was the custome to pay nothing for supervising reviv’d plaies.

“ That without any authoritie given him by that last verdict, he sent the day after the tryall a prohibition under his hand and seale (directed to the plaiers in Little Lincolnes Inn fields) to forbid them to act plaies any more.

“ Therefore your petitioner humbly praies that your Majesty will graciously please (two verdicts having pass’d at common law contradicting each other) to referr the case to the examination of such honourable persons as may satisfy your Majesty of the just authoritie of the Master of Revells, that so his fees (if any be due to him) may be made
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certaine, to prevent extortion; and time prescribed how long he shall keep plaies in his hands, in pretence of correcting them; and whether he can demand fees for reviv'd plaies; and lastly, how long plaies may be lay'd asyde, ere he shall judge them to be reviv'd.

“ And your petitioner (as in duty bound) shall ever pray,” &c.

“ At the Court at Hampton Court, the 30th of June, 1662.

“ His Majesty, being graciously inclin'd to have a just and friendly agreement made betweene the petitioner and the said Sir Henry Harbert, is pleas'd to refer this petition to the right honorable the Lord high Chancellor of England, and the Lord Chamberlaine, who are to call before them, as well the petitioner, as the said Sir Henry Harbert, and upon hearing and examining their differences, are to make a faire and amicable accomodation between them, if it may be, or otherwise to certify his Majesty the true state of this busines, together with their Lord.^{ps} opinions.

EDWARD NICHOLAS.

“ Wee appoint Wednesday morning next before tenn of the clock to heare this businesse, of which Sir Henry Harbert and the other parties concern'd are to have notice, my Lord Chamberlaine having agreed to that hour.

“ July 7, 1662.

CLARENDONE.”

On the reference to the Lord Chancellor and Lord Chamberlain, Sir Henry Herbert presented the following statement of his claims.

“ To

“ To the R.^t Honn.^{rhle} Edward Earle of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of England, and Edward Earle of Manchester, Lord Chamberlain of his Ma.^{ties} Household.

“ In obedience to your lordships comandes signified unto mee on the ninth of this instant July, do make a remembrance of the fees, profittes, and incidents, belonging to y^e office of the Reuells. They are as followeth :

	£.	s.	d.
“ For a new play, to bee brought with the booke - - - }	002	00	00
“ For an old play, to be brought with the booke - - - }	001	00	00
“ For Christmasse fee - - -	003	00	00
“ For Lent fee - - -	003	00	00
“ The profittes of a summers day play at the Black fryers, valued at - }	050	00	00
“ The profitts of a winters day*, at Blackfryers - - - }	050	00	00
“ Besides feuerall occasionall gratuities from the late K. ^s company at B. fryers.			
“ For a share from each company of four companies of players (besides the late Kinges Company) valued at a 100l. a yeare, one yeare with another, besides the usuall fees, by the yeare }	400	00	00
“ That the Kinges Company of players couenanted the 11th of August, 60, to pay Sir Henry Herbert per week, from that tyme, aboue the usual fees - - }	004	00	00

* It is extraordinary that the Master of the Revels should have ventured to state fifty pounds as the produce of each of the benefits given him by the King's company. We have seen (p. 153,) that at an average they did not produce nine pounds each, and after a trial of some years he compounded with that company for the certain sum of ten pounds for his winter's day, and the like sum for his summer benefit.

- “ That Mr. William Beefton couenanted
to pay weekly to Sir Henry Herbert } 004 00 00
the fumme of - - - - - }
- “ That Mr. Rhodes promised the like } 004 00 00
per weeke - - - - - }
- “ That the 12l. per weeke from the three forenamed
companyes hath been totally deteyned from Sir Henry
Herbert since the faid 11th Aug. 60, by illegal and un-
juſt means; and all uſuall fees, and obedience due
to the office of the Revells.
- “ That Mr. Thomas Killegrew drawes 19l. 6s. per week
from the Kinges Company, as credibly informed.
- “ That Sir William Dauenant drawes 10 ſhares of 15
ſhares, which is valued at 200l. per week, cleer profit,
one week with another, as credibly informed.
- “ Allowance for charges of ſuites at law, for that Sir
Henry Herbert is unjuſtly putt out of poſſeſſion and
profitteſ, and could not obtaine an appearance gratis.
- “ Allowance for damages ſuſteyned in credit and pro-
fitteſ for aboue two yeares ſince his Ma.^{ties} happy Re-
ſtauration.
- “ Allowance for their New Theatre to bee uſed as a
playhouſe.
- “ Allowance for new and old playes acted by Sir William
Dauenantes pretended company of players at Salif-
bery Court, the Cockpitt, and now at Portugall-
Rowe, from the 5th Novemb. 60. the tyme of their
firſt conjunction with Sir William Dauenant.
- “ Allowance for the fees at Chriſtmaffe and at Lent from
the ſaid tyme.
- “ A boxe for the Maſter of the Reuells and his company,
gratis;—as accuſtomed.

“ A ſubmiſſion

“ A submission to the authority of the Revells for the future, and that noe playes, new or old, bee acted, till they are allowed by the Master of the Reuells.

“ That rehearfall of plays to be acted at court, be made, as hath been accustomed, before the Master of the Reuells, or allowance for them.

“ Wherefore it is humbly pray'd, that delay being the said Dauenants best plea, w^{ch} he hath exercised by illegall actinges for almost two yeares, he may noe longer keep Sir Henry Herbert out of possession of his rightes; but that your Lordshippes would speedily assert the rights due to the Master of the Reuells, and ascertaine his fees and damages, and order obedience and payment accordingly. And in case of disobedience by the said Dauenant and his pretended company of players, that Sir Henry Herbert may bee at liberty to pursue his course at law, in confidence that he shall have the benefitt of his Ma.^{ty}s justice, as of your lordshippes fauour and promises in satisfaction, or liberty to proceed at law. And it may bee of ill consequence that Sir Henry Herbert, dating for 45 yeares meniall service to the Royal Family, and hauing purchased Sir John Ashleys interest in the said office, and obtained of the late Kings bounty a grante under the great seale of England for two liues, should have noe other compensation for his many yeares faithfull services, and constant adherence to his Ma.^{ty}s interest, accompanied with his great sufferinges and losses, then to bee outed of his just possession, rightes and profittes, by Sir William Dauenant, a person who exercised the office of Master of the Reuells to Oliuer the Tyrant, and wrote *the First and Second Parte of Peru*, acted at the Cockpitt, in Oliuers tyme, and soly in his fauour; wherein hee sett of the justice of Oliuers actinges, by comparison with the Spaniards, and endeavoured thereby to make Oliuers cruelties appeare mercyes, in respect of the Spanish cruelties; but the mercyes of the wicked are cruell.

“ That the said Dauenant published a poem in vindication and justification of Oliuers actions and govern-
ment,

ment, and an Epithalamium in praise of Olivers daughter M^s. Rich;—as credibly informed*.

“ The matters of difference betweene Mr. Thomas Killigrew and Sir Henry Herbert are upon accomodation.

“ My Lordes,

“ Your Lordshippes very humble Servant,

“ July 11th 62.

Cary-house.

HENRY HERBERT.”

Another paper now before me will explain what is meant by Sir Henry Herbert's concluding words.

“ ARTICLES of agreement, indented, made and agreed upon, this fourthe day of June, in the 14 yeare of the reigne of our souveraigne lord Kinge Charles the Second, and in the yeare of our Lord, 1662, betweene Sir Henry Herbert of Ribsford in the county of Worcester, knight, of the one part, and Thomas Killegrew of Couent Garden, Esq. on the other parte, as followethe :

“ *Imprimis*, It is agreed, that a firme amity be concluded for life betweene the said Sir Henry Herbert and the said Thomas Killegrew.

“ *Item*, The said Thomas Killegrew doth for himselfe couenant, promise, grant, and agree, to paye or cause to be pay'd unto Sir Henry Herbert, or to his assignes, on or before the fourthe day of August next, ail monies due to the said Sir Henry Herbert from the Kinge and Queens company of players, called Mychaell Mohun, William Wintershall, Robert Shaterell, William Cartwright, Nicholas Burt, Walter Clunn, Charles Hart, and the rest of that company, for the new plaies at fortie shillings a play, and for the old reuiued plaies at twentie shillings a play, they the said players haue acted since the eleuenthe of August, in the yeare of our Lord, 1660.

“ *Item*, The said Thomas Killegrew, Esq. doth for himselfe couenant, promise, grante, and agree, to paye or

* This poem Sir William D'Avenant suppressed, for it does not appear in his works.

cause to be pay'd unto the said Sir Henry Herbert, or to his assignes, on or before the fourthe day of August next, such monies as are due to him for damages and losses obteyned at law ag.^t Mychaell Mohun, William Wintershall, Robert Shaterell, William Cartwright, Nicholas Burt, Walter Clunn, and Charles Hart, upon an action of the case brought by the said Sir Henry Herbert in the courte of Comon Pleas ag.^t y^e said Mychael Mohun, William Wintershall, Robert Shaterell, William Cartwright, Nicholas Burt, Walter Clunn, and Charles Hart, wherupon a verdict hath been obteyned as aforesaid ag.^t them. And likewise doe promise and agree that the costes and charges of suite upon another action of the case brought by the said Sir Henry Herbert ag.^t the said Mychaell Mohun & y^e rest of y^e players aboue named, shall be also payd to the said Sir Henry Herbert or to his assignes, on or before the said fourthe day of August next.

“ *Item*, The said Thomas Killegrew doth for himselfe couenant, promise, grante and agree, that the said Michaell Mohun and the rest of the Kinge and Queenes company of players shall, on or before the said fourthe day of August next, paye or cause to be pay'd unto the said Sir Henry Herbert, or to his assignes, the sum of fiftie pounds, as a present from them, for his damages susteyned from them and by their means.

“ *Item*, That the said Thomas Killegrew, Esq. doth couenant, promise, grante, and agree, to be aydinge and assistinge unto the said Sir Henry Herbert in the due execution of the Office of the Reuells, and neither directly nor indirectly to ayde or assiste Sir William Dauenant, Knight, or any of his pretended company of players, or any other company of players to be rays'd by him, or any other company of players whatsoever, in the due execution of the said office as aforesaide, soe as y^e ayd soe to bee required of y^e said Thomas Killegrew extend not to y^e silencing or oppression of y^e said King and Queenes company.

“ And the said Sir Henry Herbert doth for himselfe couenant, promise, grante, and agree, not to molest y^e said Thomas Killegrew, Esq. or his heirs, in any suite at lawe or otherwise, to the preiudice of the grante made unto

him by his Ma.^{tie}, or to disturbe the receiuinge of y^e profits aryfing by contract from the Kinge and Queens company of players to him, but to ayde and assiste the said Thomas Killegrew, in the due execution of the legall powers granted unto him by his Ma.^{tie} for the orderinge of the said company of players, and in the levyinge and receiuinge of y^e monies due to him the said Thomas Killegrew, or which shall be due to him from y^e saide company of players by any contract made or to be made between them or amongst the same; and neither directly nor indirectly to hinder the payment of y^e said monies to be made weekly or otherwise by y^e said company of players to y^e said Thomas Killegrew, Esq. or to his assignes, but to be ayding and assistinge to the said Thomas Killegrew, Esq. and his assignes therein, if there be cause for it, and that the said Thomas Killegrew desire it of y^e said Sir Henry Herbert.

“ And the said Sir Henry Herbert doth for himselfe couenant, promise, grante, and agree, upon the performance of the matters which are herein contayned, and to be performed by the said Thomas Killegrew, accordinge to the daies of payment, and other things lymited and expresse in these articles, to deliuer into the hands of y^e said Thomas Killegrew the deede of couenants, sealed and deliuered by the said Mychaell Mohun and y^e others herein named, bearing date the 11 August, 1660; to be cancelled by the said Thomas Killegrew, or kept, as he shall thinke fitt, or to make what further advantage of the same in my name or right as he shall be aduised*.”

The actors who had performed at the Red Bull, acted under the direction of Mr. Killigrew during the years 1660, 1661, 1662, and part of the year 1663, in Gibbon's tennis-court in Vere-street, near Clare-market; during which time a new theatre was built for them in

* On the back of this paper Sir Henry Herbert has written—
“ Copy of the Articles sealed and delivered the 5th June, 62, between Sir H. H. and Thomas Killegrew. Bonds of 5000l. for the performance of covenants.”

Drury Lane, to which they removed in April 1663. The following list of their stock-plays, in which it is observable there are but three of Shakspeare, was found among the papers of Sir Henry Herbert, and was probably furnished by them soon after the Restoration.

“ Names of the plays acted by the Red Bull actors.

<i>The Humorous Lieutenant.</i>	<i>Elder Brother.</i>
<i>Beggars Bush.</i>	<i>The Silent Woman.</i>
<i>Tamer Tamed.</i>	<i>The Wedding.</i>
<i>The Traytor.</i>	<i>Henry the Fourth.</i>
<i>Loves Cruelty.</i>	<i>Merry Wives of Windsor.</i>
<i>Wit without money.</i>	<i>Kings and no Kings.</i>
<i>Maydes Tragedy.</i>	<i>Othello.</i>
<i>Philaster.</i>	<i>Dumboys.</i>
<i>Rollo Duke of Normandy.</i>	<i>The Unfortunate Lovers.</i>
<i>Claricilla.</i>	<i>The Widow.</i>

Downes the prompter has given a list of what he calls the principal old stock plays acted by the king's servants, (which title the performers under Mr. Killigrew acquired,) between the time of the Restoration and the junction of the two companies in 1682; from which it appears that the only plays of Shakspeare performed by them in that period, were *K. Henry IV. P. I. The Merry Wives of Windsor, Othello, and Julius Cæsar.* Mr. Hart represented *Othello, Brutus, and Hotspur;* Major Mohun *Iago, and Cassius;* and Mr. Cartwright *Falstaff.* Such was the lamentable taste of those times that the plays of Fletcher, Johnson and Shirley were much oftner exhibited than those of our author. Of this the following list furnishes a melancholy proof. It appears to have been made by Sir Henry Herbert in order to enable him to ascertain the fees due to him, whenever he should establish his claims, which however he never accomplished. Between the play entitled *Argalus and Parthenia,* and *The Loyal Subject,* he has drawn a line; from which, and from other circumstances, I imagine that the plays which I have printed in Italicks were exhibited by the Red Bull actors, who afterwards became the king's servants,

1660. Monday the 5 Nov. *Wit without money.*
 Tuesday the 6 Nov. *The Traytor.*
 Wednesday the 7 Nov. *The Beggars Bush.*
 Thursday the 8 Nov. *Henry the Fourth.*
 [First play acted at the new
 theatre.]
 Friday the 9 Nov. *The Merry Wives of Windsor.*
 Saturday the 10 Nov. *The Silent Woman.*
 Tuesday the 13 Nov. *Love lies a bleeding.*
 Thursday the 15 Nov. *Loves Cruelty.*
 Friday the 16 Nov. *The Widow.*
 Saturday the 17 Nov. *The Mayds Tragedy.*
 Monday the 19 Nov. *The Unfortunate Lovers.*
 Tuesday the 20 Nov. *The Beggars Bush.*
 Wednesday the 21 Nov. *The Scornfull Lady.*
 Thursday the 22 Nov. *The Traytor.*
 Friday the 23 Nov. *The Elder Brother.*
 Saturday the 24 Nov. *The Chances.*
 Monday the 26 Nov. *The Opportunity.*
 Thursday the 29 Nov. *The Humorous Lieutenant.*
 Saturday the 1 Dec. *Clarecilla.*
 Monday the 3 Dec. *A Kinge and no Kinge.*
 Thursday the 6 Dec. *Rollo, Duke of Normandy.*
 Saturday the 8 Dec. *The Moore of Venise.*
 Monday the 9 Jan. *The Weddinge.*
 Saturday the 19 Jan. *The Lost Lady.*
 Thursday the 31 Jan. *Argalus and Parthenia.*

			Loyal Subject,
			Mad Lover.
			The Wild-goose Chase.
1661.	March	} - -	All's Losse by Luste.
	April		The Mayd in the Mill.
	May		A Wife for a Monthe.
			The Bondman.
	Decemb.	10 - -	A Dancing Master.
	Decemb.	11 - -	Vittoria Corombona.
	Decemb.	13 - -	The Country Captaine.

1661.	Decemb. 16	- -	The Alchymist.
	Decemb. 17	- -	Bartholmew Faire.
	Decemb. 20	- -	The Spanish Curate.
	Decemb. 23	- -	The Tamer Tamed.
	Decemb. 28	- -	Aglaura.
	Decemb. 30	- -	Buffy D'ambois.
	Janu. 6	- - -	Mery Devil of Edmonton.
	Jan. 10	- - -	The Virgin Martyr.
	Jan. 11	- - -	Philaster.
	Jan. 21	- - -	Jovial Crew.
	Jan. 28	- - -	Rule a wife and have a wife.
	Feb. 15	- - -	Kinge and no Kinge.
	Feb. 25	- - -	The Mayds Tragedy.
	Feb. 27	- - -	Aglaura; the tragical way.
	March 1	- - -	Humorous Lieutenant.
	March 3	- - -	Selindra—a new play.
	March 11	- - -	The Frenche Dancinge Ma-
	March 15	- - -	The Little Theef. [ster.
1662.	April 4	- - -	Northerne Lasse.
	April 19	- - -	Fathers own son.
	April 25	- - -	The Surprisal—a new play.
	May 5	- - -	Kt. of the Burning pestle.
	May 12	- - -	Brenoralt.
	May 17	- - -	Love in a maze.
<hr/>			
1661.	Octob. 26	- - -	Loves Mistrefs.
			Discontented Collonell.
			Love at first sight.
1662.	June 1.	- - -	Cornelia, a new play.—Sir
			W. Bartleys.
	June 6	- - -	Renegado.
	July 6	- - -	The Brothers.
			The Antipodes.
	July 23	- - -	The Cardinall.

From another list, which undoubtedly was made by Sir Henry Herbert for the purpose I have mentioned, I learn that *Macbeth* was revived in 1663 or 1664; I suppose as altered by D'Avenant.

" Nov. 3. 1663. <i>Flora's Figaries</i>	-	£. 2.	-	-
" A pastoral called <i>The Exposure</i>	-	2.	-	-
" 8 more	-	16.	-	-
" A new play	-	1.	-	-
" <i>Henry the 5th</i>	-	2.	-	-
" Revived play. <i>Taming the Shrew</i>	-	1.	-	-
" <i>The Generall</i>	-	2.	-	-
" <i>Parsons Wedinge</i>	-	2.	-	-
" Revived play. <i>Macbeth</i>	-	1.	-	-
" <i>K. Henry 8.</i> Revived play	-	1.	-	-
" <i>House to be let</i>	-	2.	-	-
" More for plays, whereof <i>Elvira</i> the last	-	9.	-	-
<hr/>				
" For playes	-	£. 41.	"	

Sir William D'Avenant's Company, after having played for some time at the Cockpit in Drury Lane, and at Salisbury Court, removed in March or April 1662, to a new theatre in Portugal Row near Lincoln's Inn Fields. Mr. Betterton, his principal actor, we are told by Downes, was admired in the part of Pericles, which he frequently performed before the opening of the new theatre; and while this company continued to act in Portugal Row, they represented the following plays of Shakspeare, and it should seem those only: *Macbeth* and *The Tempest*, altered by D'Avenant; *King Lear*, *Hamlet*, *King Henry the Eighth*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Twelfth Night*. In *Hamlet*, the Prince of Denmark was represented by Mr. Betterton; the Ghost by Mr. Richards; Horatio by Mr. Harris; the Queen by Mrs. Davenport; and Ophelia by Mrs. Saunderson. In *Romeo and Juliet*, Romeo was represented by Mr. Harris, Mercutio by Mr. Betterton, and Juliet by Mrs. Saunderson. Mr. Betterton in *Twelfth Night* performed Sir Toby Belch, and in *Henry the Eighth*, the King. He was without doubt also the performer of *King Lear*. Mrs. Saunderson represented Catharine in *King Henry the Eighth*, and it may be presumed, Cordelia, and Miranda. She

She also performed Lady Macbeth, and Mr. Betterton Macbeth.

The theatre which had been erected in Portugal Row, being found too small, Sir William D'Avenant laid the foundation of a new playhouse in Dorset Garden, near Dorset Stairs, which however he did not live to see completed; for he died in May 1668, and it was not opened till 1671. There being strong reason to believe that he was our poet's son, I have been induced by that circumstance to inquire with some degree of minuteness into his history. I have mentioned in a preceding page that the account given of him by Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, was taken from Mr. Aubrey's Manuscript; Since that sheet was printed, Mr. Warton has obligingly furnished me with an exact transcript of the article relative to D'Avenant, which, as it contains some particulars not noticed by Wood, I shall here subjoin:

“ MS. Aubrey. Mus. ASHMOL. LIVES.

SIR WILLIAM DAVENANT, KNIGHT,
POET-LAUREAT⁶,

was borne about the end of February in ——— street in the city of Oxford, at the Crowne Taverne; baptized 3 of March A. D. 1605-6. His father was John Davenant, a vintner there, a very grave and discreet citizen: his mother was a very beautifull woman, and of a very good witt, and of conversation extremely agreeable. They had 3 sons, viz. Robert, William, and Nicholas; (Robert was a fellow of St. John's Coll. in Oxon. then preferd to the vicarage of Westkington by Bp. Davenant, whose chaplain he was; Nicholas was an attorney;) and 2 handsome daughters; one m. to Gabriel Bradly, B. D. of C. C. C. beneficed in the vale of White Horse; another to Dr. Sherburne, minister of *Pembordge* [—bridge] in Heref. and canon of that church. Mr. W^m Shake-

⁶ Mr. Warton informs me, that “ it appears by Aubrey's letters that this *Life of Davenant* was sent to Wood, and drawn up at his request.”

speare was wont to goe into Warwickshire once a yeare,
 and did comonly in his journey lie at this house in Oxon.
 where he was exceedingly respected. Now Sir Wil-
 liam would sometimes, when he was pleasant over a
 glasse of wine with his most intimate friends, (*e. g.* Sam
 Butler, author of *Hudibras, etc. etc.*) say, that it seem'd to
 him, that he writt with the very spirit that Shakespeare
 [wrote with], and was contented enough to bee thought his
 son: he would tell them the story as above. He went to
 schoole at Oxon. to Mr. Silvester; Charles Wheare, F.
 [*filius*] Degerii W., was his schoolfellow: but I feare, he
 was drawne from schoole, before he was ripe enoughe.
 He was preferred to the first Dutcheffs of Richmond, to
 wayte on her as a page. I remember, he told me, she
 sent him to a famous apothecary for some unicorne's
 horne, which he was resolved to try with a spyder,
 which he empaled in it, but without the expected success:
 the spider would goe over and through and thorough,
 unconcerned. He was next a servant (as I remember, a
 page also) to Sir Fulke Grevil Ld. Brookes, with whom
 he lived to his death; which was, that a servant of his
 that had long wayted on him, and his lor— [lordship] had
 often told him, that he would doe something for him, but
 did not, but still put him off with delay; as he was trussing
 up his lord's pointes, comeing from stoole, [for then
 their breeches were fastened to the doublets with
 pointes; then came in hookes and eies, which not to
 have fastened was in my boyhood a great crime,] stabbed
 him. This was at the same time that the duke of
 Buckingham was stabbed by Felton; and the great noise
 and report of the duke's, Sir W. told me, quite drown'd
 this of his lord's, that was scarce taken notice of. This
 Sir Fulke G. was a good wit, and had been a good poet
 in his youth: he wrote a poeme in folio, which he print-
 ed not, till he was old, and then, as Sir W. said, with
 too much judgement and refining spoiled it, which was
 at first a delicate thing. He [Dav.] writt a play, or
 plays, and verses, which he did with so much sweetnesse
 and grace, that by it he got the love and friendship of
 his two Mæcenaces, Mr. Endymion Porter, and Mr.
 Henry

Henry Jermyn, [since E. of St. Albans] to whom he has dedicated his poem called Madegascar. Sir John Suckling was his great and intimate friend. After the death of Ben Johnson, he was made in his place Poet Laureat. He gott a terrible c—p of a black handsome wench, that lay in Axe-Yard, Westm.: whom he thought on, when he speaks of Dalga, [in Gondibert] which cost him his nose; with which unlucky mischaunce many witts were so cruelly bold, *e. g.* Sir John Menis, Sir John Denham, *etc. etc.* In 1641, when the troubles began, he was faine to fly into France, and at Canterbury he was seized on by the Mayor.

For Will had in his face the flaws
And markes received in country's cause.
They flew on him like lyons passant,
And tore his nose, as much as was on't;
And call'd him superstitious groome,
And Popish dog, and cur of Rome.
—— 'twas surely the first time,
That Will's religion was a crime.

In the Civill Warres in England, he was in the army of William Marquesse of Newcastle, [since Duke] where he was generall of the ordinance. I have heard his brother Robert say, for that service there was owing to him by King Charles the First 100col. During that warre 'twas his hap to have two Aldermen of Yorke his prisoners, who were somethinge stubborne, and would not give the ransome ordered by the councill of warre. Sir William used them civilly, and treated them in his tent, and sate them at the upper end of his table *à la mode de France*. And having done so a good while to his charge, told them (privately and friendly) that he was not able to keepe so chargeable guests, and bade them take an opportunity to escape; which they did; but having been gon a little way, they considered with themselves, that in gratitude they ought to goe back, and give Sir William their thankes, which they did: but it was like to have been to their great danger of being taken by the soldiers; but they happened to gett safe to Yorke.

The

The king's party being overcome, Sir W. Davenant, (who had the honour of knighthood from the D. of Newcastle by commission) went into France, and resided in Paris, where the prince of Wales then was. He then began to write his romance in verse, called Gondibert; and had not writt above the first booke, but being very fond of it printed it, before a quarter finished, with an epistle of his to Mr. Th. Hobbes, and Mr. Hobbes' excellent epistle to him printed before it. The courtiers, with the Prince of Wales, could never be at quiet about this piece, which was the occasion of a very witty but satirical little booke of verses in 8vo. about 4 sheets, writt by G. D. of Bucks, Sir John Denham, *etc. etc.*

“ That thou forsak'd thy sleepe, thy diet,
 “ And what is more than that, our quiet *.”

This last word, Mr. Hobbes told me, was the occasion of their writing.

Here he lay'd an ingenioſe deſigne to carry a conſiderable number of artificers (chiefly weavers) from hence to Virginia; and by Mary the Q's. mother's meanes he got, favour from the K. of France to goe into the priſons, and pick and chuſe: ſo when the poor dammed wretches underſtood, what the deſigne was, they cryed *uno ore, tout tifferan*, we are all weavers. Well, 36, as I remember, he got, if not more, and ſhipped them; and as he was in his voyage towards Virginia, he and his *tifferan* were all taken by the ſhips then belonging to the parliament of England. The ſlaves, I ſuppoſe, they ſold, but Sir William was brought priſoner into England. Whether he was firſt a priſoner at Careſbroke Caſtle in the Iſle of Wight, or at the Towr of London, I have forgott; he was priſoner at both: his Gondibert was finiſhed at Careſbroke Caſtle. He expected no mercy from the parliament, and had no hopes of eſcaping with his life. It pleaſed God, that the two aldermen of Yorke aforeſaid,

* Theſe lines are inaccurately quoted by memory from *Certain Verſes written by ſeveral of the author's friends, to be re-printed with the ſecond edition of Gondibert*, 1653.

hearing that he was taken and brought to London to be tryed for his life, which they understood was in extreme danger, they were touched with so much generosity and goodnes, as upon their own accounts and mere motion to try what they could to save Sir William's life, who had been so civill to them, and a means of saving theirs; to come to London; and acquainting the parliament with it, upon their petition, *etc.* Sir William's life was saved⁷. 'Twas Harry Martyn, that saved Sir William's life in the house: when they were talking of sacrificing one, then said Hen. that "in sacrifices they always offered pure and without blemish; now ye talk of making a sacrifice of an old rotten rascal." Vid. H. Martyn's life, where by this rare jest, then forgot, the L.^d Falkland saved H. Martyn's life.

Being freed from imprisonment, because plays (scil. trage. and comedies) were in these presbyterian times scandalous, he contrives to set up an opera, *stylo recitativo*; wherein Sergeant Maynard and several citizens were engagers: it began in Rutland House in Charter-house-yard: next, scilicet anno — at the Cock-pit in Drury Lane, where were acted very well, *stylo recitativo*, *Sir Francis Drake*, and the *Siege of Rhodes*, 1st and 2nd part. It did affect the eie and eare extremely. This first brought SCENES in fashion in England: before, at plays was *only an hanging**.

Anno Domini 1660, was the happy restauration of his Majesty Charles IInd; then was Sir William made — — — — and the Tennis-Court in Little Lincoln's Inn Fields was turned into a playhouse for the Duke of York's players, where Sir William had lodgings, and where he dyed, Aprill — 166—. I was at his funeral: he had a coffin of walnut tree: Sir

⁷ Mr. Warton observes to me, that "Aubrey does not say here that *Milton* (with the two aldermen) was instrumental in saving D'Avenant's life. Dr. Johnson is puzzled on what authority to fix this anecdote. *Life of Milton*, p. 181, 8vo. edit. I believe that anecdote was first retailed in print by Wood, *Atb. Oxon.* II. 412."

* Here we have another and a decisive confirmation of what has been stated in a former page on the subject of scenes. See p. 72, et seq.

John Denham said, that it was the finest coffin that he ever saw. His body was carried in a hearse from the playhouse to Westminster Abbey, where at the great west dore he was received by the sing [ing] men and choristers, who sang the service of the church (*I am the Resurrection, etc. etc.*) to his grave, which is near to the monument of Dr. Isaac Barrow, which is in the South Crosse aisle, on which in a paving stone of marble is writt, in imitation of that on Ben. Johnson, O rare Sir William Davenant.

His first lady was Dr. ———'s daughter, physitian, by whom he had a very beautiful and ingenioſe ſon, that dyed above twenty years ſince. His ſecond lady was daughter of ———, by whom he had ſeveral children. I ſaw ſome very young ones at the funerall. His eldeſt is Charles Davenant, the Doctör, who inherits his father's beauty and phancy. He practiſes at Doctör's Commons. He writt a play called *Circe*, which has taken very well. Sir William hath writt about 25 plays, the Romance called *Gondibert*, and a little poem called *Madagaſcar*.

His private opinion was, that religion at laſt [*e. g.* a hundred years hence] would come to ſettlement; and that in a kind of ingenioſe Quakeriſme⁸.

On

⁸ The following plays, written by Sir William D'Avenant, were liſenſed by the Maſter of the Revels in the following order :

The Cruel Brother, Jan. 12, 1626-7.

The Colonel, July 22, 1629.

The Juſt Italian, Octob. 2, 1629.

The Wits, Jan. 19, 1633-4.

Love and Honour, Nov. 20, 1634.

News from Plymouth, Aug. 1, 1635.

Platonick Lovers, Nov. 16, 1635.

Brittannia Triumphant, liſenſed for preſs, Jan. 8, 1637.

Unfortunate Lovers, April 16, 1638.

Fair Favourite, Nov. 17, 1638.

The Spaniſh Lovers, Nov. 30, 1639.

This piece is probably the play which in his works is called *The Diſtreſſes*.

Love and Honour was originally called *The Courage of Love*. It was afterwards named by Sir Henry Herbert, at D'Avenant's requeſt, *The Nonpareilles, or the Matchleſs Maids*.

On the 9th of Novemb. 1671, D'Avenant's company removed to their new theatre in Dorset Gardens, which was

In 1668 was published *Sir William D'Avenant's Voyage to the other world, with his adventures in the poet's Elizium*, written by Richard Flecknoe, which I subjoin to the memoirs of that poet. Consisting of only a single sheet, the greater part of the impression has probably perished, for I have never met with a second copy of this piece:

“ Sir William D'Avenant being dead, not a poet would afford him so much as an elegie; whether because he sought to make a monopoly of the art, or strove to become rich in spite of Minerva: it being with poets as with mushrooms, which grow onely on barren ground, enrich the soyl once, and then degenerate: onely one, more humane than the rest, accompany'd him to his grave with this elegium.

Now Davenant's dead, the stage will mourn,
And all to barbarism turn;
Since he it was, this later age,
Who chiefly civiliz'd the stage.

Great was his wit, his fancy great,
As e're was any poet's yet;
And more advantage none e'er made
O' th' wit and fancy which he had.

Not onely Dedalus' arts he knew,
But even Prometheus's too;
And living machins made of men,
As well as dead ones, for the scene.

And if the stage or theatre be
A little world, 'twas chiefly he,
That, Atlas-like, supported it,
By force of industry and wit.

All this, and more, he did beside,
Which having perfected, he dy'd:
If he may properly be said
To die, whose fame will ne'er be dead.

“ Another went further yet, and using the privilege of your anti-ent poets, who with allmost as much certainty as your divines, can tell all that passes in the other world, did thus relate his voyage thither, and all his adventures in the poets' elyzium.

“ As every one at the instant of their deaths, have passports given them for some place or other, he had his for the poets' elyzium; which not without much difficulty he obtained from the officers of Parnassus:

was opened, not with one of Shakspeare's plays, but with Dryden's comedy called *Sir Martin Marall*⁹.

Between

for when he alledg'd, he was an heroick poet, they ask'd him why he did not continue it? when he said he was a dramatick too, they ask'd him, why he left it off, and onely studied to get money; like him who sold his horse to buy him provender: and finally, when he added, he was a poet laureate, they laugh'd, and said, bayes was never more cheap than now; and that since Petrarch's time, none had ever been legitimately crown'd.

"Nor had he less difficulty with Charon, who hearing he was rich, thought to make booty of him, and ask'd an extraordinary price for his passage over; but coming to payment, he found he was so poor, as he was ready to turn him back agen, he having hardly so much as his *naulum*, or the price of every ordinary passenger.

"Being arriv'd, they were all much amaz'd to see him there, they having never heard of his being dead, neither by their weekly gazets, nor cryers of verses and pamphlets up and down; (as common a trade there, almost as it is here :) nor was he less amaz'd than they, to find never a poet there, antient nor modern, whom in some sort or other he had not disoblig'd by his commendations; as Homer, Virgil, Tasso, Spencer, and especially Ben. Johnson; contrary to Plinies rule, never to commend any of the same profession with our selves: 'for either they are better or worse than you (says he); if better, if they be not worthy commendations, you much less; if worse, if they be worthy commendations, you much more: so every ways advantagious 'tis for us to commend others.' Nay, even Shakspeare, whom he thought to have found his greatest friend, was as much offended with him as any of the rest, for so spoiling and mangling of his plays. But he who most vext and tormented him, was his old antagonist Jack Donne, who mock'd him with a hundred passages out of Gondibert; and after a world of other railing and spiteful language (at which the doctor was excellent) so exasperated the knight, at last, as they fell together by the ears: when but imagine

What tearing noses had been there,
Had they but noses for to tear*.

"Mean

* John Donne, the eldest son of Donne the poet, was a Civilian. He is said to have met with a misfortune similar to that of D'Avenant.

9 The building, scenes, &c. of that theatre cost 5000l. according to a statement given in a petition presented to Queen Anne about the year 1709, by Charles D'Avenant, Charles Killegrew, Christopher Rich, and others.

Between the year 1671 and 1682, when the King's and the Duke of York's servants united, (about which time Charles

" Mean time the comick poets made a ring about them, as boys do when they hiss dogs together by the ears; till at last they were separated by Pluto's officers, as diligent to keep the peace and part the fray, as your Italian Sbirri, or Spanish Alguazilo; and so they drag'd them both away, the doctor to the stocks, for raising tumults and disturbances in hell, and the knight to the tribunal, where Minos, Æacus and Rhadamanthus were to sit in judgement on him, with Momus the common accuser of the court.

" Here being arriv'd, and silence commanded, they ask'd him his quality and profession: to whom he answer'd, he was a Poet-laureate, who for poetry in general had not his fellow alive, and had left none to equal him now he was dead: and for eloquence,

*How never any hyperbolies
Were bigger, or farther stretch'd than his;
Nor ever comparisons again
Made things compar'd more clear and plain.*

Then for his plays or dramattick poetry.

*How that of The Unfortunate Lovers
The depth of tragedy discovers;
In's Love and Honour you might see
The height of tragecomedy;
And for his Wits, the comick fire
In none yet ever flam'd up higher:
But coming to his Siege of Rhodes,
It outwent all the rest by odds;
And somewhat's in't, that does out-do
Both th' antients and the moderns too.*

" To which Momus answered: that though they were never so good, it became not him to commend them as he did; that there were faults enough to be found in them; and that he had mar'd more good plays, than ever he had made; that all his wit lay in hyberbolies and comparisons, which, when accessory, were commendable enough, but when principal, deserved no great commendations; that his muse was none of the nine, but onely a mungril, or by-blow of Parnassus, and her beauty rather sophisticate than natural; that he offer'd at learning and philosophy, but as pullen and stubble geese offer'd to fly, who after they had flutter'd up a while, at length came fluttering down as fast agen; that he was with his high-sounding words, but like empty hogsheds, the higher they sounded, the emptier still they were; and that, finally, he so perplex'd himself and readers with parenthesis on parenthesis, as, just as in a wilderness or labyrinth, all sense was lost in them.

Charles Hart ¹, the principal support of the former company, died,) *King Lear*, *Timon of Athens*, *Macbeth*, and
The

“As for his life and manners, they would not examine those, since ’twas suppos’d they were licentious enough: onely he wou’d say,

*He was a good companion for
 The rich, but ill one for the poor;
 On whom he lock’d so, you’d believe
 He walk’d with a face negative:
 Whilst he must be a lord at least,
 For whom he’d smile or break a jeaft.*

“And though this, and much more, was exaggerated against him by Momus, yet the judges were so favourable to him, because he had left the muses for Pluto, as they condemned him onely to live in Pluto’s court, to make him and Proserpina merry with his facetious jeasts and stories; with whom in short time he became so gracious, by complying with their humours, and now and then dressing a dish or two of meat for them *, as they joyn’d him in patent with Momus, and made him superintendent of all their sports and recreations: so as, onely changing place and persons, he is now in as good condition as he was before; and lives the same life there, as he did here.

“P O S T S C R I P T.

“*To the Actors of the Theatre in Lincolns-Inn-Fields.*

“I promised you a sight of what I had written of Sir William D’Avenant, and now behold it here: by it you will perceive how much they abused you, who told you it was such an abusive thing. If you like it not, take heed hereafter how you disoblige him, who can not onely write for you, but against you too.

RICH. FLECKNOE.”

¹ From the preface to Settle’s *Fatal Love*, 1680, it should seem that he had then retired from the stage, perhaps in the preceding year; for in the prologue to the *Ambitious Statesman*, 1679, are these lines, evidently alluding to him and Mr. Mohun:

“The time’s neglect and maladies have thrown

“The two great pillars of our playhouse down.”

Charles Hart, who, I believe, was our poet’s great nephew, is said to have been Nell Gwin’s first lover, and was the most celebrated tragedian of his time.

“What

* This seems to allude to a fact then well known. D’Avenant was probably admitted to the private suppers of Charles the Second.

The Tempest, were the only plays of our author that were exhibited at the theatre in Dorset Gardens; and the three

“What Mr. Hart delivers, (says Rymer) every one takes upon content; their eyes are prepossessed and charmed by his action before aught of the poet’s can approach their ears; and to the most wretched of characters he gives a lustre and brilliant, which dazzles the sight, that the deformities in the poetry cannot be perceived.” “Were I a poet, says another contemporary writer, nay a Fletcher, a Shakspeare, I would quit my own title to immortality, so that one actor might never die. This I may modestly say of him, (nor is it my particular opinion, but the sense of all mankind,) that the best tragedies on the English stage have received their lustre from Mr. Hart’s performance; that he has left such an impression behind him, that no less than the interval of an age can make them appear again with half their majesty from any second hand.”

In a pamphlet entitled *The Life of the late famous comedian, J. Hayns*, 8vo. 1701, a characteristick trait of our poet’s kinsman is preserved:

“About this time [1673] there happened a small pick between Mr. Hart and Jo, upon the account of his late negotiation in France*, and there spending the company so much money to so little purpose, or, as I may more properly say, to no purpose at all.

“There happened to be one night a play acted called *Catiline’s Conspiracy*, wherein there was wanting a great number of senators. Now Mr. Hart, being chief of the house, would oblige Jo to dress for one of these senators, although his salary, being 50s. per week, freed him from any such obligation.

“But Mr. Hart, as I said before, being sole governour of the play-house, and at a small variance with Jo, commands it, and the other must obey.

“Jo, being vexed at the slight Mr. Hart had put upon him, found out this method of being revenged on him. He gets a Scaramouch dress, a large full ruff, makes himself whiskers from ear to ear, puts on his head a long Merry Andrew’s cap, a short pipe in his mouth, a little three-legged stool in his hand; and in this manner follows Mr. Hart on the stage, sets himself down behind him, and begins to smoke his pipe, laugh, and point at him. Which comical figure put all the house in an uproar, some laughing, some clapping, and some hollaing. Now Mr. Hart, as those who knew him can aver, was a man of that exactness and grandeur on the stage, that let what would happen, he’d never discompose himself, or mind any thing but what he then represented; and had a scene fallen behind him, he would

* Soon after the theatre in Drury Lane was burnt down, Jan. 1671-2, Hayns had been sent to Paris by Mr. Hart and Mr. Killigrew, to examine the machinery employed in the French Operas.

three latter were not represented in their original state, but as altered by D'Avenant² and Shadwell. Between 1682 and 1695, when Mr. Congreve, Mr. Betterton, Mrs. Barry, and Mrs. Bracegirdle, obtained a licence to open a new theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, *Othello*, *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, and *The Taming of the Shrew*, are the only plays of Shakspeare which Downes the prompter mentions, as having been performed by the united companies: *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* was transformed into an opera, and *The Taming of the Shrew* was exhibited as altered by Lacy. Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida*, however, the two parts of *K. Henry IV. Twelfth Night*, *Macbeth*, *King Henry VIII.* *Julius Cæsar*, and *Hamlet*, were without doubt sometimes represented in the same period: and Tate and Dufey furnished the scene with miserable alterations of *Coriolanus*, *K. Richard II.* *King Lear*, and *Cymbeline**. Otway's *Gaius Marius*,

would not at that time look back, to have seen what was the matter; which Jo knowing, remained still smoaking; the audience continued laughing, Mr. Hart acting, and wondering at this unusual occasion of their mirth; sometimes thinking it some disturbance in the house, again that it might be something amiss in his dress: at last turning himself toward the scenes, he discovered Jo in the aforesaid posture; whereupon he immediately goes off the stage, swearing he would never set foot on it again, unless Jo was immediately turned out of doors, which was no sooner spoke, but put in practice."

² "The tragedy of *Macbeth*, altered by Sir William D'Avenant, being dressed in all its finery, as new cloaths, new scenes, machines, as flyings for the witches, with all the singing and dancing in it, (the first composed by Mr. Lock, the other by Mr. Channel and Mr. Joseph Priest,) it being all excellently performed, *being in the nature of an opera*, it recompensed double the expence: it proves still a lasting play." *Roscius Anglicanus*, p. 33. 8vo. 1708.

"In 1673, *The Tempest or the Enchanted Island*, made into an opera by Mr. Shadwell, having all new in it, as scenes, machines; one scene painted with myriads of aerial spirits, and another flying away, with a table furnished out with fruits, sweatmeats, and all sorts of viands, just when duke Trinculo and his company were going to dinner; all things were performed in it so admirably well, that not any succeeding opera got more money." *Ibidem*, p. 34.

* *King Richard II.* and *King Lear* were produced by Tate in 1681, before the union of the two companies; and *Coriolanus*, under the title of *The Ingratitude of a Common wealth*, in 1682. In the same year appeared Dufey's alteration of *Cymbeline*, under the title of *The Injured Princess*.

which

which was produced in 1680, usurped the place of our poet's *Romeo and Juliet* for near seventy years, and Lord Lansdown's *Jew of Venice* kept possession of the stage from the time of its first exhibition in 1701, to the year 1741. Dryden's *All for Love*, from 1678 to 1759, was performed instead of our author's *Antony and Cleopatra*; and D'Avenant's alteration of *Macbeth* in like manner was preferred to our author's tragedy, from its first exhibition in 1663, for near eighty years.

In the year 1700 Cibber produced his alteration of *K. Richard III.* I do not find that this play, which was so popular in Shakspeare's time, was performed from the time of the Restoration to the end of the last century. The play with Cibber's alterations was once performed at Drury Lane in 1703, and lay dormant from that time to the 28th of Jan. 1710, when it was revived at the Opera House in the Haymarket; since which time it has been represented, I believe, more frequently than any of our author's dramas, except *Hamlet*.

On April 23, 1704, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, by command of the Queen, was performed at St. James's, by the actors of both houses, and afterwards publickly represented at the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, May 18, in the same year, by Mr. Betterton's company; but although the whole force of his company was exerted in the representation, the piece had so little success, that it was not repeated till Nov. 3, 1720, when it was again revived at the same theatre, and afterwards frequently performed.

From 1709, when Mr. Rowe published his edition of Shakspeare, the exhibition of his plays became much more frequent than before. Between that time and 1740, our poet's *Hamlet*, *Julius Cæsar*, *K. Henry VIII.* *Othello*, *K. Richard III.* *King Lear*, and the two parts of *King Henry IV.* were very frequently exhibited. Still, however, such was the wretched taste of the audiences of those days, that in many instances the contemptible alterations of his pieces were preferred to the originals.

Durfey's

Durfey's *Injured Princess*, which had not been acted from 1697, was again revived at Drury Lane, October 5, 1717, and afterwards often represented. Even Ravenscroft's *Titus Andronicus*, in which all the faults of the original are greatly aggravated, took its turn on the scene, and after an intermission of fifteen years was revived at Drury Lane in August 1717, and afterwards frequently performed both at that theatre and the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where it was exhibited for the first time, Dec. 21, 1720. *Coriolanus*, which had not been acted for twenty years, was revived at the theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, Dec. 13, 1718; and in Dec. 1719, *King Richard II.* was revived at the same theatre: but probably neither of these plays was then represented as originally written by Shakspeare³. *Measure for Measure*, which had not been acted, I imagine, from the time of the suppression of the theatres in 1642⁴, was revived at the same theatre, Dec. 8, 1720, for the purpose of producing Mr. Quin in the character of the Duke, which he frequently performed with success in that and the following years. *Much ado about nothing*, which had not been acted for thirty years, was revived at Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, Feb. 9, 1721; but after two representations, on that and the following evening, was laid aside. In Dec. 1723, *King Henry V.* was announced for representation, "on Shakspeare's foundation," and performed at Drury Lane six times in that month; after which we hear of it no more: and on Feb. 26, 1737, *King John* was revived at Covent Garden. Neither of these plays, I believe, had been exhibited from the time of the downfall of the stage. At the same theatre our poet's second part of *King Henry IV.* which had for fifty years been driven

³ In the theatrical advertisement, Feb. 6, 1738, *King Richard II.* (which was then produced at Covent Garden,) was said not to have been acted for *forty* years.

⁴ On the revival of this play in 1720, it was announced as not having been acted for *twenty* years: but the piece which had been performed in the year 1700, was not Shakspeare's, but Gildon's.

from

from the scene by the play which Mr. Betterton substituted in its place, resumed its station, being produced at Covent Garden, Feb. 16, 1738; and on the 23d of the same month Shakspeare's *K. Henry V.* was performed there as originally written, after an interval, if the theatrical advertisement be correct, of forty years. In the following March the same company once exhibited *the First Part of King Henry VI.* for the first time, as they asserted, for fifty years⁵. *As you like it* was announced for representation at Drury Lane, December 20, 1740, as not having been acted for forty years, and represented twenty-six times in that season. At Goodman's Fields, Jan. 15, 1741, *The Winter's Tale* was announced, as not having been acted for one hundred years; but was not equally successful, being only performed nine times. At Drury Lane, Feb. 14, 1741, *The Merchant of Venice*, which, I believe, had not been acted for one hundred years, was once more restored to the scene by Mr. Macklin, who on that night first represented Shylock; a part which for near fifty years he has performed with unrivalled success. In the following month the company at Goodman's Fields endeavoured to make a stand against him by producing *All's well that ends well*, which, they asserted, "had not been acted since Shakspeare's time." But the great theatrical event of this year was the appearance of Mr. Garrick at the theatre in Goodman's Fields, Oct. 19, 1741; whose good taste led him to study the plays of Shakspeare with more assiduity than any of his predecessors. Since that time, in consequence of Mr. Garrick's admirable performance of many of his principal characters, the frequent representation of his plays in nearly their original state, and above all, the various researches which have been made for the purpose of explaining and illustrating his works, our poet's reputation has been yearly increasing, and

⁵ *King Henry VI.* altered from Shakspeare by Theophilus Cibber, was performed by a summer company at Drury Lane, July 5, 1723; but it met with no success, being represented only once.

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is now fixed upon a basis, which neither the lapse of time nor the fluctuation of opinion will ever be able to shake. Here therefore I conclude this imperfect account of the origin and progress of the English Stage.

EMENDATIONS AND ADDITIONS.

VOL. I. PART I.

Page 73. l. 4.] The mark æ has been placed by the carelessness of the compositor before the edition of 1565. It ought to have been placed before that of 1567.

Pag. 119. l. 2.] To Shakspeare's income from his real and personal property must be added £.200 per Ann. which he probably derived from the theatre, while he continued on the stage. See Vol. I. Part II. p. 156.

Pag. 119. n. 7. l. 10.] For iiis. r. xiiis. The mistake was made by Dugdale.

Pag. 123. n. 2.] Dr. Hall's pocket-book after his death fell into the hands of a surgeon of Warwick, who published a translation of it, (with some additions of his own) under the title of *Select Observations on English Bodies of eminent persons, in desperate diseases, &c.* The third edition was printed in 1683.

Pag. 128. l. 11.] For 1623, r. 1621.

Pag. 131. n. 2. l. 4.] After *Ec. add* — And in the fifth line we find a thought which our poet has also introduced in *K. Henry VIII.*

“ Ever belov'd and loving may his rule be!

“ And, when old time shall lead him to his grave,

“ Goodness and he fill up one monument!”

This epitaph must have been written after the year 1600, for Venetia Stanley, who afterwards was the wife of Sir Kenelm Digby, was born in that year. With a view to ascertain its date more precisely, the churches of Great and Little Waltham have been examined for
the

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the monument said to have been erected to Lady Lucy Stanley and her four daughters, but in vain; for no trace of it remains: nor could the time of their respective deaths be ascertained, the registers of those parishes being lost.

Pag. 137. l. 14 of the note.] For *her*, r. *his*.

Pag. 161. n. 7. l. 5.] For *tuum*, r. *tuus*.

Pag. 162. n. 8. l. 2.] For 1685, r. *in or about 1682*.

Pag. 171. n. 1. l. 2.] For *ten*, r. *eighteen*.

Pag. 173. n. 7. l. 4.] For *born*, r. *baptized*.

Pag. 187. n. 5. l. 5.] For *July*, r. *June*.

Pag. 197. n. 1. l. 9.] For 1735, r. 1635. After line 10, add —

William Basse, according to Wood, [*Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. p. 812,] “ was of Moreton near Thame in Oxfordshire, and was sometime a retainer to the Lord Wenman of Thame Park.” There are some verses by him in *Annalia Dubrenfia*, 4to. 1636; and in *Bathurst's Life and Remains* by the Rev. Thomas Warton, 8vo. 1761, there is a poem by Dr. Bathurst “ to Mr. William Basse, upon the *intended* publication of his Poems, Jan. 13, 1651.” The volume never, I believe, appeared.

Pag. 209.] To the letters *I. M. S.* add this note.

Probably, Jasper Mayne, *Student*. He was born in the year 1604, and became a Member of Christ Church, in Oxford, in 1623, where he was soon afterwards elected a Student. In 1628 he took a bachelor's degree, and in June 1631, that of a Master of Arts. These verses first appeared in the folio, 1632.

Pag. 212, n. 5.] *Dele* this note. The Fortune company, I find from Sir Henry Herbert's Manuscript, removed to the Red Bull, and the Prince's Company to the Fortune, in the year 1640; these verses therefore could not have been written so early as 1623.

Pag. 230. l. 17.] For 1789. r. 1790.

Pag. 234. l. 7.] For 1789. r. 1790.

Pag. 264. n. 4. l. 7.] For *These were not*, r. *None of these, except Othello, were —*

Pag.

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Pag. 309. l. 19.] For *the children of the queen's chapel,*
r. *the singing boys of St. Paul's.*

Pag. 310. l. 20.] For *among the children of the chapel,*
r. *by the younger brood of players.*

Pag. 331. l. 6.] Add— That they were instituted about the year 1603, when King James acceded to the English throne, may be collected from the account given of them by Wood in his *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. p. 812: “ The said games were *begun*, and continued at a certain time of the year for 40 years, by one Robert Dover, an attorney of Burton on the heath in Warwickshire; who did, *with leave from King James I.* select a place on Cotswold-hills in Gloucestershire, whereon those games should be acted. Dover was constantly there in person, well mounted and accoutred, and was the chief director and manager of those games, even till the rascally rebellion was begun by the Presbyterians, which gave a stop to their proceedings, and spoiled all that was generous and ingenious elsewhere.”

Pag. 348. *The Winter's Tale.*] I have observed in a note that Ben Jonson has ridiculed this play and the *Tempest*, in his *Bartholomew Fair*, which first appeared in the year 1614, and that he might have been induced to do so from their having been acted at court in the preceding year. But I am now inclined to think that he rather joined these plays in the same censure, in consequence of their having been produced at no great distance of time from each other; and that *The Winter's Tale* ought to have been ascribed to the year 1613. In the office-book of Sir Henry Herbert I observe, that among the court-plays performed at Christmas were generally included the last new pieces which had been exhibited on the publick stage. Several of Fletcher's latter plays were performed at court in the same year in which they were first represented. But the entry which has been quoted in a preceding page⁶, relative to *The Winter's Tale*, furnishes a still stronger reason for

⁶ P. 226.

referring it to this year; for it appears that it had been originally licensed by Sir George Buck, and that the licensed copy had been lost. The licensed copy of *The Honest Man's Fortune*, which was produced in the year 1613, was likewise lost, and afterwards re-licensed by Sir Henry Herbert on its revival in 1624-5. It is highly probably that *The Winter's Tale* was first exhibited at the Globe in the same year, and that both these pieces were destroyed by the fire which consumed that theatre, June 30, 1613.

Though Sir George Buck obtained a reversionary grant of the office of Master of the Revels, in 1603, which title Camden has given him in the edition of his *Britannia* printed in 1607, it appears from various documents in the Pells-office that he did not get complete possession of his place till August 1610.

Pag. 376. *Coriolanus*.] I have some doubts concerning the concluding remark on the date of this play. The tree which is fit for breeding silk-worms, is the *white* mulberry, of which great numbers were imported into England in the year 1609: but *perhaps* we had the other species, which produces the best fruit, before that time. If that was the case, my hypothesis concerning the time when our poet planted the celebrated mulberry tree, may be controverted. *Valeat quantum valere possit.*

Pag. 406. l. 6.] One of the leaves of Sir Henry Herbert's Manuscript, which was missing, having been recovered since this page was printed, I find that *The Ladies Trial* was performed for the first time at the Cockpit theatre in May 1638, on the 3d of which month it was licensed by the Master of the Revels.

EMENDATIONS AND ADDITIONS.

VOL. I. PART II.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE ENGLISH STAGE.

Just as this work was issuing from the press, some curious Manuscripts relative to the stage, were found at Dulwich College, and obligingly transmitted to me from thence. One of these is a large folio volume of accounts kept by Mr. Philip Henslowe, who appears to have been proprietor of the Rose Theatre near the Bankside in Southwark.

The celebrated player, Edward Alleyn, who has erroneously been supposed by Mr. Oldys, the writer of his life in the *Biographia Britannica*, to have had three wives, was married, as appears from an entry in this book, to Joan Woodward, on the 22d of October, 1592, at which time he was about twenty-six years old. This lady, who died in 1623, was the daughter of Agnes, the widow of — Woodward, whom Mr. Philip Henslowe, after the death of Woodward, married: so that Mr. Henslowe was not, as has been supposed, Alleyn's father-in-law, but only step-father to his wife.

This Ms. contains a great number of curious notices relative to the dramatick poets of the time, and their productions, from the year 1597 to 1603, during which time Mr. Henslowe kept an exact account of all the money which he disbursed for the various companies of which he had the management, for copies of plays and the apparel which he bought for their representation. I find here notices of a great number of plays now lost, with the authors' names, and several entries that tend to throw a light on various particulars which have been discussed in the preceding *History of the English Stage*, as well as the *Essay on the order of time in which Shakespeare's plays were written*. A still more curious part of
this

this Ms. is a register of all the plays performed by the servants of Lord Strange, and the Lord Admiral, and by other companies, between the 19th of February 1591-2, and November 5, 1597. This register strongly confirms the conjectures that have been hazarded relative to the first part of *King Henry VI.*, and the play which I have supposed to have been written on the subject of *Hamlet*. In a bundle of loose papers has also been found an exact Inventory of the Wardrobe, play-books, properties, &c. belonging to the lord Admiral's servants.

Though it is not now in my power to arrange these very curious materials in their proper places, I am unwilling that the publick should be deprived of the information and entertainment which they may afford; and therefore shall extract from them all such notices as appear to me worthy of preservation.

In the register of plays the same piece is frequently repeated: but of these repetitions I have taken no notice, having transcribed only the account of the first representation of each piece, with the sum which Mr. Henslowe gained by it¹.

By

¹ It is clear from subsequent entries made by Mr. Henslowe that the sums in the margin opposite to each play, were not the total receipts of the house, but what he received as a proprietor from either half or the whole of the galleries, which appear to have been appropriated to him to reimburse him for expences incurred for dresses, copies, &c. for the theatre. The profit derived from the rooms or boxes, &c. was divided among such of the players as possessed *shares*. In a subsequent page I find—"Here I begynne to receve the *whole gallerieys* from this day, beinge 29 of July, 1598." At the bottom of the account, which ends Oct. 13, 1599, is this note: "Received with the company of my lord of Nottinghams men, to this place, being the 13 of October 1599, and yt doth apeare that I have received of the *deate* which they owe unto me, iij hundred fiftie and eyght pounds."

Again: "Here I begane to receive the gallerieys agayne, which they received, begynninge at Mihellmas weeke, being the 6 of October, 1599, as followeth."

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By the subsequent representations, sometimes a larger, and sometimes a less, sum, was gained. The figures within crotchets shew how often each piece was represented within the time of each account.

“ In the name of God, Amen, 1591, beginnunge the 19 of febreary my g. lord Stranges men, as followeth, 1591 :

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
R. at fryer <i>bacone</i> ² , the 19 of febreary, (saterday) [4] - -	o.	xvii.	iii.
— <i>mulomurco</i> ³ , the 20 of febr. [11]	o.	xxix.	o.
— <i>orlando</i> ⁴ , the 21 of febreary [1]	o.	xvi.	vi.
— <i>spanes</i> (Spanish) comedye, <i>don oracio</i> , (Don Horatio) the 23 of febreary, [3] -	o.	xiii.	vi.
— <i>Syr John mandeville</i> , the 24 of febreary, [5] - -	o.	xii.	vi.
— <i>barey of cornwell</i> , (Henry of Cornwall) the 25 of febreary 1591, [3] - -	o.	xxxii.	o.
— <i>the Jew of malltuse</i> , (Malta) the 26 of febreary 1591, [10]	o.	l.	o.
— <i>clorys and orgasto</i> the 28 of febreary 1591, [1] - -	o.	xviii.	o.
— <i>poope Jone</i> , the 4 of marche 1591, [1] - - -	o.	xv.	o.

Again : “ My lord of Pembrokes men beganne to playe at the Rose, the 28 of October, 1600, as followeth :

s. d.
“ R. at *licke unto licke* 11. 6.

“ R. at *Raderick*— v. —”

Five shillings could not possibly have been the total receipt of the house, and therefore must have been that which the proprietor received on his separate account.

² *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, by Robert Greene.

³ In a subsequent entry called *Mulamulluco*. The play meant was probably *The Battle of Alcazar*. See the first speech :

“ This brave barbarian lord, *Muly Molocco*,” &c.

⁴ *Orlando Furioso*, by Robert Greene, printed in 1599.

R. at

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R. at <i>matchavell</i> , the 2 of marche	l.	s.	d.
1591, [3] - - -	o.	xiii.	o.
— <i>henery the vi</i> ⁵ , the 3 of marche			
1591, [13] - - -	iii.	vi.	8.
— <i>bendo</i> ⁶ and <i>Richardo</i> , the 4 of marche			
1591, [3] - - -	o.	xvi.	o.
— <i>iiii playes in one</i> ⁷ , the 6 of marche			
1591, [4] - - -	iii.	xi.	o.
— <i>the looking-glass</i> ⁸ , the 8 of marche			
1591, [4] - - -	o.	vii.	o.
— <i>senobia</i> , (<i>Zenobia</i>) the 9 of marche			
1591, [1] - - -	o.	xxii.	vi.
— <i>Feronimo</i> , the 14 of marche			
1591, [14] - - -	iii.	xi.	o.
— <i>constantine</i> , the 21 of marche			
1591, [1] - - -	o.	xii.	o.
— <i>Jerusalem</i> ⁹ , the 22 of marche			
1591, [2] - - -	o.	xviii.	o.
— <i>brandymmer</i> , the 6 of april 1591,			
[2] - - -	o.	xxii.	o.
— <i>the comedy of Feronimo</i> , the 10 of April 1591, [4] - -	o.	xxviii.	o.

⁵ In the *Dissertation on the three parts of K. Henry VI.* I conjectured that the piece which we now call *The first part of K. Henry VI.* was, when first performed, called *The play of King Henry VI.* We find here that such was the fact. This play, which I am confident was not originally the production of Shakspeare, but of another poet, was extremely popular, being represented in this season between March 3 and June 19, [1592] no less than thirteen times. Hence Nashe in a pamphlet published in this year speaks of ten thousand spectators that had seen it. See *Dissertation*, &c. Vol. VI. p. 390.

⁶ Afterwards written *Byndo*.

⁷ This could not have been the piece called *All's one, or four plays in one*, of which *the Yorkshire Tragedy* made a part, because the fact on which that piece is founded happened in 1605.

⁸ *The Looking glass for London and England*, by Robert Greene and Thomas Lodge, printed in 1598.

⁹ Probably *The Destruction of Jerusalem*, by Dr. Thomas Legge. See Wood's *Fest. Oxon.* Vol. I. p. 133.

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R. at <i>Titus and Vespasian</i> , (Titus Vespasian) the 11 of Aprill 1591, [7]	l.	s.	d.
— <i>the second pte of tamberzanne</i> , (Tamberlane) the 28 of april 1592, [5]	iii.	iiii.	o.
— <i>the tanner of Denmarke</i> , the 28 of maye 1592, [1]	iii.	iiii.	o.
— <i>a knacke to know a knave*</i> , 10 day [of June] 1592, [3]	iii.	xiii.	o.
	iii.	xii.	o.

“ In the name of God Amen, 1592, beginning the 29 of Desember.

R. at <i>the gelyons comedey</i> (Julian of Brentford) the 5 of Jenewary 1592, [1]	l.	s.	d.
— <i>the comedy of cosme</i> , the 12 of Jenewary 1592, [2]	o.	xxxxiiii.	o.
— <i>the tragedey of the guyes¹</i> , 30 of Jenewary ² , [1]	o.	xxxx.	iiii.
	iii.	iiii.	o.

“ In the name of God, Amen, beginning the 27 of Desember 1593, the earle of Suffex his men.

R. at <i>God spede the plough</i> , [2]	l.	s.	d.
— <i>herwen of Burdocks</i> , (Huon of Bourdeaux) the 28 of Desember 1593, [3]	iii.	i.	o.
— <i>george a-green³</i> , the 29 of Desember 1593, [4]	iii.	x.	o.
— <i>buckingham</i> , the 30 of Desember 1593, [4]	iii.	x.	o.
	o.	li.	o.

* Printed in 1594.

¹ Probably *The Massacre of Paris*, by Christopher Marlowe.

² In consequence of the great plague in the year 1593, all theatrical entertainments were forbid.

³ This play is printed.

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R, at <i>Richard the Confeſſor</i> ⁴ , the 31	s.	s.	d.
of Deſember 1593, [2]	-	o.	xxxviii. o.
— <i>william the conkerer</i> , the 4 of			
Jenewary 1593, [1]	-	o.	xxii. o.
— <i>frier francis</i> , the 7 of Jenewary			
1593, [3]	-	iii.	i. o.
— <i>the piner of wakefeild</i> ⁵ , the 8 of			
Jenewary 1593, [1]	-	o.	xxiii. o.
— <i>abrame & lotte</i> , the 9 of Jenew-			
ary 1593, [3]	-	o.	lii. o.
— <i>the faire mayd of ytale</i> (Italy)			
the 12 of Jenewary 1593, [2]	o.		ix. o.
— <i>King lude</i> , (<i>Lud</i>) the 18 of Je-			
newary 1593, [1]	-	o.	xxii. o.
— <i>titus and andronicus</i> ⁶ , the 23 of			
Jenewary, [3]	-	iii.	viii. o.

“ *In the name of God, Amen, beginninge at easter, the queenes men and my lord of Suffex together.*

R. at <i>the Rangers comedy</i> , 2 of April			
1593, [1]	-	iii.	o. o.
— <i>kinge leare</i> ⁷ , the 6 of April			
1593, [2] ⁸	-	o.	xxxviii. o.

⁴ This piece ſhould ſeem to have been written by the tinker in *The Taming of the Shrew*, who talks of *Richard Conqueror*.

⁵ This play was printed in 1599.

⁶ The manager of this theatre, who appears to have been extremely illiterate, has made the ſame miſtake in the play of *Titus and Veſpaſian*. There can be no doubt that this was the original piece, before our poet touched it. At the ſecond representation Mr. Henſlowe's ſhare was forty ſhillings; at the third, the ſame ſum.

⁷ This old play was entered on the Stationers' books in the following year, and publiſhed in 1605; but the bookſeller, that it might be miſtaken for Shakspeare's, took care not to mention by whoſe ſervants it had been performed.

⁸ Five other old plays were repreſented, whoſe titles have been already given.

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“ *In the name of God, Amen, beginnigne the 14 of maye 1594, by my lord admiralls men.*

R. at Cutlacke, the 16 of maye 1594,	l.	s.	d.
[1] ⁹ - - - - -	o.	xxxxii.	o.

“ *In the name of God Amen, beginning at newington¹, my lord admirell men and my lord chamberlen men, as followeth, 1594.*

R. the 3 of June 1594, at <i>heaster and</i>	s.	s.	d.
<i>afterweres</i> ² , [2] - - -	o.	viii.	o.
— 5 of June 1594, at <i>andronicus</i> ,			
[2] - - - - -	o.	xii.	o.
— 6 of June 1594, at <i>cutlacke</i> ,			
[12] - - - - -	o.	xi.	o.
— 8 of June, at <i>bellendon</i> , [17]	o.	xvii.	o.
— 9 of June 1594, at <i>hamlet</i> ³ , [1]	o.	viii.	o.
— 11 of June 1594, at <i>the taminge</i>			
<i>of a shrew</i> ⁴ , [1] - - -	o.	ix.	o.

⁹ Two other old playes, whose titles have been already given, on the 14th and 15th of May.

¹ Howes in his *Continuation of Stowe's Chronicle*, 1631, mentions among the seventeen theatres, which had been built within sixty years, “ one in former time at *Newington Butts*.”

² *Heßer and Abasuerus*.

³ In the *Essay on the Order of Shakspeare's plays* I have stated my opinion, that there was a play on the subject of *Hamlet*, prior to our author's; and here we have a full confirmation of that conjecture. It cannot be supposed that our poet's play should have been performed but once in the time of this account, and that Mr. Henflowe should have drawn from such a piece but the sum of eight shillings, when his share in several other plays came to three and sometimes four pounds. It is clear that not one of our author's plays was played at Newington Butts; if one had been performed, we should certainly have found more. The old *Hamlet* had been on the stage before 1589; and to the performance of the ghost in this piece in the summer of 1594, without doubt it is, that Dr. Lodge alludes, in his *Wits Miseric*, &c. 4to. 1596, when he speaks of “ a foul lubber, who looks as pale as the vizard of the ghost, who cried so miserably at the theatre, *Hamlet, revenge*.”

⁴ The play which preceded Shakspeare's. It was printed in 1607. There is a slight variation between the titles; our poet's piece being called *The Taming of the Shrew*.

R. the

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R. the 12 of June 1594, at <i>the Jew</i>	l.	s.	d.
of <i>malta</i> , [18] - -	iii.	o.	o.
— 18 of June 1594, at <i>the rangers</i>			
comedy, [10] - -	o.	xxii.	o.
— 19 of June, at <i>the guies</i> ⁵ , [10]	o.	liii.	o.
— 26 of June 1594, at <i>galiaje</i> ⁶ , [9]	iii.	o.	o.
— 9 of July 1594, at <i>phillipo</i> and			
<i>bewpolyto</i> ⁷ , [12] - -	iii.	o.	o.
— 19 of July 1594, at <i>the 2 pte</i>			
of <i>Godfrey of Bullen</i> , [11]	iii.	o.	o.
— 30 of July 1594, at <i>the mar-</i>			
<i>chant of camderw</i> ⁸ , [1]	iii.	viii.	o.
— 12 of August 1594, at <i>tassoes</i>			
<i>mellencoley</i> ⁹ , [13] -	iii.	o.	o.
— 15 of August 1594, at <i>ma-</i>			
<i>homett</i> ¹ , [3] - -	iii.	v.	o.
— 25 of August 1594, at <i>the ve-</i>			
<i>nesyan</i> (Venetian) <i>comedy</i> ,			
[11] - - - -	o.	l.	vi.
— 28 of August 1594, at <i>tamber-</i>			
<i>len</i> , [23] - - -	iii.	xi.	o.
— 17 of september 1594, at <i>pa-</i>			
<i>lamon & arsett</i> ² , [4] - -	o.	li.	o.
— 24 of september 1594, at <i>Ve-</i>			
<i>nesyon & the love of</i> and			
[an] <i>Ingleshe lady</i> , [1] -	o.	xxxxvii.	o.

⁵ *The Guise*. It is afterwards called *The Masacre*, i. e. *The Massacre of Paris*, by Christopher Marlowe.

⁶ Q. *Julius Cæsar*.

⁷ This is probably the play which a knavish bookseller above sixty years afterwards entered on the Stationers' books as the production of Philip Massinger. See p. 228, n. 2.

⁸ Q. — of *Candia*.

⁹ *Tasso's Melancholy*. "I rather spited than pitied him, (says old Montagne) when I saw him at Ferrara, in so pitious a plight, that he survived himselfe, mis-acknowledging both himselfe and his labours, which, unwitting to him and even to his face, have been published both uncorrected and maimed." Florio's translation, 1603.

¹ Probably Peele's play, entitled *Mabomet and Hiren, the fair Greek*. See Vol. V. p. 332. n. 9.

² *Palamon and Arcite*. On this old play *The Two noble Kinsmen* was probably founded.

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R. the 30 of september 1594, at <i>docter ffofstoffe</i> ¹ , [24]	l.	s.	d.
— 4 of october 1594, at <i>the loue of a gresyan lady</i> , [12]	iii.	xii.	o.
— 18 of october 1594, at <i>the frensche docter</i> , [11]	o.	xxvi.	o.
— 22 of october 1594, at <i>a knacke to know a nonefte</i> ² , [19]	o.	xxii	o.
— 8 of november 1594, at <i>ceser & pompe</i> ³ , [8]	o.	xxxx.	o.
— 16 of november 1594, at <i>deoclesyan</i> , [2]	iii.	ii.	o.
— 30 of november 1594, at <i>warlam chester</i> , [7]	o.	xxxxxiii.	o.
— 2 of desember 1594, at <i>the wise men of chester</i> , [20]	o.	xxxviii.	o.
— 14 of desember 1594, at <i>the marwe</i> ⁴ , [4]	o.	xxviii.	o.
— 19 of desember 1594, at <i>the 2 pte of tamberlen</i> , [11]	o.	xxxxiiii.	o.
— 26 of desember 1594, at <i>the sege of london</i> , [12]	o.	xxxvi.	o.
— 11 of febreary 1594, at <i>the frensche comedey</i> , [6]	iii.	iii.	o.
— 14 of febreary 1594, at <i>long mege of westmester</i> , [18]	o.	l.	o.
— 21 of febreary 1594, at <i>the macke</i> ⁵ , [1]	iii.	ix.	o.
— 5 of marche 1594, at <i>seleo & olempo</i> ⁶ , [7]	iii.	o.	o.

¹ *Dr. Faustus*, by Christopher Marlowe.

² *A knack to know an honest man*. This play was printed in 1596.

³ Stephen Gosson mentions a play entitled *The History of Caesar and Pompey*, which was acted before 1580.

⁴ The *marw* was a game at cards. The play is afterwards called *The seut* (suit) at *marwe*.

⁵ This also was a game at cards.

⁶ *Seleo* is afterwards written *Selyo*, and the play is in a subsequent entry called *Olimpo* and *Hengengs*.

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R. the		l.	s.	d.
	7 of maye 1595, at the first pte of <i>Herculous</i> ⁷ , [10]	iii.	xiii.	o.
—	23 of maye 1595, at the 2 p. of <i>Hercolaus</i> , [8]	iii.	x.	o.
—	3 of June 1595, at the vii dayes of the weeke, [19]	iii.	o.	o.
—	18 of June 1595, at the 2 pte of <i>sesore</i> , (<i>Cæsar</i> ⁸) [2]	o.	lv.	o.
—	20 of June 1595, at <i>antony</i> & <i>vallea</i> ⁹ , [3]	o.	xx.	o.
—	29 of august 1595, at <i>longe- shancke</i> ¹ , [14]	o.	xxxx.	o.
—	5 of of september 1595, at <i>cracke mee this notte</i> , [16]	iii.	o.	o.
—	17 of september 1595, at the <i>worldes tragedy</i> , [11]	iii.	v.	o.
—	2 of october 1595, at the <i>des- gyfes</i> , [6]	o.	xxxiii.	o.
—	15 of october 1595, at the <i>won- der of a woman</i> , [10]	o.	liii.	o.
—	29 of october 1595, at <i>barnar- do</i> & <i>fiamata</i> , [7].			
—	14 of november 1595, at a toye to please my ladye ² , [7]			
—	28 of november 1595, at <i>harry the v.</i> ³ , [13]	iii.	vi.	o.
—	29 of november 1595, at the <i>welsheman</i> , [1]	o.	vii.	o.

⁷ *Hercules*, written by Martin Slaughter.

⁸ Probably on the subject of Shakspeare's play.

⁹ This piece was entered in the Stationers' books by Humphrey Mosely, June 29, 1660, as the production of Philip Massinger.

¹ Probably Peele's play, entitled *The famous Chronicle of King Edward I. surnamed Edward Long-shankes*, printed in 1593.

² Afterwards called *A toy to please chaste ladies*.

³ I suppose, the play entitled *The famous victories of K. Henry V. containing the honourable battel of Agincourt, 1598*; in which may be found the rude outlines of our poet's two parts of *K. Henry IV.* and *K. Henry V.*

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R. the 3 of Jenewary 1595, at <i>chinon</i>	l.	s.	d.
of <i>England</i> , [11] - -	o.	l.	o.
— 15 of Jenewary 1595, at <i>petha-</i>			
gerus ⁴ , [13] - -	o.	xviii.	o.
— 3 of febreary 1595, at the 1 p.			
of <i>Forteunatus</i> ⁵ , [7] -	iii.	o.	o.
— 12 of febreary 1595, at the			
<i>blind beger of Alexandria</i> ⁶ ,			
[13] - -	iii.	o.	o.
— 29 of aprill 1596, at <i>Julian the</i>			
<i>apostata</i> , [3] - -	o.	xxxxvii.	o.
— 19 of maye 1596, at the tra-			
gedie of <i>ffocasse</i> ⁷ , [7] -	o.	xxxxv.	o.
— 22 of June 1596, at <i>Troye</i> , [4]	iii.	o.	o.
— 1 of July 1596, at <i>paradox</i> , [1]	o.	xxxxv.	o.
— 18 of July 1596, at the <i>tincker</i>			
of <i>totnes</i> , - -	iii.	o.	o.

“ In the name of God, Amen, beginning one [on] *Simone and Jewds day*, my lord admeralles men, as followeth; 1596.

[Here twenty plays are set down as having been performed between October 27, and November 15, 1596: but their titles have all been already given.]

“ In the name of God, Amen, beginnige the 25 of november 1596, as followeth, the lord admerall players :

R. the 4 of desember 1596, at <i>Valte-</i>	l.	s.	d.
ger, [12] - -	o.	xxxv.	o.
— 11 of desember 1596, at			
<i>Stewkley</i> ⁸ , [11] - -	o.	xxxx.	o.

⁴ *Pythagoras*, written by Martin Slaughter.

⁵ By Thomas Dekker. This play is printed.

⁶ By George Chapman. Printed in 1598.

⁷ *Phocas*, by Martin Slaughter.

⁸ This play was printed in black letter in 1603.

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R. the	l.	s.	d.
the 19 of desember 1596, at <i>nebu-</i> <i>cadonizer</i> , [8] - -	o.	xxx.	o.
— 30 of desember 1596, at <i>what</i> <i>will be shall be</i> , [12] -	o.	1.	o.
— 14 of Jenewary 1597, at <i>alex-</i> <i>ander & lodwicke</i> , [15]	o.	lv.	o.
— 27 of Jenewary 1597, at <i>woman</i> <i>hard to please</i> , [12] -	6.	7.	8.
— 5 of febreary 1597, at <i>Ose-</i> <i>ryck</i> , [2] - -	3.	2.	1.
— 19 of marche 1597, at <i>guido</i> , [5] ⁹ - -	-	-	-
— 7 of aprill 1597, at <i>v plays in</i> <i>one</i> , [10] -	-	-	-
— 13 of aprill 1597, at <i>times tri-</i> <i>umph and foztus</i> , [1] -	-	-	-
— 29 of aprill 1597, at <i>Uter pen-</i> <i>dragon</i> , [5] -	-	-	-
— 11 of maye 1597, at <i>the comedy</i> <i>of umers</i> , (humours ¹) [11]	-	-	-
— 26 of maye 1597, at <i>harey the</i> <i>fifte life and death</i> ² , [6]	-	-	-
— 3 of June 1597, at <i>frederycke</i> <i>and basellers</i> ³ , [4] -	-	-	-
— 22 of June 1597, at <i>Henges</i> , [1]	-	-	-
— 30 of June 1597, at <i>life and</i> <i>death of Martin Swarte</i> , [3]	-	-	-
— 14 of July 1597, at <i>the wiche</i> <i>[witch] of Islyngton</i> ⁴ , [2]	-	-	-

⁹ The fums received by Mr. Henslowe from this place are ranged in five columns, in such a manner as to furnish no precise information.

¹ Perhaps Ben Jonson's *Every man in his humcur*. It will appear hereafter that he had money dealings with Mr. Henslowe, the manager of this theatre, and that he wrote for him. The play might have been afterwards purchased from this company by the Lord Chamberlain's Servants, by whom it was acted in 1598.

² This could not have been the play already mentioned, because in that Henry does not die; nor could it have been Shakspeare's play.

³ Afterwards written—*Baselia*.

⁴ This piece was performed a second time on the 28th of July, when this account was closed.

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“ *In the name of God, Amen, the 11 of october, beganne my lord admeralls and my lord of pembrokes men to playe at my howse, 1597 :*

October 11.	at <i>feronymo,</i>	-	-	-
12.	at <i>the comedy of umers,</i>	-	-	-
16.	at <i>docter fostes,</i>	-	-	-
19.	at <i>hardacnute,</i>	-	-	-
31.	at <i>fricr spendelton,</i>	-	-	-
November 2.	at <i>Bourbon,</i>	-	-	-

The following curious paper furnishes us with more accurate knowledge of the properties, &c. of a theatre in Shakspeare's time, than the researches of the most industrious antiquary could have attained.

“ *The booke of the Inwentary of the goods of my Lord Admeralles men, taken the 10 of Marche in the yeare 1598.*

Gone and losse.

Item, j orange taney fatten dublet, layd thycke with gowld lace.

Item, j blew tafetie sewt.

Item, j payr of carnatyon fatten Venesyons, layd with gold lace.

Item, j longe-shanckes sewte.

Item, j Sponnes dublet pyncket.

Item, j Spanerds gyrcken.

Item, Harey the fyftes dublet.

Item, Harey the fyftes vellet gowne.

Item, j fryers gowne.

Item, j lyttell dublet for boye.

“ *The Enwentary of the Clownes Sewtes and Hermetes Sewtes, with dievers other sewtes, as followeth, 1598, the 10 of March.*

Item, j senetores gowne, j hoode, and 5 senetores capes.

Item, j sewtte for Nepton; Fierdrackes sewtes for Dobe.

Item, iiij genefareyes gownes, and iiij torchberers sewtes.

Item,

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Item, iij payer of red strasers, [stroßers] and iij fares gowne of buckrome.

Item, iiij Herwodes cottes, and iij fogers cottes, and j green gown for Maryan.

Item, vj grene cottes for Roben Hooode, and iiij knaves fewtes.

Item, ij payer of grene hofse, and Anderfones fewte. j whitt shepen clocke.

Item, ij roffet cottes, and j black frese cotte, and iij prestes cottes.

Item, ij whitt sheperdes cottes, and ij Danes fewtes, and j payer of Danes hofse.

Item, The Mores lymes⁵, and Hercolles lymes, and Will. Sommers fewtte.

Item, ij Orlates fewtes, hates and gorgetts, and vij anteckes cootes.

Item, Cathemer fewte, j payer of cloth whitte stockens, iiij Turckes hedes.

Item, iiij freyers gownes and iiij hoodes to them, and j fooles coate, cape, and babell, and branchowlttes bodeys, [bodice] and merlen [Merlin's] gowne and cape.

Item, ij black faye gownes, and ij cotton gownes, and j rede faye gowne.

Item, j mawe gowne of calleco for the quene⁶, j carnoull [cardinal's] hatte.

Item, j red fewt of cloth for pyge [Psyche], layed with whitt lace.

Item, v payer of hofse for the clowne, and v gerkenes for them.

Item, iij payer of canvas hofse for asane, ij payer of black strocers.

Item, j yelow leather dublett for a clowne, j Whittcomes dublett poke.

⁵ I suspect that these were the limbs of Aaron the Moor in *Titus Andronicus*, who in the original play was probably tortured on the stage. This ancient exhibition was so much approved of by Ravenscroft, that he introduced it in his play.—In *The Battle of Alcazar* there is also a Moor, whose dead body is brought on the stage, but not in a dislocated state.

⁶ In the play called *Maw*.

Item,

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Item, Eves bodeyes, [bodice] j pedante trusser, and
iij donnes hattes.

Item, j payer of yelow cotton sleves, j gostes sewt;
and j gostes bodeyes.

Item, xviiij copes and hattes, Verones sonnes hoffs.

Item, iij trumpettes and a drum, and a trebel viall,
a basse viall, a bandore, a sytteren, j an-
shente, [ancient] j whitt hatte.

Item, j hatte for Robin Hoode, j hobihorse.

Item, v shertes, and j serpelowes, [surplice] iiij fer-
dingalles.

Item, vj head-tiers, j fane, [fan] iiij rebatos, ij gyrke-
truses.

Item, j longe forde.

“ *The Enventary of all the aparell for my Lord Admeralles
men, taken the 10 of marche 1598.—Least above in the
tier-house in the cheast.*

Item, My Lord Caffes [Caiphas'] gercken, & his hooffe.

Item, j payer of hoffs for the Dowlsen [Dauphin].

Item, j mureylether gyrcken, & j white lether gercken.

Item, j black lether gearken, & Nabesathe sewte.

Item, j payer of hoffs, & a gercken for Valteger.

Item, ij leather anteckes cottres with basses, for Faye-
ton [Phaeton].

Item, j payer of bodeyes for Alles [Alice] Pearce.

“ *The Enventary taken of all the properties for my Lord
Admeralles men, the 10 of Marche 1598.*

Item, j rocke, j cage, j tombe, j Helle mought [Hell-
mouth].

Item, j tome of Guido, j tome of Dido, j bedsteade.

Item, viij lances, j payer of stayers for Fayeton.

Item, ij stepells, & j chyme of belles, & j beacon.

Item, j hecfor for the playe of Faeton, the limes dead.

Item, j globe, & j golden scepter; iij clobes [clubs].

Item, ij marchepanes, & the sittie of Rome.

Item, j gowlden flece; ij rackets; j baye tree.

Item, j wooden hatchett; j lether hatchete.

Item,

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- Item*, j wooden canepie; owld Mahemetes head.
- Item*, j lyone skin; j beares skyne; & Faetones lymes,
& Faeton charete; & Argosse [Argus's]
heade.
- Item*, Nepun [Neptune's] forcke & garland.
- Item*, j crofers stafe; Kentes woden leage [leg].
- Item*, Ierosses [Iris's] head, & raynbowe; j litteil alter.
- Item*, viij viserdes; Tamberlyne brydell; j wooden
matook.
- Item*, Cupedes bowe, & quiver; the clothe of the
Sone & Mone⁷.
- Item*, j bores heade & Serberosse [Cerberus] iij heades.
- Item*, j Cadeseus; ij mose [moss] banckes, & j snake.
- Item*, ij fanes of feathers; Belendon stable; j tree of
gowlden apelles; Tantelouse tre; jx eyorn
[iron] targates.
- Item*, j copper targate, & xvij foyles.
- Item*, iiij wooden targates; j greve armer.
- Item*, j syne [sign] for Mother Readcap; j buckler.
- Item*, Mercurus wings; Tasso picter; j helmet with
a dragon; j shelde, with iij lyones; j elme
bowle.
- Item*, j chayne of dragons; j gylte speare.
- Item*, ij coffenes; j bulles head; and j vylter.
- Item*, iiij tymbrells; j dragon in fustes [Faustus.]
- Item*, j lyone; ij lyon heades; j great horse with his
leages [legs]; j sack-bute.
- Item*, j whell & frame in the Sege of London.
- Item*, j paire of rowghte gloves.
- Item*, j pooptes miter.
- Item*, iiij Imperial crownes; j playne crowne.
- Item*, j gostes crown; j crown with a sone.
- Item*, j frame for the heading in Black Jone.
- Item*, j black dogge.
- Item*, j cauderm for the Jewe⁸.

⁷ Here we have the only attempt which this Inventory furnishes of any thing like scenery, and it was undoubtedly the *ne plus ultra* of those days. To exhibit a sun or moon, the art of perspective was not necessary.

⁸ *The Jew of Malta.*

“*The Enventorey of all the apparell of the Lord Admeralles men, taken the 13th of March 1598, as followeth:*

Item, j payer of whitte saten Venesons cut with coper lace.

Item, j ash collar fatten doublett, lacyd with gold lace.

Item, j peche collar fatten doublett.

Item, j owld whitte fatten dublette.

Item, j bleu tatifie sewtte.

Item, j Mores cotte.

Item, Pyges [Pſyches] damask gowne.

Item, j black fatten cotte.

Item, j harcoller tatifie sewte of pygges.

Item, j white tatifie sewte of pygges.

Item, Vartemar sewtte.

Item, j great pechcoller dublet, with sylver lace.

Item, j white fatten dublet pynckte.

Item, j owld white fatten dublet pynckte.

Item, j payer of fatten Venesyan fatten ymbradered.

Item, j payer of French hosse, cloth of gowld.

Item, j payer of cloth of gowld hosse with sylver paines.

Item, j payer of cloth of silver hosse with fatten and sylver panes.

Item, Tamberlynnes cotte, with coper lace.

Item, j read clock with white coper lace.

Item, j read clocke with read coper lace.

Item, j shorte clocke of taney fatten with sleves.

Item, j shorte clocke of black fatten with sleves.

Item, Labesyas clocke, with gowld buttenes.

Item, j payer of read cloth hosse of Venesnyans, with sylver lace of coper.

Item, Valteger robe of rich tatifie.

Item, Junoes cotte.

Item, j hode for the wech [witch.]

Item, j read flamel clocke with whitte coper lace.

Item, j read flamel clocke with read coper lace.

Item, j cloth clocke of ruffete with coper lace, called Guydoes clocke.

Item, j short clocke of black velvet, with sleves faced with shagg.

Item, .

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Item, j short clocke of black vellet, faced with white fore [fur].

Item, j manes gown, faced with whitte fore.

Item, Dobes cottè of cloth of sylver.

Item, j payer of pechecoler Venesyones uncut, with read coper lace.

Item, j read scarllet clocke with sylver buttones.

Item, j longe black velvet clock, layd with brod lace black.

Item, j black fatten sewtte.

Item, j blacke velvet clocke, layed with twyft lace blacke.

Item, Perowes sewt, which Wm. Sley were.

Item, j payer of pechecoler hofse with sylver corlled panes.

Item, j payer of black cloth of sylver hofse, drawne owt with tufed tafittie.

Item, Tamberlanes breches, of crymson vellvet.

Item, j payer of sylk howse with panes of sylver corlled lace.

Item, j Faeytone sewte.

Item, Roben Hoodes sewtte.

Item, j payer of cloth of gowld hofe with gowld corlle panes.

Item, j payer of rowne hofse buffe with gowld lace.

Item, j payer of mows [moufe] coller Venesyans with R. brode gowld lace.

Item, j flame collerde dublet pynked.

Item, j blacke fatten dublet, layd thyck with blacke and gowld lace.

Item, j carnacyon dabled cutt, layd with gowld lace.

Item, j white fatten dublet, faced with read tafetie.

Item, j grene gyrcken with sylver lace.

Item, j black gyrcken with sylver lace.

Item, j read gyrcken with sylver lace.

Item, j read Spanes [Spanish] dublett styched.

Item, j peche coller fatten casse.

Item, Tasofoes robe.

Item, j murey robe with sleves.

- Item*, j blewe robe with sleeves.
Item, j oren taney [orange tawny] robe with sleeves.
Item, j pech collerd halff robe.
Item, j lane [long] robe with spangells.
Item, j white & orange taney skarf spangled.
Item, Dides [Dido's] robe.
Item, iij payer of basses.
Item, j white tafitie sherte with gowld frence.
Item, the fryers trusse in Roben Hoode.
Item, j littell gacket for Pygge [Psyche].
Item, j womanes gown of cloth of gowld.
Item, j orange taney vellet gowe [gown] with sylver lace, for women.
Item, j black velvet gowne ymbradered with gowld lace.
Item, j yelowre fatten gowne ymbradered with sylk & gowld lace, for women.
Item, j greve armer.
Item, Harye the v. velvet gowne.
Item, j payer of crymson fatten Venysfiones, layd with gowld lace.
Item, j blew tafitie sewte, layd with sylver lace.
Item, j Longeshankes seute.
Item, j orange coller fatten dublett, layd with gowld lace.
Item, Harye the v. fatten dublet, layd with gowld lace.
Item, j Spanes casle dublet of crymson pyncked.
Item, j Spanes gearcken layd with sylver lace.
Item, j wattshode [watchet] tafitie dublet for a boye.
Item, ij payer of basses, j whitte, j blewe, of fasnett.
Item, j freyers gowne of graye.

A Note of all such boockes as belong to the Stocke, and such as I have bought since the 3d of March, 1598.

Black Jonne	Woman will have her will.
The Umers.	Welchmans price.
Hardicanewtes.	King Arthur, life and death.
Borbonne.	1 pt of Hercules.
Sturgflaterey.	2 pt ^e of Hercoles.
Brunhowlle.	Pethagores.
Cobler quen hive.	Focasse.
Frier Pendelton.	Elexfander and Lodwicke.
Alls Perce.	Blacke Battman.
Read Cappe.	2 p. black Battman.
Roben Hode, 1.	2 pt of Goodwine.
Roben Hode, 2.	Mad mans morris.
Phaeyton.	Perce of Winchester.
Treangell cockowlls.	Vayvode.
Goodwine.	

A Note of all suche goodes as I have bought for the Company of my Lord Admirals men, sence the 3 of Aprill, 1598, as followeth:

	£.	s.	d.
Bowght a damaske casock garded with velvett	0	18	0
Bowght a payer of paned rownd hosse of cloth whiped with sylk, drawne out with taffitie,	}	0	8
Bowght j payer of long black wollen stockens,			
Bowght j black fatten dublett	}	4	15
Bowght j payer of rownd howsse paned of velleuet			
Bowght a robe for to goo invisebell	}	3	10
Bowght a gown for Nembia			
Bowght a dublett of whitt fatten layd thicke with gowld lace, and a payer of rowne pandes hosse of cloth of sylver, the panes layd with gowld lace	}	7	0
Bowght of my sonne v fewtes			
Bowght of my sonne iiij fewtes		20	0
		17	0

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In the folio manuscript already mentioned I have found notices of the following plays, and their several authors :

Oct. 1597. *The Cobler.*

Dec. 1597. *Mother Redcap*, by Anthony Mundy⁴, and
Jan. Michael Drayton.

1597-8. *Dido and Æneas.*

Phaeton, by Thomas Dekker⁵.

The World runs upon Wheels, by G. Chapman.

Feb. *The first part of Robin Hood*, by Anthony

1597-8. Mundy⁶.

The second part of the downfall of earl Huntington, surnamed Robinhood, by Anthony Mundy, and Henry Chettle.

*A woman will have her will*⁷, by William Haughton⁸.

The Miller, by Robert Lee.

4 "The best for comedy amongst us bee, Edward Earle of Oxforde, Doctor Gager of Oxforde, Maister Rowleye, once a rare scholler of learned Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, Maister Edwardes, one of her Majesties chappell, eloquent and witty John Lily, Lodge, Gascoyne, Greene, Shakspeare, Thomas Nashe, Anthony Mundaye our best plotter, Chapman, Porter, Wilson, Hathway, and Henry Chettle." *Wits Treasury, being the Second Part of Wits Commonwealth*, by Francis Meres, 1598, p. 283. The latter writer, Henry Chettle, is the person whose testimony with respect to our poet's merit as an actor has been already produced. Chettle, it appears, wrote singly, or in conjunction with others, not less than thirty plays, of which one only (*Hoffman's Tragedy*) is now extant.

5 In the following month I find this entry:

"Lent unto the company, the 4 of Febreary 1598, to discharge Mr. Dickēr owt of the cownter in the powltre, the some of fortie shillings, I say dd [delivered] to Thomas Downton, xxxxs."

6 In a subsequent page is the following entry: "Lent unto Robarte Shawe, the 18 of Novemb. 1598, to lend unto Mr. Cheattle, upon the mending of *the first part of Robart Hoode*, the sum of xs." And afterwards—"For mending of *Robin Hood* for the corte."

This piece and its second part have hitherto, on the authority of Kirkman, been falsely ascribed to Thomas Heywood.

7 Printed in 1616, under the title of *Englishmen for my money, or a woman will have her will*.

8 The only notice of this poet that I have met with, except what is contained in these sheets, is the following: "Lent unto Robert Shawe, the 10 of Marche 1599, [1600] to lend Mr. Haughton out of *the clynke*, the some of xs."

- “ *A booke wherein is a part of a Welchman*,”
by Michael Drayton and Henry Chettle⁹.
- Mar. 1598. *The Triplicity of Cuckolds*, by Thomas Dekker.
The famous wars of Henry the First and the Prince of Wales, by Michael Drayton and Thomas Dekker¹.
- Earl Goodwin and his three sons*², by Michael Drayton, Henry Chettle, Thomas Dekker, and Robert Wilfon.
- The second Part of Goodwin*, &c. by Michael Drayton.
- Pierce of Exton*³, by the same four authors.
- April 1598. *The Life of Arthur king of England*, by Richard Hathwaye.
- The first part of Black Batman of the North*, by Henry Chettle.
- The second part of Black Batman*, by Henry Chettle, and Robert Wilfon.
- May 1598. *The first part of Hercules*,
The second part of Hercules,
Phocas,
Pythagoras,
*Alexander and Lodowick*⁴,
} by Martin Slaughter.

⁹ Perhaps *The Valiant Welchman*, printed in 1615.

¹ There was a play on this subject written by R. Davenport, and acted by the king's company in 1624; as appears by Sir Henry Herbert's Manuscript. Perhaps it was only the old play new-modelled. It was afterwards (1660) entered on the Stationers' books by a knavish bookseller, and ascribed to Shakspeare.

Subjoined to the account of this play is the following article:
“Lent at that time unto the company, for to spend at the reading of that boocke at the sonne [Sun] in new Fish Street, v s.”

² “Lent unto Thomas Downton the 11 of April 1598, to bye taſtie to mocke a rochet for the biſhoppe in earle Goodwine, xxiiij s.”

³ I ſuppoſe a play on the ſubject of *K. Richard II.*

⁴ “Lent unto the company, the 16 of Maye 1598, to bye v boockes of Martin Slather, called 2 ptes of Hercolus, & focas, & pethagores, and alyxander and lodieck, which laſt boocke he hath not yet delyvered, the ſome of viili.” He afterward received 20s. more on delivering the play laſt named.—He was a player, and one of the Lord Admiral's Servants.

Theſe plays, we have already ſeen, had been acted ſome years before. It appears from various entries in this book, that the price of an old play, when transferred from one theatre to another, was two pounds.

- Love Prevented*, by Henry Porter.
The funeral of Richard Cordelion, by Robert Wilson, Henry Chettle, Anthony Mundy, and Michael Drayton.
- June 1598. *The Will of a Woman*, by George Chapman.
The Mad Man's Morris, by Robert Wilson, Michael Drayton, and Thomas Dekker.
Hannibal and Hermes, by Robert Wilson, Michael Drayton, and Thomas Dekker.
- July 1598. *Valentine and Orson*, by Richard Hathwaye, and Anthony Mundy.
Pierce of Winchester, by Thos. Dekker, Robert Wilson, and Michael Drayton.
The Play of a Woman, by Henry Chettle.
The Conquest of Brute, with the first finding of the Bath, by John Daye, Henry Chettle, and John Singer¹.
- Aug. 1598. *Hot anger soon cold*, by Henry Porter, Henry Chettle, and Benjamin Jonson.
William Longsword, by Michael Drayton.
Chance Medly, by Robert Wilson, Anthony Mundy, Michael Drayton, and Thomas Deckker.
Catilines Conspiracy, by Robert Wilson, and Henry Chettle.
Vaywoode, by Thomas Downton.
Worse feared than hurt, by Michael Drayton and Thomas Dekker.
- Sept. 1598. *The First Civil Wars in France*, by the same authors.
The Second Part of the Civil Wars in France, by the same.
The Third Part of the Civil Wars of France, by the same.
The Fountain of new Fashions, by George Chapman.
Mulmutius Donwallow, by William Rankins.

¹ I find in a subsequent page, "Lent unto Sam. Rowley, the 12 of Desember, 1598, to bye divers thinges for to make cottes for gyants in Brute, the some of xxs."

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Connan, Prince of Cornwall, by Michael Drayton, and Thomas Dekker.

Nov. 'Tis no deceit to deceive the deceiver, by Henry Chettle.

1598. *War without blows and Love without suit*, by Thomas Heywood. In a subsequent entry "—— Love without strife."

The Second Part of the Two Angry Women of Abington, by Henry Porter.

Feb. 1598-9. *Joan as good as my lady*, by Thos. Heywood².

Friar

² Thomas Heywood had written for the stage in 1596, for in another page I find—"Octob. 14, 1596. Lent unto them [the Lord Admiral's Servants] for Hawodes booke, xxxs." From another entry in the same page it appears that *Fletcher* wrote for the stage so early as in the year 1596. "Octob. 14, 1596. Lent unto Martyne, [Martin Slaughter] to fetch *Fleatcher*, vis." Again, *ibidem*: "Gave the company to give *Fleatcher*, and the have promised me payment,—xxs." —Heywood was in the year 1598 *an bireling*, by which name all the players who were not *sharers*, were denominated. They received a certain sum by the week. In Mr. Henslowe's book the following article occurs:

"Memorandum, that this 25 of Marche, 1598, Thomas Hawoode came and hiered him sealse with me as a covenanted servante for ij yeares, by the receveing of ij syngell pence, according to the statute of Winchester, and to beginne at the daye above written, and not to playe any wher publicke about london, not while these ij yeares be expired, but in my howse. Yf he do, then he doth forfeit unto me by the receving of this iij. fortie powndes. And witness to this, Anthony Monday, William Borne, Gabriel Spencer, Thomas Dowton, Robert Shawe, Richard Jones, Richard Alleyn."

William Borne, *alias* Bird, a dramatick poet, whose name frequently occurs in this manuscript, was likewise *an bireling*, as is ascertained by a memorandum, worth transcribing on another account:

"Memorandum, that the 10 of august, 1597, Wm. Borne came and ofered him sealse to come and play with my lord admiralles men at my house called by the name of the Rose, setewate one [on] the banck, after this order followinge. He hath received of me iij. upon and [an] assumpsett to forfeit unto me a hundreth marckes, of lafull money of England, yf he do not performe these thinges following; that is, presentley after libertie beinge granted for playinge, to come & to playe with my lorde admiralles men at my howse aforseyd, & not in any other howse publick about london, for the space of iij yeares beinge immediatly after this restraynt is receiled by the lordes of the counsell, which restraynt is by the menes of playinge *the Feyle of Dogges* [Isle of Dogs]. Yf he do not, then he forfeiteth this assumpset afoie, or ells not. Witness to this E. Alleyn & Robfone."

- Friar Fox and Gillian of Brentford*, by Thos. Downton, and Samuel Redly.
- Æneas' Revenge, with the tragedy of Polyphemus*, by Henry Chettle.
- The Two Merry Women of Abington*³, by Henry Porter.
- The Four Kings*.
- March *The Spencers*, by Henry Porter.
- 1598-9. *Orestes' furies*, by Thomas Dekker.
- June *Agamemnon*, by Henry Chettle and Thomas Dekker.
1599. *The Gentle Craft*, by Thomas Dekker.
- Bear a brain*, by Thomas Dekker.
- Aug. *The Poor man's Paradise*, by Wm. Haughton.
1599. *The Stepmother's Tragedy*, by Henry Chettle.
- The lamentable tragedy of Peg of Plymouth*, by Wm. Bird, Thos. Downton, and Wm. Jubey.
- Nov. *The Tragedy of John Cox of Colmiston*, by Wm. Haughton and John Day.
1599. *The second part of Henry Richmond*, by Robert Wilson⁴.
- The tragedy of Thomas Merry*, by William Haughton, and John Day.

The stipend of an hireling is ascertained by the following memorandum :

" Memorandum, that the 27 of Jewley 1597, I heayred Thomas Hearne with ij pence for to serve me ij yeares in the qualetie of playenge, for *five shillinges* a weeke for one yeare, and vis. viiij d. for the other yere, which he hath covenanted hime sealse to serve me, & not to depart from my company till thes ij yeares is ended. Witness to this, John Synger, James Donston, Thomas Towne.

³ The note relative to this play is worth preserving. " Lent unto Harey Porter, at the request of the company, in earnest of his booke called ij meroy women of abington, the some of forty shellengs, and for the resayte of that money he gave me his faythfull promise that I shold have alle his bookes which he writte ether him selfe or with any other, which some was dd. [delivered] the 28th of febreary 1598."—The spelling of the word—*receipt* here shews how words of that kind were pronounced in our author's age, and confirms my note in Vol. X. p. 20, n. 3.

⁴ For this piece the poet received eight pounds. The common price was six pounds.

Dec.

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- Dec. *Patient Griffell*, by Thomas Dekker, Henry Chettle, and William Haughton.
1599. *The Arcadian Virgin*, by Henry Chettle, and William Haughton.
- Jan. *Owen Tudor*, by Michael Drayton, Richard Hathwaye, Anthony Mundy, and Rt. Wilfon.
1599-1600. *The Italian Tragedy*, by John Day.
Jugurtha, by William Boyle.
Truth's Supplication to Candlelight, by Tho. Dekker.
- The Spanish Morris*, by Thomas Dekker, Wm. Haughton, and John Day.
Damon and Pythias, by Henry Chettle.
- March. *The Seven Wise Masters*, by Henry Chettle,
1599-1600. Thomas Dekker, William Haughton, and John Day.
- April *Ferrex and Porrex*⁵, by Wm. Haughton.
1600. *The English Fugitives*, by the same.
The golden Ajs and Cupid and Pfyche, by Thomas Dekker, John Daye, and Henry Chettle.
- The Wooing of Death*, by Henry Chettle.
Alice Pierce.
Strange news out of Poland, by William Haughton, and — Pett.
- The Blind Beggar of Bethnell Green*, by Henry Chettle, and John Day.
- June *The fair Constance of Rome*, by Anthony Mundy, Richard Hathwaye, Michael Drayton, and Thomas Dekker.
1600. *The second part of the fair Constance of Rome*, by the same.

⁵ Here and above, (see *Damon and Pythias*) we have additional instances of old plays being re-written. There was a dramatick piece by Lord Buckhurst and Thomas Norton, with the title of *Ferrex and Porrex*, printed in 1570. *Damon and Pythias*, by Richard Edwards, was printed in 1582.

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December *Robinhood's Penn'orths*, by Wm. Haughton.

1600. *Hannibal and Scipio*, by Richard Hathwaye, and William Rankins.

Feb. *Scogan and Skelton*, by the same.

1600-1. *The Second Part of Thomas Strowde*⁶, by William Haughton, and John Day⁷.

March *The conquest of Spain by John of Gaunt*, by Richard Hathwaye, — Hawkins, John Day, and Wm. Haughton.

All is not gold that glisters, by Samuel Rowley, and Henry Chettle.

April *The Conquest of the West Indies*, by Wentworth Smith, William Haughton, and John Day.

1601. *Sebastian king of Portugal*, by Henry Chettle, and Thomas Dekker.

The Six Yeomen of the West, by William Haughton, and John Day.

The Third Part of Thomas Strowde, by Wm. Haughton, and John Day.

The honourable life of the humorous earl of Gloster, with his conquest of Portugal,

Aug. 12. by Anthony Wadefon.

1601. *Cardinal Wolsey*⁸, by Henry Chettle.

The proud woman of Antwerp, by William Haughton, and John Day.

The Second Part of Thomas Dough, by John Day, and William Haughton.

Sept. 1601. *The Orphan's tragedy*, by Henry Chettle.

⁶ This play appears to have been sometimes called *Thomas Strowde*, and sometimes *The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green*. See the title-page of that play.

⁷ "Paid unto John Daye, at the apoyntment of the company, the 2 of maye 1601, after the playing of the 2 pte of Strowde, the some of xs."

⁸ "Layd out at the apoyntment of my sone and the company, unto harey chettle, for the alterynge of the booke of carnowlle Wollsey, the 28 of June 1601, the some of xx s." I suspect, this play was not written originally by Chettle.

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- Nov. 12. *The Rising of Cardinal Wolsey*⁹, by Anthony
1601. Mundy, Michael Drayton, Henry Chettle,
and Wentworth Smith.
The Six Clothiers of the west, by Richard
Hathwaye, Wentworth Smith, and Wm.
Haughton.
The Second Part of the Six Clothiers, by the
same.
Nov. *Too good to be true*, by Henry Chettle,
1601. Rich. Hathwaye, and Wentworth Smith.
Judas, by William Haughton, Samuel Row-
ley¹, and William Borne.
Jan. 1601-2. *The Spanish Fig*.
Apr. 1602. *Malcolm king of Scots*, by Charles Mafsy.
May *Love parts friendship*, by Henry Chettle,
1602. and Wentworth Smith.
*The Second Part of Cardinal Wolsey*², by Henry
Chettle.
The Bristol Tragedy, by John Day³.
Tobias, by Henry Chettle.
Jettba, by Henry Chettle.

⁹ So called in one place; in another *The First Part of Cardinal Wolsey*. It was not produced till some months after the play written or altered by Chettle. Thirty-eight pounds were expended in the dresses, &c. for Chettle's play; of which sum twenty-five shillings were paid "for velvet and mackynge of the docters gowne." The two parts of *Cardinal Wolsey* were performed by the earl of Worcester's servants.

¹ This author was likewise a player, and in the same situation with Heywood, as appears from the following entry:

"Memorandum, that the 16 of november, 1598, I hired Charles Mafsey and Samuel Rowley, for a year and as much as to fraftide, [Shrovetide] begenyng at the day above written, after the statute of Winchester, with ij syngell pence; and forther they have covenanted with me to playe in my howse and in no other howse (dewringe the time) publick but in mine: yf they do withowt my consent to forfitt unto me xxxlb. a pece. Witness Thomas Dowton, Robert Shawe, Edw. Jubey."

² "Lent unto Thomas Downton, the 18th of may, [1602] to bye mackynge antycke sewts for the 2 parte of Carnowlle Wollsey, the some of iij lb. vs."—"27 of may, to bye Wm. Somers cotte, and other thinges, the some of iij lb."

³ Probably *The Fair Maid of Brisfol*, printed in 1605.

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- Two Harpies*, by Dekker, Drayton, Middleton, Webster, and Mundy.
- July *A Danish Tragedy*, by Henry Chettle.
1602. *The Widow's Charm*⁴, by Anthony Mundy.
A Medicine for a Curst Wife, by T. Dekker.
Sampson, by Samuel Rowley, and Edw. Juby.
- Sept. *William Cartwright*, by William Haughton.
1602. *Felmelanco*, by Henry Chettle, and ——— Robin-
 son.
- Joshua*, by Samuel Rowley.
- Oct. 1602. *Randall earl of Chester*, by T. Middleton⁵.
- Nov. *As merry as may be*, [acted at court] by J. Daye,
 1602. Wentworth Smith, and R. Hathwaye.
- Albeke Galles*, by Thomas Heywood, and
 Wentworth Smith.
- Marshall Ofrick*, by Thomas Heywood, and
 Wentworth Smith.
- The Three Brothers*, a tragedy, by Wentworth
 Smith.
- Lady Jane*, by Henry Chettle, Thomas
 Dekker, Thomas Heywood, Wentworth
 Smith, and John Webster.
- The Second part of Lady Jane*, by Thomas
Christmas comes but once a year, by T. Dekker.
 Heywood, John Webster, Henry Chettle,
 and Thomas Dekker.
- The Overthrow of Rebels*.
- The Black Dog of Newgate*, by Richard
 Hathwaye, John Day, Wentworth Smith,
 and another poet.
- The second part of the same*, by the same.
- The Blind eats many a fly*, by T. Heywood.
- The Fortunate General*, a French History, by
 Wentworth Smith, John Day, and
 Richard Hathwaye.
- Dec. *The Set at Tennis*, by Anthony Mundy.
1602. *The London Florentine*, by Thomas Heywood,
 and Henry Chettle.

⁴ Perhaps the play afterwards called *The Puritan Widow*.

⁵ Probably his play called *The Mayor of Queenborough*.

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The second part of the London Florentine, by
by Thomas Heywood, and Henry Chettle.

The Tragedy of Hoffman *, by Henry Chettle.

Singer's Voluntary, by John Singer.

The four sons of Amon, by Robert Shawe.

Feb. *A Woman kill'd with kindness*, by T. Heywood.

1602-3. *The Boast of Billingsgate*, by John Day, and
March Richard Hathwaye.

1602-3. *The Siege of Dunkerk*, by Charles Massy.

The patient man and honest whore, by Thomas
Dekker, and Thomas Middleton.

The Italian Tragedy, by Wentworth Smith,
and John Day.

Pontius Pilate.

Jane Shore, by Henry Chettle, and John Day.

Baxter's Tragedy.

The following notices, which I have reserved for this place, relate more immediately to our author. I have mentioned in a former page, that I had not the smallest doubt that the name of Shakspeare, which is printed at length in the title-pages of *Sir John Oldcastle*, 1600, and *The London Prodigall*, 1605, was affixed to those pieces by a knavish bookseller without any foundation; and am now furnished with indubitable evidence on this subject; for under the year 1599 the following entry occurs in Mr. Henslowe's folio Manuscript:

“ The 16th of October, 99. Received by me Thos. Downton of Philip Henslowe, to pay Mr. Monday, Mr. Drayton, Mr. Wilson, and Hathway, for *The first part of the Lyfe of Sir Jhon Ouldcastell*, and in earnest of the Second Pte, for the use of the company, ten pound, I say received 10 lb.”

Received [Nov. 1599] of Mr. Hinchelo for Mr. Munday and the reste of the poets, at the playinge of *Sir John Oldcastell* the firste tyme, x s. as a giste.”

Received [Dec. 1599] of Mr. Henslowe, for the use of the company, to pay Mr. Drayton for the second parte

* This play was printed in 1631.

of *Sir Jhon Ouldcasell*, foure pound, I say received per me Thomas Downton, iiij li⁴."

We have here an indisputable proof of a fact which has been doubted, and can now pronounce with certainty that our poet was entirely careless about literary fame, and could patiently endure to be made answerable for compositions which were not his own, without using any means to undeceive the publick.

The bookseller for whom the first part of *Sir Jhon Oldcastle* was printed, "as it hath bene lately acted by the Right Honorable the earl of Nottingham Lord High Admirall of England his servants," was *Thomas Pavier*, who however had the modesty to put only the initial letters of his christian and surname (T. P.) in the spurious title-page which he prefixed to it. In 1602, he entered the old copy of *Titus Andronicus* on the Stationers books, with an intention (no doubt) to affix the name of Shakspeare to it, finding that our poet had made some additions to that piece.

To this person we are likewise indebted for the mistake which has so long prevailed⁵, relative to the two old plays entitled *The First Part of the Contention between the two famous houses of Yorke and Lancaster*, and *The true tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, which were printed anonymously in 1600, as acted by the earl of Pembroke's Servants, and have erroneously been ascribed to our poet, in consequence of Pavier's reprinting them in the year 1619, and then for the first time fraudulently affixing Shakspeare's name to them. To those plays, as to *Oldcastle*, he put only the initial letters of his christian and surname. For him likewise *The Yorkshire Tragedy*, was printed in the year 1608, and our poet's name affixed to it.

The Life and Death of Lord Cromwell, published in 1602, and ascribed to W. S. and *The Puritan Widow*,

⁴ That this second Part of *Sir Jhon Oldcastle* was performed on the stage, as well as the former, is ascertained by the following entry:

"Dd. [delivered] unto the littel taylor, at the apoyntment of Robert Shawe, the 12 of marche, 1599, [1600] to macke thinges for the 2^{pte} of ouldcastell, some of xxxs."

⁵ See the *Dissertation on the Three Parts of K. Henry VI.* in Vol. VI. which

which was published in 1607, with the same initial letters, were probably written by *Wentworth Smith*, a dramattick writer whose name has so often occurred in the preceding pages, with perhaps the aid of Anthony Mundy, or some other of the same fraternity. *Lochrine*, which was printed in 1595, as *newly set forth, overseen, and corrected by W. S.* was probably revised by the same person.

It is extremely probable from the register of dramattick pieces in a former page, that *Cardinal Wolfey* had been exhibited on the stage before our poet produced him in *K. Henry VIII.* To the list of plays written by Shakspeare upon subjects which had already been brought upon the scene⁶, must also be added *Troilus and Cressida*, as appears from the following entries:

“ April 7. 1599. Lent unto Thomas Downton to lende unto Mr. Deckers, & harey cheattell, in earnest of ther boocke called *Troyeles and Creassedaye*, the some of iii lb.”

“ Lent unto harey cheattell, & Mr. Dickers, in pte of payment of their booke called *Troyelles & Cresseda*, the 16 of Aprell, 1599, xx s.”

I suspect the authors changed the name of this piece before it was produced, for in a subsequent page are the following entries:

“ Lent unto Mr. Deckers and Mr. Chettel the 26 of maye, 1599, in earnest of a booke called *Troylles and Cresseda*, the some of xx s.” In this entry a line is drawn through the words *Troylles and Cresseda*, and “ *the tragedie of Agamemnon*” written over them.

“ Lent unto Robart Shawe, the 30 of maye 1599, in fulle payment of the boocke called *the tragedie of Agamemnon*, the some of iii li. v s.— to Mr. Deckers, and harey Chettell.”

“ Paid unto the Master of the Revells man for lyncensyng of a boocke called *the Tragedie of Agamemnon* the 3 of June, 1599, vii s.”

⁶ See Vol. VI. p. 429.

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We have seen in the list of plays performed in 1593-4 by the servants of the earl of Suffex, the old play of *Titus Andronicus*, in which on its revival by the king's servants, our author was induced, for the advantage of his own theatre, to make some alterations, and to add a few lines. The old play of *K. Henry VI.* which was played with such success in 1591, he without doubt touched in the same manner, in consequence of which it appeared in his works under the title of the *First Part of King Henry VI.* How common this practice was, is proved by the following entries made by Mr. Henslowe.

“ Lent unto the companye, the 17 of August, 1602, to pay unto Thomas Deckers, for new *adycions* to *Owldcastell*, the some of xxx s.”

“ Lent unto John Thane, the 7 of september, 1602, to geve unto Thomas Deckers for his *adicions* in *Owldcastell*; the some of x s.”

“ Lent unto Samuel Rowley, the 14 of desember, 1600, to geve unto Thomas Deckers for his paynes in *Fayeton*, [*Phaeton*] some of x s. For the corte.”

“ Lent unto Samuel Rowley, the 22 of desember, 1601, to geve unto Thomas Decker, for *altering* of *Fayton* [*Phaeton*] for the corte, xxx s.”

“ Pd. unto Thomas Deckers, at the apoyntment of the company, the 16 of janeuary 1601, towards the *altering* of *Tasso*, the some of xx s.

“ Lent unto my sonne E. Alleyn, the 7 of november, 1602, to geve unto Thomas Deckers for *mending* of the playe of *Tasso*, the some of xxx s.

“ Lent unto Mr. Birde, the 4 of Desember, 1602, to paye unto Thomas Deckers, in pt of payment for *Tasso*, the some of xx s.

These two old playes of *Phaeton* and *Tasso's Melancholy*, we have seen in a former page, had been exhibited some years before.

“ Lent unto the company, the 22 of november, 1602, to paye unto William Birde, and Samuel Rowley, for ther *adycions* in *Docter Fostes*, the some of iiii lb.”

“ Pd.

“ Pd. unto Thomas Hewode, the 20 of september, [1602] for the new *adycions* of *Cutting Dick*, the some of xx s.”

The following curious notices occur, relative to our poet's old antagonist, Ben Jonson; the last two of which furnish a proof of what I have just observed with respect to *Titus Andronicus*, and the First Part of *King Henry VI.*; and the last article ascertains that he had the audacity to write a play, after our author, on the subject of *K. Richard III.*

“ Lent unto Bengemen Johnson, player, the 22 of July, 1597, in redy mony, the some of fower poundes, to be payd yt again whensoever ether I or my sonne [Edw. Alleyn] shall demand yt. I saye iiij lb.

“ Witnes E. Alleyn, & John Synger.”

“ Lent unto Bengemen Johnstone, the 3 of desember, 1597, upon a booke which he was to writte for us before crylmas next after the date hereof, which he showed the plotte unto the company: I saye, lent in redy mony unto hime the some of xx s.

“ Lent Bengemyn Johnson, the 5 of Jenewary, 1597, [1597-8] in redy mony, the some of v s.

“ Lent unto the company, the 18 of agust, 1598, to bye a boocke called *Hoate anger sone cowld*, of Mr. Porter, Mr. Cheattell, & Bengemen Johnson, in full payment, the some of vi lb.

“ Lent unto Robart Shawe, & Jewbey, the 23 of octob. 1598, to lend unto Mr. Chapman, one [on] his playe boocke, & ij actes of a tragedie of *Bengemen's* plott, the some of iiij lb.

“ Lent unto Wm. Borne, *alias* Birde, the 10 of agust, 1599, to lend unto Bengemyn Johnson and Thomas Dekker, in earnest of ther booke which they are a writing, called *Page of Plim*⁷, the some of xxx s.

“ Lent

⁷ These three words are so blotted, that they can only be guessed at. I find in the next page—“ Lent unto Mr. Birde, Thomas Down-ton, and William Jube, the 2 of September 1599, to paye in full payment for a boocke called the lamentable tragedie of *Page of Ply-*

" Lent unto Thomas Downton, the 3 of september, 1599, to lend unto Thomas Deckers, Bengemen Johnson, Harey Cheattell, and other jentellmen, in earnest of a playe called *Robart the second kinge of Scottes tragedie*, the some of xxx s.

" Lent unto Wm. Borne, the 23 of september, 1599, to lend unto Bengemen Johnstone, in earnest of a boocke called *the scottes tragedie*, the some of xx s.

" Lent unto Mr. Alleyn, the 25 of september, 1601, to lend unto Bengemen Johnson, upon his writing of his *adycians* in *Jeronymo*⁸, xxx s.

" Lent unto Bengemy Johnstone, at the apoyntment of E. Alleyn, and Wm. Birde, the 22 of June, 1602, in earnest of a boocke called *Richard Crook-back*, and for new *adycions* for *Jeronymo*, the some of x lb."

I insert the following letter, which has been lately found at Dulwich College, as a literary curiosity. It shews how very highly Alleyn the player was estimated. What the wager alluded to was, it is now impossible to ascertain. It probably was, that Alleyn would equal his predecessors Knell and Bently, in some part which they had performed, and in which his contemporary, George Peel, had likewise been admired.

" Your answer the other night so well pleased the gentlemen, as I was satisfied therewith, though to the hazarde of the wager: and yet my meaning was not to

mouth, the some of vi lb."; which should seem to be the same play; but six pounds was the full price of a play, and the authors are different.—Bird, Downton, and Jubey, were all actors.

⁸ *The Spanish Tragedy*, written by Thomas Kyd, is meant, which was frequently called *Jeronymo*, though the former part of this play expressly bore that name. See the title-page to the edition of *the Spanish Tragedy* in 1610, where these new additions are particularly mentioned. Jonson himself alludes to them in his *Cynthia's Revels*, 1602: "Another swears down all that are about him, that the *old Hieronymo*, as it was at first acted, was the only best and judiciously penned play in Europe."—Mr. Hawkins, when he republished this piece in 1773, printed most of Jonson's additions to it, at the bottom of the page, as "foisted in by the players."

prejudice

prejudice *Peele's* credit, neither wolde it, though it pleased you so to excuse it. But beinge now growen farther in question, the partie affected to Bently scornynge to win the wager by your deniall, hath now given you libertie to make choyce of any one play that either Bently or Knell plaide; and least this advantage agree not with your mind, he is contented both the plaie and the tyme shalbe referred to the gentlemen here present. I see not how you canne any waie hurt your credit by this action: for if you excell them, you will then be famous; if equall them, you win both the wager and credit; if short of them, wee must and will saie, **NED ALLEN STILL.**

Your friend to his power,
W. P.

- “ Deny mee not, sweet Ned; the wager’s downe,
 “ And twice as muche commaunde of me or myne;
 “ And if you wyne, I swear the half is thine,
 “ And for an overplus an English crowne:
 “ Appoint the tyme, and stint it as you pleas,
 “ Your labor’s gaine, and that will prove it ease.”

The two following letters, which were found among Mr. Henflowe’s papers, ascertain the low state of the dramattick poets in his time. From the former of them it should seem, that in a few years after the accession of James the First, the price of a play had considerably risen. Neither of them are dated, but I imagine they were written some time between the years 1612 and 1615. Mr. Henflowe died about the 8th of January, 1615-16.

“ Mr. Hinchlow,

“ I have ever since I saw you kept my bed, being so lame that I cannot stand. I pray, Sir, goe forward with that reasonable bargayn for *The Bellman*. We will have *but twelve pounds, and the overplus of the second day*; whereof I have had ten shillings, and desyre but twenty shillings more, till you have three sheets of my papers.

Y 2

Good

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Good Sir, consider how for your sake I have put myself out of the assured way to get money, and from *twenty pounds* a play am come to *twelve*. Thearfor in my extremity forsake me not, as you shall ever comand me. My wife can acquaint you how infinit great my occasion is, and this shall be sufficient for the receipt, till I come to set my hand to the booke.

Yours at comand,
ROBERT DABORNE."

At the bottom of this letter Mr. Henflowe has written the following memorandum :

" Lent Mr. Daborne upon this note, the 23 of agust, in earnest of a play called *The Bellman of London*, xxs."

" To our most loving friend,
Mr. Phillip Hinchlow,
Esquire, These.

" Mr. Hinchlow,

" You understand our unfortunate extremitie, and I doe not thincke you so void of christianitie but that you would throw so much money into the Thames as wee request now of you, rather then endanger so many innocent lives. You know there is x^l. more at least to be receaved of you for the play. We desire you to lend us vl. of that; which shall be allowed to you; without which wee cannot be bayled, nor I play any more till this be dispatch'd. It will lose you xx^l. ere the end of the next weeke, beside the hinderance of the next new play. Pray, Sir, consider our cases with humanity, and now give us cause to acknowledge you our true freind in time of neede. Wee have entreated Mr. Davison to deliver this note, as well to witnesse your love as our promises, and alwayes acknowledgment to be ever

Your most thanckfull and loving freinds,

NAT. FIELD.

" The money shall be abated out of the money remainys for the play of Mr. Fletcher and ours.

ROB. DABORNE."

" I have

“ I have ever found you a true loving freind to mee, and in soe small a suite, it beeing honest, I hope you will not faile us.

PHILIP MASSINGER.”

Indorsed:

“ Received by mee Robert Davison of Mr. Hinchlow, for the use of Mr. Daboerne, Mr. Feeld, Mr. Messenger, the some of vl.

ROBERT DAVISON.”

The dimensions and plan of the Globe Playhouse, as well as the time when it was built, are ascertained by the following paper. I had conjectured that it was not built before 1596; and we have here a confirmation of that conjecture.

“ THIS INDENTURE made the eighte day of Januarye, 1599, and in the two and fortyth yeare of the reigne of our soveraigne ladie Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the fayth, &c. Between Phillipp Henslowe and Edward Allen of the parishe of St. Saviours in Southwark, in the countie of Surry, gentlemen, on thone parte, and Peter Streete, citizen and carpenter of London, on thother parte, Witnesseth; that whereas the said Phillipp Henslowe and Edward Allen the day of the date hereof have bargained, compounded, and agreed with the said Peter Streete for the erectinge, buildinge, and setting up of a new House and Stage for a playhowse, in and uppon a certeine plott or peece of grounde appoynted oute for that purpose, scituate and beinge near Goldinge lane in the parish of Saint Giles without Cripplegate of London; to be by him the said Peter Streete or some other sufficient workmen of his providing and appoyntment, and att his proper costes and chardges, (for the consideration hereafter in these presents expressed) made, builded, and sett upp, in manner and form following: that is to saie, the frame of the saide howse to be sett square, and to containe fower score foote of lawful assize everye waie square, without, and

fiftie five foote of like assize square, everye waie within, with a good, suer, and stronge foundation of pyles, brick, lyme, and sand, both withoute and within, to be wrought one foote of assize at the leiste above the ground; and the saide frame to conteine three stories in heighth, the first or lower storie to conteine twelve foote of lawful assize in heighth, the second storie eleaven foote of lawful assize in heighth, and the third or upper storie to conteine nine foote of lawful assize in height. All which stories shall conteine twelve foote and a half of lawful assize in breadth throughoute, besides a juttey forwards in eyther of the saide two upper stories of tene ynches of lawful assize; with fower convenient divisions for gentlemens roomes⁹, and other sufficient and convenient divisions for twoo-pennie roomes¹; with necessarie seates to be placed and sett as well in those roomes as throughoute all the rest of the galleries of the said howse; and with suche like steares, conveyances, and divisions without and within, as are made and contrived in and to the late-erected play-howse on the Bancke in the said parish of Saint Saviours, called THE GLOBE; with a stadge and tyreinge-howse, to be made, erected and sett upp within the saide frame; with a shadowe or cover over the saide stadge; which stadge shall be placed and sett, as alsoe the stearcases of the said frame, in such sorte as is prefigured in a plott thereof drawen; and which stadge shall conteine in length fortie and three foote of lawfull assize, and in breadth to extende to the middle of the yarde² of the said howse: the same stadge to be paled in belowe with good stronge and sufficyent new oken boardes; and likewise the lower storie of the said frame withinfied, and the same lower storie to be alsoe laide over and fenced with stronge yron pyles: And the saide stadge to be in all other proportions contrived and fashioned

⁹ What we now call *Boxes*.

¹ Perhaps the rooms over the boxes; what we now call *Balconies*.

² The open area in the centre.

like unto the stage of the saide Playhouse called **THE GLOBE**; with convenient windowes and lights glazed to the saide tireynge-howse. And the saide frame, stage, and steercases, to be covered with tyle, and to have a sufficient gutter of leade, to carrie and convey the water from the coveringe of the saide stage, to fall backwards. And alsoe all the saide frame and the steercases thereof to be sufficiently enclosed without with lathe, lyme, and haire. And the gentlemens roomes and two-pennie roomes to be seeled with lathe, lyme, and haire; and all the flowers of the saide galleries, stories, and stage to be boarded with good and sufficient newe deale boardes of the whole thicknes, wheare neede shall be. And the saide howse, and other thinges before mentioned to be made and doen, to be in all other contrivitions, conveyances, fashions, thinge and thinges, effected, finished and doen, according to the manner and fashion of the saide howse called **THE GLOBE**; saveinge only that all the princypall and maine postes of the saide frame, and stage forward, shall be square and wrought palaster-wise, with carved proportions called Satiers, to be placed and sett on the topp of every of the same postes: and saveing alsoe that the saide Peter Streete shall not be charged with anie manner of paynteinge in or aboute the saide frame, howse, or stage, or anie parte thereof, nor rendering the walles within, nor feelinge anie more or other roomes then the gentlemens roomes, twoo-pennie roomes, and stage, before mentioned, Nowe there-uppon the saide Peter Streete doth covenante, promise, and graunte for himself, his executors, and administrators, to and with the saide Phillip Henslowe, and Edward Allen, and either of them, and the executors, and administrators of them, by these presents, in manner and forme followeing, that is to say; That he the saide Peter Streete, his executors, or assigns, shall and will at his or their owne proper costes and chardges, well, workman-like, and substantially make, erect, sett upp, and fullie finnishe in and by all thinges accordinge to

the true meaninge of theis presents, with good stronge and substancyall new tymber and other necessarie stuff, all the said frame and other works whatsoever in and uppon the saide plott or parcell of ground, (beinge not by anie authoritie restrayned, and having ingres, egres, and regres to doe the same,) before the five and twentieth daye of Julie, next comeing after the date hereof. And shall alsoe att his or their like costes and chardges provide and find all manner of workmen, tymber, joynts, rafters, boords, dores, bolts, hinges, brick, tyle, lathe, lyme, haire, sande, nailes, lead, iron, glasse, workmanship and other thinges whatsoever which shall be needful, convenyent and necessarie for the saide frame and works and everie parte thereof: and shall alsoe make all the saide frame in every poynte for scantlings lardger and bigger in assize then the scantlings of the timber of the saide newe-erected howse called The Globe. And alsoe that he the saide Peter Streete shall furthwith, as well by him selfe as by suche other and soe manie workmen as shall be convenient and necessarie, enter into and uppon the saide buildinges and workes, and shall in reasonable manner procede therein withoute anie wilfull detraction, untill the same shall be fully effected and finished. IN CONSIDERATION of all which buildings and of all stuff and workmanship thereto belonging, the said Phillip Henslowe, and Edward Allen, and either of them, for themselves, theire and either of theire executors and administrators, doe joyntlie and severallie covenante and graunt to and with the saide Peter Streete, his executors and administrators, by theis presents, that the said Phillipp Henslowe, and Edward Allen, or one of them, or the executors, administrators, or assigns of them or one of them, shall and will well and truelie paie or cause to be paid unto the saide Peter Streete, his executors or assigns, att the place aforesaid appoynted for the erectinge of the said frame, the full some of FOWER HUNDRED AND FORTIE POUNDES, of lawfull money of Englande, in manner and forme followinge; that is to saie, at suche tyme

tyme and when as the tymber woork of the saide frame shall be rayfed and sett upp by the saide Peter Streete, his executors or assignes, or within seaven daies then next followinge, twooe hundred and twentie poundes; and att suche time and when as the saide frame-work shall be fullie effected and finished as is aforesaid, or within seaven daies then next followinge, thother twooe hundred and twentie poundes, withoute fraude or coven. Provided allwaies, and it is agreed betwene the saide parties, that whatsoever some or somes of money the saide Phillip Henslowe, or Edward Allen, or either of them, or the executors or assigns of them or either of them, shall lend or deliver unto the saide Peter Streete, his executors or assignes, or anie other by his appoyntment or consent, for or concerninge the saide woork or anie parte thereof, or anie stuff thereto belonginge, before the raiseing and setting upp of the saide frame, shall be reputed, accepted, taken and accountmed in parte of the first payment aforesaid of the saide some of fower hundred and fortie poundes: and all such some and somes of money as they or anie of them shall as aforesaid lend or deliver betwene the razeing of the saide frame and finishing thereof, and of all the rest of the saide works, shall be reputed, accepted, taken and accountmed in parte of the laste payment aforesaid of the same some of fower hundred and fortie poundes; anie thinge above said to the contrary notwithstandinge. In witness whereof the parties abovesaid to theis present indentures interchangeably have sett their handes and seales. Yeoven the daie and yeare first abovesaid.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE ENGLISH STAGE.

Page 9. n. 1. l. 1. of the second paragraph.] For *first*,
r. *second*.

Pag. 12. n. 4.] For, *in a mask which was performed at court, &c.* r. *in a pastoral exhibited at Oxford before the king and queen, and the ladies who attended her.*

Pag. 41. n. 1. l. 17.] For 1669, r. 1660.

Pag.

330 EMENDATIONS AND ADDITIONS.

Pag. 43. n. 6. l. 7.] For *Crest*, r. *Brew*. I have lately seen Alleyn's pocket-book, from which the correction has been made.

Pag. 69. n. 5. l. 10 from bottom.] *Dele* the comma after *been*.

Pag. 73. l. 17.] For *Angier*, r. *Angiers*.

Pag. 105. n. 6. l. 5 from bottom.] For *actrefs* r. *mime*.
Seia probably represented *Andromache* in a tragick pantomime.

Pag. 108. l. 4 from bottom.] For *Tell*, r. *Fells*.

Pag. 110. l. 6.] For *Desdemena*, r. *Desdemona*.

Pag. 140 l. 13. from bottom.] *Dele* the comma after *for*.

Pag. 256. n. *. l. 1.] For *Briveat*, r. *Breviat*. The letters were shuffled out of their place at the press.

Since the sheet which contains the will of John Shakspeare was printed, I have learned that it was originally perfect, when found by Joseph Moseley, though the first leaf has since been lost. Moseley transcribed a large portion of it, and from his copy I have been furnished with the introductory articles, from the want of which I was obliged to print this will in an imperfect state. They are as follows :

I.

“ In the name of God, the father, sonne, and holy ghost, the most holy and blessed Virgin Mary, mother of God, the holy host of archangels, angels, patriarchs, prophets, evangelists, apostles, saints, martyrs, and all the celestial court and company of heaven, I John Shakspear, an unworthy member of the holy Catholick religion, being at this my present writing in perfect health of body, and sound mind, memory, and understanding, but calling to mind the uncertainty of life and certainty of death, and that I may be possibly cut off in the blossome of my sins, and called to render an account of all my transgressions externally and internally, and that I may be unprepared for the dreadful trial either by sacrament, pennance, fasting, or prayer, or any other
I purgation

purgation whatever, do in the holy presence above specified, of my own free and voluntary accord, make and ordaine this my last spiritual will, testament, confession, protestation, and confession of faith, hoping hereby to receive pardon for all my finnes and offences, and thereby to be made partaker of life everlasting, through the only merits of Jesus Christ my saviour and redeemer, who took upon himself the likeness of man, suffered death, and was crucified upon the crosse, for the redemption of sinners.

II.

“ *Item*, I John Shakspear doe by this present protest, acknowledge, and confesse, that in my past life I have been a most abominable and grievous sinner, and therefore unworthy to be forgiven without a true and sincere repentance for the same. But trusting in the manifold mercies of my blessed Saviour and Redeemer, I am encouraged by relying on his sacred word, to hope for salvation and be made partaker of his heavenly kingdom, as a member of the celestial company of angels, saints and martyrs, there to reside for ever and ever in the court of my God.

III.

“ *Item*, I John Shakspear doe by this present protest and declare, that as I am certain I must passe out of this transitory life into another that will last to eternity, I do hereby most humbly implore and intreat my good and guardian angell to instruct me in this my solemn preparation, protestation, and confession of faith, at least spiritually,” &c.

The Emendations and Additions to the notes on the plays will be found in the Appendix at the end of Vol. X.

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first page of Dr. Johnson's Preface.

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The Morris-dancers, to be inserted in Vol. V. at the end
of King Henry IV. Part I. and not Part II. as
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of Vol. X.

Persons Represented *.

Alonso, *king of Naples.*

Sebastian, *his brother.*

Prospero, *the rightful duke of Milan.*

Anthonio, *his brother, the usurping duke of Milan;*

Ferdinand, *son to the king of Naples.*

Gonzalo, *an honest old counsellor of Naples.*

Adrian, }
Francisco, } *lords.*

Caliban, *a savage and deformed slave.*

Trinculo, *a jester.*

Stephano, *a drunken butler.*

Master of a ship, Boatswain, and Mariners;

Miranda, *daughter to Prospero.*

Ariel, *an airy spirit.*

Iris, }
Ceres, }
Juno, } *spirits.*
Nymphs, }
Reapers, }

Other spirits attending on Prospero.

SCENE, *the sea, with a ship; afterwards an uninhabited island.*

* This enumeration of persons is taken from the folio 1623.

T E M P E S T'.

ACT I. SCENE I.

On a ship at sea.

A storm with thunder and lightning.

Enter a Ship-master and a Boatswain².

Master. Boatswain,—

Boats. Here, master: What cheer?

Maſt.

¹ *The Tempeſt* and *The Midſummer's Night's Dream* are the nobleſt efforts of that ſublime and amazing imagination peculiar to Shakspeare, which ſoars above the bounds of nature without forſaking ſenſe; or, more properly, carries nature along with him beyond her eſtabliſhed limits. Fletcher ſeems particularly to have admired theſe two plays, and hath wrote two in imitation of them, *The Sea Voyage* and *The Faithful Shepherdſs*. But when he preſumes to break a lance with Shakspeare, and write in emulation of him; as he does in *The False One*, which is the rival of *Anthony and Cleopatra*, he is not ſo ſucceſſful. After him, Sir John Suckling and Milton caught the brighteſt fire of their imagination from theſe two plays; which ſhines fantaſtically indeed in *The Goblins*, but much more nobly and ſerenely in *The Maſk at Ludlow-Caſtle*. WARBURTON.

No one has been hitherto lucky enough to diſcover the romance on which Shakspeare may be ſuppoſed to have founded this play, the beauties of which could not ſecure it from the criticiſm of Ben Jonſon, whoſe malignity appears to have been more than equal to his wit. In the induction to *Bartholomew Fair*, he ſays: “If there be never a ſervant monſter in the fair, who can help it, nor a neſt of antiques?” He is loth to make nature afraid in his plays, like thoſe that beget “*Tales, Tempeſts, and ſuch like drolleries.*” STEEVENS.

I was informed by the late Mr. Collins of Chicheſter, that Shakspeare's *TEMPEST*, for which no origin is yet aſſigned, was formed on a romance called *AURELIO AND ISABELLA*, printed in Italian, Spaniſh, French, and Engliſh, in 1588. But though this information has not proved true on examination, an uſeful concluſion may be drawn from it, that Shakspeare's ſtory is ſomewhere to be found in an Italian

Maſt. Good : Speak to the mariners : ſall to't yarely², or we run ourſelves aground : beſtir, beſtir. [Exit.

Enter Mariners.

Boatſ. Heigh, my hearts ; cheerly, cheerly, my hearts ; yare, yare : Take in the topſail ; Tend to the maſter's

novel, at leaſt that the ſtory preceded Shakspeare. Mr. Collins had ſearched this ſubject with no leſs fidelity than judgement and induſtry ; but his memory failing in his laſt calamitous indiſpoſition, he probably gave me the name of one novel for another. I remember he added a circumſtance, which may lead to a diſcovery,—that the principal character of the romance, anſwering to Shakspeare's *Proſpero*, was a chemical necromancer, who had bound a ſpirit like *Ariel* to obey his call, and perform his ſervices. It was a common pretence of dealers in the occult ſciences to have a demon at command. At leaſt *Aurelio*, or *Orelia*, was probably one of the names of this romance, the production and multiplicity of gold being the grand object of alchemy. Taken at large, the magical part of the *TEMPEST* is founded on that ſort of philoſophy which was practiſed by *John Dee* and his associates, and has been called the *Roficrucian*. The name *Ariel* came from the *Talmudiſtick* myſteries with which the learned Jews had infected this Science. T. WARTON.

Mr. Theobald tells us, that the *Tempeſt* muſt have been written after 1609, becauſe the Bermuda iſlands, which are mentioned in it, were unknown to the Engliſh until that year ; but this is a miſtake. He might have ſeen in *Hackluyt*, 1600, folio, a deſcription of Bermuda, by *Henry May*, who was ſhipwrecked there in 1593.

It was however one of our author's laſt works. In 1598 he played a part in the original *Every Man in his Humour*. Two of the characters are *Proſpero* and *Stephano*. Here *Ben Jonſon* taught him the pronounciation of the latter word, which is always right in the *Tempeſt* :

“ Is not this *Stephano*, my drunken butler ? ”

And always wrong in his earlier play, the *Merchant of Venice*, which had been on the ſtage at leaſt two or three years before its publication in 1600 :

“ My friend *Stephano*, ſignify, I pray you,” &c.

— So little did a late editor know of his author, when he idly ſuppoſed his ſchool literature might perhaps have been loſt by the diſſipation of youth, or the buſy ſcenes of publick life ! FARMER.

This play muſt have been written after 1609, when Bermudas was

² In this naval dialogue, perhaps the firſt example of ſailor's language exhibited on the ſtage, there are, as I have been told by a ſkilful navigator, ſome inaccuracies and contradictory orders. JOHNSON.

³ — ſall to't yarely,] i. e. readily, nimbly. Our author is frequent in his uſe of this word. STEEVENS.

master's whistle:—Blow, till thou burst thy wind, if room enough ⁴!

Enter ALONSO, SEBASTIAN, ANTHONIO,
FERDINAND, GONZALO, and others.

Alon. Good boatswain, have care. Where's the master?
Play the men ⁵.

Boatsf. I pray now, keep below.

Ant. Where is the master, boatswain?

Boatsf. Do you not hear him? You mar our labour;
Keep your cabins: you do assist the storm.

Gon. Nay, good, be patient.

Boatsf. When the sea is. Hence! What care these
roarers for the name of king? To cabin: silence: trouble
us not.

Gon. Good; yet remember whom thou hast aboard.

Boatsf. None that I more love than myself. You are a
counsellor; if you can command these elements to silence,
and work the peace of the present ⁶, we will not hand a
rope more; use your authority. If you cannot, give
thanks you have liv'd so long, and make yourself ready in
your cabin for the mischance of the hour, if it so hap.—
Cheerly, good hearts.—Out of our way, I say. [*Exit.*

Gon. ⁷ I have great comfort from this fellow: methinks,
he

was discovered, and before 1614, when Jonson sneers at it in his
Bartholomew Fair. In the latter plays of Shakspeare, he has less of
pun and quibble than in his early ones. In *The Merchant of Venice* he
expressly declares against them. This perhaps might be one criterion
to discover the dates of his plays. BLACKSTONE.

See a note on *The cloud-capt Towers*, &c. act iv. STEEVENS.

See also *An Attempt to ascertain the order of Shakspeare's Plays*,
ante. MALONE.

⁴ —room enough.] We might read—blow till thou burst thee, wind!
if room enough. And yet, desiring the winds to blow till they burst their
winds, is not unlike many other conceits of Shakspeare. STEEVENS.

⁵ Play the men.] i. e. act with spirit, behave like men. AVESES
ἐσι, φιλοι. STEEVENS.

⁶ —of the present,] It may mean of the present instant. STEEVENS.

⁷ Gon.] It may be observed of Gonzalo, that, being the only good
man

he hath no drowning mark upon him; his complexion is perfect gallows. Stand fast, good fate, to his hanging; make the rope of his destiny our cable, for our own doth little advantage: If he be not born to be hang'd, our case is miserable. [Exeunt.]

Re-enter Boatswain.

Boatsf. Down with the topmast; yare, lower, lower; bring her to try with main-course⁸. [*A cry within.*] A plague upon this howling! they are louder than the weather, or our office.—

Re-enter SEBASTIAN, ANTHONIO, and GONZALO.

Yet again? What do you here? Shall we give o'er, and drown? Have you a mind to sink?

Seb. A pox o' your throat! you bawling, blasphemous, incharitable dog!

Boatsf. Work you, then.

Ant. Hang, cur, hang! you whorefon, insolent noise-maker, we are less afraid to be drown'd than thou art.

Gon. I'll warrant him from drowning; though the ship were no stronger than a nut-shell, and as leaky as an unstanch'd wench⁹.

Boatsf. Lay her a-hold, a-hold¹; set her two courses²; off to sea again, lay her off.

Enter Mariners wet.

Mar. All lost! to prayers, to prayers! all lost!

[Exeunt.]

man that appears with the king, he is the only man that preserves his cheerfulness in the wreck, and his hope on the island. JOHNSON.

⁸ — *bring her to try with main-course.*] Probably from Hackluyt's *Voyages*, 1598: "And when the barke had way, we cut the hauser, and so gate the sea to our friend, and tried out all that day with our maine course." MALONE.

⁹ — *an unstanch'd wench.*] *Unstanch'd*, I believe, means incontinent. STEEVENS.

¹ *Lay her a-hold, a-hold;*] *To lay a ship a-hold*, is to bring her to lie as near the wind as she can, in order to keep clear of the land, and get her out to sea. STEEVENS.

² — *set her two courses;*] The courses are the main-sail and fore-sail. JOHNSON.

Boatsf.

Boats. What must our mouths be cold?

Gon. The king and prince at prayers! let us assist them,

For our case is as theirs.

Seb. I am out of patience.

Ant. We are merely³ cheated of our lives by drunkards.—

This wide-chopp'd rascal;—Would thou might'st lie drowning,

The washing of ten tides!

Gon. He'll be hang'd yet;

Though every drop of water swear against it,

And gape at wid'st to glut him⁴.

[*A confused noise within.*] Mercy on us!—We split! we split!—Farewell, my wife and children!—Farewell, brother!—We split, we split, we split⁵.

Ant. Let's all sink with the king. [Exit.

Seb. Let's take leave of him. [Exit.

Gon. Now would I give a thousand furlongs of sea for an acre of barren ground; long heath⁶, brown furze, any thing: The wills above be done, but I would fain die a dry death! [Exit.

S C E N E II.

The enchanted island: before the cell of Prospero.

Enter PROSPERO and MIRANDA.

Mira. If by your art, my dearest father, you have Put the wild waters in this roar, allay them: The sky, it seems, would pour down stinking pitch,

³ — merely — in this place signifies absolutely. STEEVENS.

⁴ to glut him.] i. e. to englut or swallow him. MALONE.

⁵ Mercy on us! we split, we split! Farewell, my wife and children, &c.] These lines (as Dr. Johnson has observed) should be considered as spoken not by any determinate characters of the present play, but by various sailors on board the vessel. MALONE.

⁶ — long heath,] Sir T. Hanmer reads *ling*, heath, *broom*, furze.—Perhaps rightly, though he has been charged with tautology. I find in Harrison's Description of Britain, prefixed to our author's good friend Holinshed, p. 91: "*Brome, betb, firze, brakes, whinnes, ling,*" &c. FARMER.

But that the sea⁷, mounting to the welkin's cheek,
 Dashes the fire out. O, I have suffer'd
 With those that I saw suffer! a brave vessel,
 Who had no doubt some noble creature in her,
 Dash'd all to pieces. O, the cry did knock
 Against my very heart! Poor souls! they perish'd.
 Had I been any god of power, I would
 Have sunk the sea within the earth, or ere⁸
 It should the good ship so have swallow'd, and
 The freighting souls within her.

Pro. Be collected;
 No more amazement: tell your piteous heart,
 There's no harm done.

Mira. O, woe the day!

Pro. No harm⁹.

I have done nothing but in care of thee,
 (Of thee, my dear one! thee, my daughter!) who
 Art ignorant of what thou art, nought knowing
 Of whence I am; nor that I am more better¹
 Than Prospero, master of a full poor cell²,
 And thy no greater father.

Mira. More to know

Did never meddle with my thoughts³.

⁷ *But that the sea, &c.*] So, in *King Lear*:

“The sea in such a storm as his bare head

“In hell-black night endur'd, would have buoy'd up,

“And quench'd the stelled fires.” MALONE.

⁸ *Or ere*, is *before*. STEEVENS.

⁹ *Pro. No harm.*] I know not whether Shakspeare did not make
 Miranda speak thus: *O, woe the day! no harm?*

To which Prospero properly answers:

I have done nothing but in care of thee.

Miranda, when she speaks the words, *O, woe the day!* supposes, not
 that the crew had escaped, but that her father thought differently from
 her, and counted their destruction *no harm*. JOHNSON.

¹ — *more better* —] This ungrammatical expression is very frequent
 among our oldest writers. STEEVENS.

² — *full poor cell*,] i. e. a cell in a great degree of poverty. So,
 in *Antony and Cleopatra*: “I am full sorry.” STEEVENS.

³ *Did never meddle with my thoughts.*] To meddle, in this instance,
 seems to signify to *minge*. Hence the substantive *medley*. STEEVENS.

See Howell's *Dict.* 1660, in v. to meddle; “*se mesler de*.” MALONE.

Pro. 'Tis time

I should inform thee further. Lend thy hand,
And pluck my magick garment from me.—So ;

[*Lays down his mantle.*]

Lie there my art⁴.—Wipe thou thine eyes ; have comfort.
The direful spectacle of the wreck, which touch'd
The very virtue of compassion in thee,
I have with such provision in mine art
So safely order'd, that there is no soul⁶—
No, not so much perdition as an hair,
Betid to any creature in the vessel
Which thou heard'st cry, which thou saw'st sink. Sit down ;
For thou must now know further.

Mira. You have often

Begun to tell me what I am ; but stopp'd,
And left me to a bootless inquisition ;
Concluding, *Stay, not yet.*—

Pro. The hour's now come ;

The very minute bids thee ope thine ear ;
Obey, and be attentive. Canst thou remember
A time before we came unto this cell ?
I do not think thou canst ; for then thou wast not
Out three years old⁷.

Mira. Certainly, sir, I can.

Pro. By what ? by any other house, or person ?
Of any thing the image tell me, that
Hath kept with thy remembrance.

Mira. 'Tis far off ;

⁴ *Lie there my art.*] Sir W. Cecil, lord Burleigh, lord high treasurer, &c. in the reign of queen Elizabeth, when he put off his gown at night, used to say, *Lie there, lord treasurer.* Fuller's *Holy State*, p. 257. STEEVENS.

⁵ — *virtue of compassion*—] Virtue, the most efficacious part, the energetick quality ; in a like sense we say, *The virtue of a plant is in the extract.* JOHNSON.

⁶ — *no soul*—] Such interruptions as the present are not uncommon to Shakspeare. He sometimes begins a sentence, and before he concludes it, entirely changes the construction, because another, more forcible, occurs. As this change frequently happens in conversation, it may be suffered to pass uncensured in the language of the stage. STEEVENS.

⁷ *Out three years old.*] i. e. quite three years old, three years old full-out, complete. STEEVENS.

And

And rather like a dream, than an assurance
That my remembrance warrants: Had I not
Four or five women once, that tended me?

Pro. Thou hadst, and more, Miranda: But how is it,
That this lives in thy mind? What seest thou else
In the dark backward and abyss of time⁸?
If thou remember'st aught, ere thou cam'st here,
How thou cam'st here, thou may'st.

Mira. But that I do not.

Pro. Twelve years since, Miranda, twelve years since;
Thy father was the duke of Milan, and
A prince of power.

Mira. Sir, are not you my father?

Pro. Thy mother was a piece of virtue, and
She said—thou wast my daughter! and thy father
Was duke of Milan; and his only heir
A princess;—no worse issued⁹.

Mira. O the heavens!

What foul play had we, that we came from thence?
Or blessed was't, we did?

Pro. Both, both, my girl:

By foul play, as thou say'st, were we heav'd thence;
But blessedly help hither.

Mira. O, my heart bleeds

To think o' the teen¹ that I have turn'd you to,
Which is from my remembrance! Please you, further.

Pro. My brother, and thy uncle, called Anthonio,—
I pray thee, mark me,—that a brother should
Be so perfidious!—he whom, next thyself,
Of all the world I lov'd, and to him put
The manage of my state; as, at that time,
Through all the signiories it was the first,
And Prospero the prime duke; being so reputed
In dignity, and, for the liberal arts,
Without a parallel; those being all my study,

⁸ — abyss of time?] i. e. abyss. MALONE.

⁹ A princess;—no worse issued.] The old copy reads—*And princess*—. The emendation was proposed by Mr. Steevens. *Issued* is (as he observes) *descended*. MALONE.

¹ —teen—] is sorrow, grief, trouble. STEEVENS.

The government I cast upon my brother,
And to my state grew stranger, being transported,
And rapt in secret studies. Thy false uncle—
Dost thou attend me?

Mira. Sir, most heedfully.

Pro. Being once perfected how to grant suits,
How to deny them; whom to advance, and whom²
To trash for over-topping³; new created
The creatures that were mine; I say, or chang'd them,
Or else new form'd them: having both the key⁴
Of officer and office, set all hearts i' the state
To what tune pleas'd his ear; that now he was
The ivy, which had hid my princely trunk,
And suck'd my verdure out on't.—Thou attend'st not.

Mira. O good Sir, I do.

Pro. I pray thee, mark me.

I thus neglecting worldly ends, all dedicated
To closeness, and the bettering of my mind
With that, which, but by being so retir'd,
O'er-priz'd all popular rate, in my false brother
Awak'd an evil nature: and my trust,
Like a good parent⁵, did beget of him
A falsehood, in its contrary as great
As my trust was; which had, indeed, no limit,
A confidence fans bound. He being thus lorded,
Not only with what my revenue yielded,

² — whom to advance, and whom] The old copy has *who* in both places. Corrected by the editor of the second folio. MALONE.

³ To trash for over-topping;] To trash, as Dr. Warburton observes, is to cut away the superfluities. This word I have met with in books containing directions for gardeners, published in the time of queen Elizabeth.

Mr. Warton's note, however, on — "*trash* for his quick hunting," in the second act of *Otello*, leaves my interpretation of this passage exceedingly disputable. STEEVENS.

⁴ — both the key] Key in this place seems to signify the key of a musical instrument, by which he set *hearts to tune*. JOHNSON.

This doubtless is meant of a key for tuning the harpsichord, spinnet, or virginal; we call it now a tuning hammer. Sir J. HAWKINS.

⁵ Like a good parent,] Alluding to the observation, that a father above the common rate of men has commonly a son below it. *Hercum filii nona*. JOHNSON.

But

But what my power might else exact,—like one,
 Who having, unto truth, by telling of it,
 Made such a sinner of his memory,
 To credit his own lie⁶, he did believe
 He was, indeed, the duke; out of the substitution,
 And executing the outward face of royalty,
 With all prerogative:—Hence his ambition growing,—
 Dost thou hear?

Mira. Your tale, sir, would cure deafness.

Pro. To have no screen between this part he play'd
 And him he play'd it for, he needs will be
 Absolute Milan: Me, poor man!—my library
 Was dukedom large enough; of temporal royalties
 He thinks me now incapable: confederates,
 So dry he was for sway⁷, with the king of Naples,
 To give him annual tribute, do him homage;
 Subject his coronet to his crown, and bend
 The dukedom, yet unbow'd, (alas, poor Milan!)
 To most ignoble stooping.

Mira. O the heavens!

Pro. Mark his condition, and the event; then tell me,
 If this might be a brother.

Mira. I should fin
 To think but nobly⁸ of my grandmother:
 Good wombs have borne bad sons.

Pro. Now the condition.
 This king of Naples, being an enemy
 To me inveterate, hearkens my brother's suit;
 Which was, that he in lieu of the premises,—
 Of homage, and I know not how much tribute,—

⁶ ————— like one,
*Who having, unto truth, by telling of it,
 Made such a sinner of his memory,*

To credit his own lie.] There is perhaps no correlative, to which
 the word *it* can with grammatical propriety belong. *Lie*, however, seems
 to have been the correlative to which the poet meant to refer, however
 ungrammatically. STEEVENS.

The old copy has—*into truth*. Corrected by Dr. Warburton. MALONE.

⁷ *So dry he was for sway*,——] i. e. *So thirsty*. The expression, I
 am told, is not uncommon in the midland counties. STEEVENS.

⁸ *To think but nobly*] But in this place signifies *otherwise*
than. STEEVENS.

Should

Should presently extirpate me and mine
 Out of the dukedom ; and confer fair Milan,
 With all the honours, on my brother : Whereon,
 A treacherous army levy'd, one midnight
 Fated to the purpose, did Anthonio open
 The gates of Milan ; and, i'the dead of darknefs,
 The ministers for the purpose hurried thence
 Me, and thy crying self.

Mira. Alack, for pity !

I, not rememb'ring how I cried out then ⁹,
 Will cry it o'er again ; it is a hint ¹,
 That wrings mine eyes to't.

Pro. Hear a little further.

And then I'll bring thee to the present business
 Which now's upon us ; without the which, this story
 Were most impertinent.

Mira. Wherefore did they not
 That hour destroy us ?

Pro. Well demanded, wench ;
 My tale provokes that question. Dear, they durst not ;
 (So dear the love my people bore me) nor set
 A mark so bloody on the business ; but
 With colours fairer painted their foul ends.
 In few, they hurried us aboard a bark ;
 Bore us some leagues to sea ; where they prepar'd
 A rotten carcass of a boat ², not rigg'd,
 Nor tackle, fail, nor mast ; the very rats
 Instinctively had quit it ³ : there they hoist us,
 To cry to the sea that roar'd to us ; to sigh
 To the winds, whose pity, sighing back again,
 Did us but loving wrong.

Mira. Alack ! what trouble
 Was I then to you !

⁹ — cried out] Perhaps we should read—cried on't. STEEVENS.

¹ — a hint,] Hint is suggestion. So, in the beginning speech of the second act : —our hint of woe

Is common—. STEEVENS.

² — of a boat,] The old copy reads — of a butt. HENLEY.

It was corrected by Mr. Rowe. MALONE.

³ — had quit it:] Old copy—have quit it. Corrected by Mr. Rowe. MALONE.

Pro. O! a cherubim

Thou wast, that did preserve me! Thou didst smile;
 Infused with a fortitude from heaven,
 When I have deck'd the sea ⁴ with drops full salt;
 Under my burden groan'd; which rais'd in me
 An undergoing stomach ⁵, to bear up
 Against what should ensue.

Mira. How came we ashore?

Pro. By Providence divine.

Some food we had, and some fresh water, that
 A noble Neapolitan, Gonzalo,
 Out of his charity, who being then appointed ⁶
 Master of this design, did give us; with
 Rich garments, linens, stuffs, and necessaries,
 Which since have steaded much: so, of his gentleness,
 Knowing I lov'd my books, he furnish'd me,
 From my own library, with volumes that
 I prize above my dukedom.

Mira. Would I might
 But ever see that man!

Pro. Now, I arise ⁷:—

Sit

⁴—deck'd the sea—] *To deck the sea*, if explained, to honour, adorn, or dignify, is indeed ridiculous, but the original import of the verb *deck* is, to *cover*; so in some parts they yet say *deck the table*. This sense may be borne; but perhaps the poet wrote *fleck'd*, which I think is still used, in rustick language, of drops falling upon water. JOHNSON.

The following passage in *Antony and Cleopatra* may countenance the verb *deck* in its common acceptation:

“——do not please sharp fate

“To grace it with your sorrows.”

What is this but *decking* it with tears? STEEVENS.

To *deck*, I am told, signifies in the North, to *sprinkle*. See RAY'S DICT. of North Country words, in *verb.* to *deg*, and to *deck*; and his DICT. of South Country words, in *verb.* *dag*. The latter signifies dew upon the grass;—hence *daggie-tailed*. MALONE.

⁵ *An undergoing stomach*,] *Stomach* is *pride*, *stubborn resolution*. So Horace, “——*gravem Pelidæ stomachum*.” STEEVENS.

⁶——who being then appointed &c.] Such is the old reading. We might better read,——he being &c. STEEVENS.

⁷ *Pro.* Now I arise:] Why does Prospero arise? Or, if he does it to ease himself by change of posture, why need he interrupt his narrative to tell his daughter of it? Perhaps these words belong to Miranda, and we should read:

Mir.

Sit still, and hear the last of our sea-forrow.
Here in this island we arriv'd; and here
Have I, thy school master, made thee more profit
Than other princes⁸ can, that have more time
For vainer hours, and tutors not so careful.

Mira. Heavens thank you for't! And now, I pray you,
sir,

(For still 'tis beating in my mind,) your reason
For raising this sea-storm?

Pro. Know thus far forth.—

By accident most strange, bountiful fortune,
Now my dear lady⁹, hath mine enemies
Brought to this shore: and by my prescience
I find my zenith doth depend upon
A most auspicious star; whose influence
If now I court not, but omit¹, my fortunes
Will ever after droop.—Here cease more questions;

Mir. Would I might

But ever see that man!—Now, I arise.

Pro. Sit still, and hear the last of our sea sorrow.

Prospero in page 9 had directed his daughter to *sit down*, and learn the whole of this history; having previously by some magical charm disposed her to fall asleep. He is watching the progress of this charm; and in the mean time tells her a long story, often asking her whether her attention be still awake. The story being ended (as Miranda supposes) with their coming on shore, and partaking of the conveniences provided for them by the loyal humanity of Gonzalo, she therefore first expresses a wish to see the good old man, and then observes that she may *now arise*, as the story is done. Prospero, surprised that his charm does not yet work, bids her *sit still*; and then enters on fresh matter to amuse the time, telling her (what she knew before) that he had been her tutor, &c. But soon perceiving her drowsiness coming on; he breaks off abruptly, and leaves her *still sitting* to her slumbers. BLACKSTONE.

⁸ *Than other princes*.—] The first folio reads—*princeffe*. HENLEY.

Corrected by Mr. Rowe. MALONE.

⁹ *Now my dear lady*, is, *now my auspicious mistress*. STEEVENS.

¹ — *I find my zenith doth depend upon*

A most auspicious star; whose influence

If now I court not, but omit, &c.] So, in *Julius Cæsar*:

“ There is a tide in the affairs of man,

“ Which taken at the flood, leads on to *fortune*;

“ *Omitted*, all the voyage of their life

“ Is bound in shallows and in miseries. MALONE.

Thou art inclin'd to sleep ; 'tis a good dullness ²,
And give it way ;—I know thou canst not choose.—

[Miranda sleeps.]

Come away, servant, come : I am ready now ;
Approach, my Ariel, come.

Enter ARIEL.

Ari. All hail, great master ! grave sir, hail ! I come
To answer thy best pleasure ; be't to fly,
To swim, to dive into the fire, to ride
On the curl'd clouds ; to thy strong bidding, task
Ariel, and all his quality ³.

Pro. Hast thou, spirit,
Perform'd to point ⁴ the tempest that I bad thee ?

Ari. To every article.
I boarded the king's ship ; now on the beak ⁵,
Now in the waste ⁶, the deck, in every cabin,
I flam'd amazement : Sometimes, I'd divide,
And burn in many places ⁷ ; on the top-mast,
The yards and bolt-sprit, would I flame distinctly,
Then meet, and join : Jove's lightnings ⁸, the precursors

² ——— 'tis a good dullness.] Dr. Warburton rightly observes, that this sleepiness, which Prospero by his art had brought upon Miranda, and of which he knew not how soon the effect would begin, makes him question her so often whether she is attentive to his story. JOHNSON.

³ — quality.] i. e. all of his *fellowship* ; “ the crew of meaner spirits.” See *Hamlet*, A. II. Sc. 2. “ Will they pursue the *quality*” &c. MAL.

⁴ Perform'd to point——] i. e. to the minutest article. STEEVENS.

⁵ —beak,] The beak was a strong pointed body at the head of the ancient galleys ; it is used here for the fore-castle, or the bolt-sprit. JOHNS.

⁶ —waste,] The part between the quarter-deck and the fore-castle. JOHN.

⁷ ——— Sometimes I'd divide,

And burn in many places ; &c.] Perhaps our author, when he wrote these lines, remembered the following passage in Hackluyt's *Voyages*, 1598 : “ I do remember that in the great and boisterous storme of this fowle weather, in the night there came upon the toppe of our maine yarde and maine masse a certaine little light, much like unto the light of a little candle, which the Spaniards call the *Cuerpo Santo*.——*This light continued aboard our ship about three houres, flying from masse to masse, and from top to top, and sometimes it would be in two or three places at once.*” MALONE.

⁸ Jove's lightnings,—] The old copy reads—*lightning*. Corrected by Mr. Thebbald. MALONE.

O' the dreadful thunder-claps⁹, more momentary
And sight-out-running were not: The fire, and cracks
Of sulphurous roaring, the most mighty Neptune
Seem'd to besiege, and make his bold waves tremble,
Yea, his dread trident shake.

Pro. My brave spirit!

Who was so firm, so constant, that this coil
Would not infect his reason?

Ari. Not a soul

But felt a fever of the mad¹, and play'd
Some tricks of desperation: All, but mariners,
Plung'd in the foaming brine, and quit the vessel,
Then all a-fire with me: the king's son, Ferdinand,
With hair up-staring, (then like reeds, not hair,)
Was the first man that leap'd; cried, *Hell is empty,*
And all the devils are here.

Pro. Why, that's my spirit!

But was not this nigh shore?

Ari. Close by, my master.

Pro. But are they, Ariel, safe?

Ari. Not a hair perish'd;

On their sustaining garments² not a blemish,
But fresher than before: and as thou bad'st me,
In troops I have dispers'd them 'bout the isle:
The king's son have I landed by himself;
Whom I left cooling of the air with sighs,
In an odd angle of the isle, and sitting,
His arms in this sad knot.

Pro. Of the king's ship,

The mariners, say, how hast thou dispos'd,
And all the rest o' the fleet?

Ari. Safely in harbour

⁹ ——— *precursors*

O' the dreadful thunder-claps,] So, in *K. Lear*:

"Vant couriers of oak-cleaving thunderbolts." STEEVENS.

¹ But felt a fever of the mad,] Not a soul but felt such a fever as madmen feel, when the frantick fit is upon them. STEEVENS.

² —sustaining garments—] i. e. their garments that bore them up, and supported them. So, *K. Lear*, Act IV. sc. iv.

"In our sustaining corn." STEEVENS.

Is the king's ship; in the deep nook, where once
 Thou call'dst me up at midnight to fetch dew
 From the still-vex'd Bermoothes³, there she's hid:
 The mariners all under hatches stow'd;
 Whom, with a charm join'd to their suffer'd labour,
 I have left asleep: and for the rest o' the fleet,
 Which I dispers'd, they all have met again;
 And are upon the Mediterranean flote⁴,
 Bound sadly home for Naples;
 Supposing that they saw the king's ship wreck'd,
 And his great person perish.

Pro. Ariel, thy charge
 Exactly is perform'd; but there's more work:
 What is the time o' the day⁵?

Ari. Past the mid season.

Pro. At least two glasses: The time 'twixt six and now
 Must by us both be spent most preciouslly.

Ari. Is there more toil? Since thou dost give me pains,
 Let me remember thee what thou hast promis'd,

3 *From the still-vex'd Bermoothes,*] Thus the islands now known by the name of *Bermudas* were frequently, though not always, called in our author's time.—Hackluyt, in his *Voyages*, 1598, calls “the sea about the *Bermudas* a hellish place, for thunder, lightning, and stormes.” So also the Continuator of Stowe's *Annals*, 1615, describing the arrival of the English at these islands in 1609: “Sir George Somers sitting at the sterne, seeing the ship desperate of relief, looking every minute when it would sinke, he espied land, which according to his and Captain Newport's opinion, they judged should be that dreadful coast of the *Bermodes*, which islands were of all nations said and supposed to be *enchanted, and inhabited with witches and dewills*; which grew by reason of accustomed monstrous thunder, storme, and tempest, neere unto those islands, also for that the whole coast is so wonderous dangerous of rockes, that few can approach them but with unspeakable hazard of shipwreck.” MALONE.

4 — *the Mediterranean flote,*] Flote is *wave*. Flot. Fr. STEEVENS.

5 *What is the time o' the day?*] This passage needs not to be disturbed, it being common to ask a question, which the next moment enables us to answer; he that thinks it faulty may easily adjust it thus:

Pro. What is the time o' the day? Past the mid season?

Ari. At least two glasses.

Pro. The time 'twixt six and now——. JOHNSON.

Mr. Upton proposes to regulate this passage differently:

Ari. Past the mid season, at least two glasses.

Pro. The time &c. MALONE.

Which

Which is not yet perform'd me.

Pro. How now? moody?

What is't thou can'st demand?

Ari. My liberty.

Pro. Before the time be out? no more.

Ari. I pray thee,

Remember, I have done thee worthy service;

Told thee no lies, made thee no mistakings, serv'd

Without or grudge, or grumblings: thou didst promise

To bate me a full year.

Pro. Dost thou forget ⁶

⁶ *Dost thou forget*] That the character and conduct of Prospero may be understood, something must be known of the system of enchantment, which supplied all the marvellous found in the romances of the middle ages. This system seems to be founded on the opinion that the fallen spirits, having different degrees of guilt, had different habitations allotted them at their expulsion, some being confined in hell, *some* (as Hooker, who delivers the opinion of our poet's age, expresses it,) *dispersed in air, some on earth, some in water, others in caves, dens, or minerals under the earth.* Of these, some were more malignant and mischievous than others. The earthy spirits seem to have been thought the most depraved, and the aerial the least vitiated. Thus Prospero observes of Ariel:

—*Thou wast a spirit too delicate*

To act her earthy and abhor'd commands.

Over these spirits a power might be obtained by certain rites performed or charms learned. This power was called *The Black Art*, or *Knowledge of Enchantment*. The enchanter being (as king James observes in his *Demonology*) *one who commands the devil, whereas the witch serves him.* Those who thought best of this art, the existence of which was, I am afraid, believed very seriously, held, that certain sounds and characters had a physical power over spirits, and compelled their agency; others, who condemned the practice, which in reality was surely never practised, were of opinion, with more reason, that the power of charms arose *only* from compact, and was no more than the spirits voluntarily allowed them for the seduction of man. The art was held by all, though not equally criminal, yet unlawful, and therefore Casaubon, speaking of one who had commerce with spirits, blames him, though he imagines him *one of the best kind who dealt with them by way of command.* Thus Prospero repents of his art in the last scene. The spirits were always considered as in some measure enslaved to the enchanter, at least for a time, and as serving with unwillingness; therefore Ariel so often begs for liberty; and Caliban observes, that the spirits serve Prospero with no good will, but *bate him rootedly.*—Of these trifles enough. JOHNSON.

From what a torment I did free thee?

Ari. No.

Pro. Thou dost ; and think'st it much, to tread the ooze
Of the salt deep ;
To run upon the sharp wind of the north ;
To do me business in the veins o' the earth,
When it is bak'd with frost.

Ari. I do not, sir.

Pro. Thou liest, malignant thing ! hast thou forgot
The foul witch Sycorax, who, with age, and envy,
Was grown into a hoop ? hast thou forgot her ?

Ari. No, sir.

Pro. Thou hast : Where was she born ? speak ; tell me.

Ari. Sir, in Argier⁷.

Pro. Oh, was she so ? I must,
Once in a month, recount what thou hast been,
Which thou forget'st. This damn'd witch, Sycorax,
For mischiefs manifold, and forceries terrible
To enter human hearing, from Argier,
Thou know'st, was banish'd ; for one thing she did,
They would not take her life : Is not this true ?

Ari. Ay, sir.

Pro. This blue-ey'd hag was hither brought with child,
And here was left by the sailors : Thou, my slave,
As thou report'st thyself, wast then her servant :
And, for thou wast a spirit too delicate
To act her earthy and abhorr'd commands,
Refusing her grand hests, she did confine thee,
By help of her more potent ministers,
And in her most unmitigable rage,
Into a cloven pine ; within which rift
Imprison'd, thou didst painfully remain
A dozen years ; within which space she died,
And left thee there ; where thou didst vent thy groans,
As fast as mill-wheels strike : Then was this island,
(Save for the son that she did litter here,
A freckled whelp, hag-born,) not honour'd with
A human shape.

7 — in Argier.] *Argier* is the ancient English name for *Algiers*.

Ari. Yes; Caliban her son.

Pro. Dull thing, I say so; he, that Caliban,
Whom now I keep in service. 'Thou best know'st
What torment I did find thee in: thy groans
Did make wolves howl, and penetrate the breasts
Of ever-angry bears; it was a torment
To lay upon the damn'd, which Sycorax
Could not again undo; it was mine art,
When I arriv'd, and heard thee, that made gape
The pine, and let thee out.

Ari. I thank thee, master.

Pro. If thou more murmur'st, I will rend an oak,
And peg thee in his knotty entrails, till
Thou hast howl'd away twelve winters.

Ari. Pardon, master:
I will be correspondent to command,
And do my spriting gently.

Pro. Do so; and after two days
I will discharge thee.

Ari. That's my noble master!
What shall I do? say what? what shall I do?

Pro. Go make thyself like a nymph o' the sea; be sub-
ject

To no fight but thine and mine; invisible⁸
To every eye-ball else. Go, take this shape,
And hither come in it: go, hence, with diligence.

[Exit ARIEL.]

Awake, dear heart, awake! thou hast slept well;
Awake!

⁸ *Go make thyself like a nymph o' the sea: be subject*

To no fight but thine and mine; invisible &c.] The words—
“be subject”—having been transferred in the first copy of this play
to the latter of these lines, by the carelessness of the transcriber
or printer, the editor of the second folio, to supply the metre of the
former, introduced the word *to*;—reading, “like *to* a nymph o'
the sea.” The regulation that I have made shews that the addition,
like many others made by that editor, was unnecessary. MALONE.

— *a nymph o' the sea*;] There does not appear to be sufficient cause
why *Ariel* should assume this new shape, as he was to be invisible to all
eyes but those of Prospero. STEEVENS.

Mira. The strangeness⁹ of your story put
Heaviness in me.

Pro. Shake it off: Come on;
We'll visit Caliban, my slave, who never
Yields us kind answer.

Mira. 'Tis a villain, sir,
I do not love to look on.

Pro. But, as 'tis,
We cannot miss him: he does make our fire,
Fetch in our wood; and serves in offices
That profit us. What, ho! slave! Caliban!
Thou earth, thou! speak.

Cal. [*within.*] There's wood enough within.

Pro. Come forth, I say; there's other business for thee:
Come, thou tortoise! when?

Re-enter ARIEL, like a water-nymph.

Fine apparition! My quaint Ariel,
Hark in thine ear.

Ari. My lord, it shall be done.

[*Exit.*]

Pro. Thou poisonous slave, got by the devil himself
Upon thy wicked dam, come forth!

Enter CALIBAN.

Cal. As wicked dew as e'er my mother brush'd
With raven's feather from unwholesome fen,
Drop on you both!¹ a south-west blow on ye,

And

⁹ *The strangeness—*] Why should a wonderful story produce sleep? I believe experience will prove, that any violent agitation of the mind easily subsides in slumber, especially when, as in Prospero's relation, the last images are pleasing. JOHNSON.

The poet seems to have been apprehensive that the audience, as well as Miranda, would sleep over this long but necessary tale, and therefore strives to break it. First, by making Prospero divest himself of his magick robe and wand; then by waking her attention no less than six times by verbal interruption; then by varying the action when he rises and bids her continue sitting; and lastly, by carrying on the business of the fable while Miranda sleeps, by which she is continued on the stage till the poet has occasion for her again. WARNER.

¹ *Cal.* *As wicked dew as e'er my mother brush'd*

With raven's feather from unwholesome fen,

Drop on you both!] It was a tradition, it seems, that Lord Falkland,

And blister you all o'er!

Pro. For this, be sure, to-night thou shalt have cramps,
Side-stitches that shall pen thy breath up; urchins²
Shall, for that vast of night that they may work³,

All

Falkland, Lord C. J. Vaughan, and Mr. Selden concurred in observing, that Shakspeare had not only found out a new character in his Caliban, but had also devised and adapted a *new manner of language* for that character. WARBURTON.

Whence these criticks derived the notion of a new language appropriated to Caliban, I cannot find: they certainly mistook brutality of sentiment for uncouthness of words. Caliban had learned to speak of Prospero, and his daughter; he had no names for the sun and moon before their arrival, and could not have invented a language of his own without more understanding than Shakspeare has thought it proper to bestow upon him. His diction is indeed somewhat clouded by the gloominess of his temper, and the malignity of his purposes; but let any other being entertain the same thoughts, and he will find them easily issue in the same expressions. JOHNSON.

As wicked dew,—] *Wicked*; having baneful qualities. So Spenser says, *wicked weed*; so, in opposition, we say herbs or medicines have *virtues*. Bacon mentions *virtuous bezoar*, and Dryden *virtuous herbs*. JOHNSON.

² —*urchins*] i.e. *hedge-hogs*. *Urchins* are enumerated by R. Scott among other terrifick beings. They are perhaps here put for *fairies*. Milton in his *Masque* speaks of "*urchin blasts*," and we still call any little dwarfish child, an *urchin*. The word occurs again in the next act. STEEV.

In the *M. W. of Windsor* we have "*urchins, ouphes, and fairies*;" and the passage to which Mr. Steevens alludes, proves, I think, that *urchins* here signifies beings of the fairy kind:

"His spirits hear me,
And yet I needs must curse; but they'll nor pinch,

"Fright me with *urchin-sheeps*, pitch me i'th mire &c. MALONE.

³ —*for that vast of night that they may work,*] The *vast of night* means the night which is naturally empty and deserted, without action; or when all things lying in sleep and silence, makes the world appear one great uninhabited *waste*. So in *Hamlet*:

"In the dead *waste* and middle of the night."

It has a meaning like that of *nox vasta*.

It should be remembered, that, in the pneumatology of former ages, these particulars were settled with the most minute exactness, and the different kinds of visionary beings had different allotments of time suitable to the variety or consequence of their employments. During these spaces, they were at liberty to act, but were always obliged to leave off at a certain hour, that they might not interfere in that portion of night which belonged to others. Among these we may suppose *urchins* to have had a part subjected to their dominion. To this

All exercise on thee : thou shalt be pinch'd
As thick as honey-combs, each pinch more stinging
Than bees that made them.

Cal. I must eat my dinner.

This island's mine, by Sycorax my mother,
Which thou tak'st from me. When thou camest first,
Thou stroak'dst me, and mad'st much of me ; would'st
give me

Water with berries in't ; and teach me how
To name the bigger light, and how the less,
That burn by day and night : and then I lov'd thee,
And shew'd thee all the qualities o' the isle,
The fresh springs, brine pits, barren place, and fertile ;
Curs'd be I, that did so !—All the charms⁴
Of Sycorax, toads, beetles, bats, light on you !
For I am all the subjects that you have,
Which first was mine own king : and here you fly me
In this hard rock, whiles you do keep from me
The rest of the island.

Pro. Thou most lying slave,
Whom stripes may move, not kindness : I have us'd thee,
Filth as thou art, with human care ; and lodg'd thee
In mine own cell, till thou did seek to violate
The honour of my child.

Cal. Oh ho, oh ho !—'would it had been done !
Thou didst prevent me ; I had peopled else
This isle with Calibans.

Pro. Abhorred slave⁵;
Which any print of goodness will not take,
Being capable of all ill ! I pitied thee,
Took pains to make thee speak, taught thee each hour

limitation of time Shakspeare alludes again in *K. Lear* : *He begins at curfew, and walks till the second cock.* STEEVENS.

⁴ — *All the charms*] The latter word, like many others of the same kind, is here used as a dissyllable. MALONE.

⁵ *Abhorred slave* ;] This speech, which the old copy gives to Miranda, is very judiciously bestowed by Theobald on Prospero. JOHNSON.

Mr. Theobald found, or might have found, this speech transferred to Prospero in the alteration of this play by Dryden and D'Avenant.
MALONE.

One thing or other : when thou didst not, savage⁶;
 Know thine own meaning, but would'st gabble like
 A thing most brutish, I endow'd thy purposes
 With words that made them known : But thy vild race⁷,
 Though thou didst learn, had that in't which good na-
 tures

Could not abide to be with ; therefore wast thou
 Deservedly confin'd into this rock,
 Who hadst deserv'd more than a prison.

Cal. You taught me language ; and my profit on't
 Is, I know how to curse : The red plague rid you °,
 For learning me your language !

Pro. Hag-seed hence !

Fetch us in fewel ; and be quick, thou wert best,
 To answer other business. Shrug'st thou, malice ?
 If thou neglect'st, or dost unwillingly
 What I command, I'll rack thee with old cramps ;
 Fill all thy bones with aches ; make thee roar,
 That beasts shall tremble at thy din.

Cal. No, 'pray thee !—

I must obey : his art is of such power,
 It would control my dam's god, Setebos °,

[*Aside.*

And

⁶ ——— when thou didst not, savage,

Know thy own meaning,] By this expression, however defective, the poet seems to have meant—*when thou didst utter sounds, to which thou hadst no determinate meaning* : but the following expression of Mr. Addison, in his 389th Spectator, concerning the Hottentots, may prove the best comment on this passage ; “——having no language among them but a confused gabble, which is *neither well understood by themselves, or others.*” STEEVENS.

⁷ *But thy vild race,*] *Race*, in this place, seems to signify original disposition, i. e. inborn qualities. In this sense we still say—*The race of wine* ; and sir W. Temple has some where applied it to works of literature. STEEVENS.

Vild is used in many old English books for *vile*. MALONE.

⁸ *The red plague*—] I suppose from the redness of the body, universally inflamed. JOHNSON.

The erysipelas was anciently called the *red plague*. STEEVENS.

⁹ — *my dam's god, Setebos,*] A gentleman of great merit, Mr. Warner, has observed on the authority of *John Barbot*, that “the *Patagons* are reported to dread a great horned devil, called *Setebos*.”—It may be asked, however, how *Shakspeare* knew any thing of this,

And make a vassal of him.

Pro. So, slave; hence!

[*Exit* CALIBAN.]

Re-enter ARIEL *invisible, playing and singing*;
FERDINAND *following him.*

Ariel's Song.

Come unto these yellow sands,

And then take hands:

Court'sied when you have, and kiss'd¹,

(The wild waves whistle)

Foot it featly here and there;

And, sweet sprites, the burden bear².

Hark, bark!

bur. Bowgh, wowgh.

[*disperſedly.*

The watch-dogs bark:

bur. Bowgh, wowgh.

[*disperſedly.*

Hark, bark! I hear

The strain of strutting chanticlere

Cry, Cock-a-doodle-doo.

Fer. Where should this musick be? i' the air, or the earth?

It sounds no more:—and sure, it waits upon
Some god of the island. Sitting on a bank,
Weeping again the king my father's wreck³,

This

this, as *Barbot* was a voyager of the present century?—Perhaps he had read *Eden's History of Travayle*, 1577, who tells us, p. 434, that “the giants, when they found themselves fettered, roared like bulls, and cried upon *Setebos* to help them.”—The *metatbefs* in *Caliban from Canibal* is evident FARMER.

We learn from Magellan's voyage, that *Setebos* was the supreme god of the Patagons, and *Cheleule* was an inferior one. TOLLET.

Setebos is also mentioned in Hackluyt's *Voyages*, 1598. MALONE.

¹ *Court'sied when you have, and kiss'd,*] As was anciently done at the beginning of some dances.

The wild waves whistle;

i. e. the wild waves being silent (or whistle). STEEVENS.

² — *the burden bear.*] Old copy—bear the burden. Corrected by Mr. Theobald. MALONE.

³ *Weeping again the king my father's wreck,*] Thus the old copy; but in the books of Shakspeare's age again is sometimes printed instead

This musick crept by me upon the waters ;
 Allaying both their fury, and my passion,
 With its sweet air : thence I have follow'd it,
 Or it hath drawn me rather :—But 'tis gone.
 No, it begins again.

*Ariel sings. Full fathom five thy father lies⁴ ;
 Of his bones are coral made ;
 Those are pearls, that were his eyes :
 Nothing of him that doth fade,
 But doth suffer a sea-change,
 Into something rich and strange.
 Sea-nymphs hourly ring his knell :
 Hark, now I hear them,—ding-dong, bell.
 [Burden, ding-dong.*

Fer. The ditty does remember my drown'd father :—
 This is no mortal business, nor no sound

That the earth owes⁵ :—I hear it now above me.

Pro. The fringed curtains of thine eye advance,

stead of *against* [i. e. opposite to], which I am persuaded was our author's word. The placing Ferdinand in such a situation that he could still gaze upon the wrecked vessel, is one of Shakspeare's touches of nature. *Again* is inadmissible ; for this would import that Ferdinand's tears had ceased for a time ; whereas he himself tells us, afterwards, that from the hour of his father's wreck they had *never* ceased to flow :

“ ——— Myself am Naples,

“ Who with mine eyes, *ne'er since at ebb*, beheld

“ The king my father wreck'd.”

However, as our author sometimes forgot to compare the different parts of his play, I have made no change. MALONE.

⁴ *Full fathom five thy father lies ; &c.*] Ariel's lays, [which have been condemned by Gildon as trifling, and defended not very successfully by Dr. Warburton,] however seasonable and efficacious, must be allowed to be of no supernatural dignity or elegance ; they express nothing great, nor reveal any thing above mortal discovery.

The reason for which Ariel is introduced thus trifling is, that he and his companions are evidently of the fairy kind, an order of beings to which tradition has always ascribed a sort of diminutive agency, powerful but ludicrous, a humorous and frolick controlment of nature, well expressed by the songs of Ariel. JOHNSON.

⁵ *That the earth owes :*] *To owe*, in this place, as well as many others, signifies *to own*. STEEVENS.

And

And say, what thou seest yond'.

Mira. What is't? a spirit?

Lord, how it looks about! Believe me, sir,
It carries a brave form:—But 'tis a spirit.

Pro. No, wench; it eats and sleeps, and hath such senses
As we have, such: This gallant, which thou seest,
Was in the wreck; and but he's something stain'd
With grief, that's beauty's canker, thou might'st call him
A goodly person: he hath lost his fellows,
And strays about to find them.

Mira. I might call him
A thing divine; for nothing natural
I ever saw so noble.

Pro. It goes on, I see, [*Aside.*
As my soul prompts it:—Spirit, fine spirit, I'll free thee
Within two days for this.

Fer. Most sure, the goddess
On whom these airs attend!—Vouchsafe, my prayer
May know, if you remain upon this island;
And that you will some good instruction give,
How I may bear me here: My prime request,
Which I do last pronounce, is, o you wonder!
If you be made, or no?⁶

Mira.

6

————— *My prime request*

Which I do last pronounce, is, o you wonder!

If you be made, or no?] A passage in Lilly's *Galathea* seems to countenance the text of the first folio; "The question among men is common, *are you a maide?*"—yet I cannot but think, that Dr. Warburton reads very rightly, "*If you be made, or no.*" When we meet with an harsh expression in *Shakspeare*, we are usually to look for a *play upon words*. Fletcher closely imitates the *Tempest* in his *Sea-Voyage*: and he introduces *Albert* in the same manner to the ladies of his *Desert Island*:

"Be not offended, goddesses, that I fall

"Thus prostrate," &c.

Shakspeare himself had certainly read, and had probably now in his mind, a passage in the third book of the *Fairy Queen*, between *Timias* and *Belphebe*:

"*Angel or Goddess!* do I call thee right?

"There—at the blushing, said, ah! gentle squire,

"Nor goddess I, nor angel, but the maid

"And daughter of a woody nymph," &c. FARMER.

The

Mira. No wonder, sir ;
But, certainly a maid.

Fer. My language ! heavens !—
I am the best of them that speak this speech,
Were I but where 'tis spoken.

Pro. How ! the best ?

The first copy reads—if you be *maid*, or no. *Made* was not suggested by Dr. Warburton, being an emendation introduced by the editor of the fourth folio. It was, I am persuaded, the author's word : There being no article prefixed adds strength to this supposition. Nothing is more common in his plays than a word being used in reply, in a sense different from that in which it was employed by the first speaker. Ferdinand had the moment before called Miranda a goddess ; and the words immediately subjoined,—“ Vouchsafe my prayer,”—show, that he looked up to her as a person of a superior order, and sought her protection, and instruction for his conduct, not her love. At *this* period, therefore, he must have felt too much awe to have flattered himself with the hope of possessing a being that appeared to him celestial ; though afterwards, emboldened by what Miranda says, he exclaims, “ O, if a virgin &c.” words that appear inconsistent with the supposition that he had already *asked* her whether she was one or not. She had indeed told him, she was ; but in his astonishment at hearing her speak his own language, he may well be supposed to have forgotten what she said ; which, if he had himself made the inquiry, would not be very reasonable to suppose.

It appears from the alteration of this play by Dryden and sir W. D'Avenant, that they considered the present passage in this light :

———“ Fair excellence,

“ If, as your form declares, you are divine,

“ Be pleas'd to instruct me, how you will be worship'd ;

“ So bright a beauty cannot sure belong

“ To human kind.”

In a subsequent scene we have again the same inquiry :

Alon. Is she the goddess that hath sever'd us,

And brought us thus together ?

Fer. Sir, she's mortal.

Our author might have remembered Lodge's description of Fawnia, the Perdita of his *Winter's Tale* : “ Yet he scarce knew her, “ for she had attired herself in rich apparel, which so increased “ her beauty, that she resembled rather an *angel* than a *creature*.” *Dorastus and Fawnia*, 1592.

So also, (as Dr. Farmer has observed) in Stanyhurst's translation of Virgil, 1583 :

“ O to thee, faire virgin, what terme may rightly be fitted ?

“ Thy tongue, thy visage, no mortal frayltie resembleth.

“ ——— No doubt, a goddesse !” MALONE.

What

What wert thou, if the king of Naples heard thee ?

Fer. A single thing, as I am now, that wonders
To hear thee speak of Naples : He does hear me ;
And, that he does, I weep : myself am Naples ;
Who with mine eyes, ne'er since at ebb, beheld
The king my father wreck'd.

Mira. Alack, for mercy !

Fer. Yes, faith, and all his lords ; the duke of Milan,
And his brave son, being twain ⁷.

Pro. The duke of Milan,
And his more braver daughter, could control thee ⁸,
If now 'twere fit to do't :—At the first sight [*Aside.*
They have chang'd eyes :—Delicate Ariel,
I'll set thee free for this.—A word, good sir ;
I fear, you have done yourself some wrong ⁹ : a word.

Mira. Why speaks my father so ungently ? This
Is the third man that I saw e'er ; the first,
That e'er I sigh'd for : pity move my father
To be inclin'd my way !

Fer. O, if a virgin,
And your affection not gone forth, I'll make you
The queen of Naples.

Pro. Soft, sir ; one word more.—
They are both in either's powers : but this swift business
I must uneasy make, lest too light winning [*Aside.*
Make the prize light.—One word more ; I charge thee,
That thou attend me : thou dost here usurp
The name thou ow'st not ; and hast put thyself
Upon this island, as a spy, to win it
From me, the lord on't.

Fer. No, as I am a man.

⁷ *And his brave son, being twain.*] This is a slight forgetfulness. Nobody was lost in the wreck, yet we find no such character introduced in the fable as the son of the duke of Milan. THEOBALD.

⁸ ——— *control thee,*] Confute thee, unanswerably contradict thee. JOHNSON.

⁹ *I fear, you have done yourself some wrong :*] i. e. I fear that in asserting yourself to be king of Naples, you have uttered a falsehood, which is below your character, and consequently injurious to your honour. So, in the *Merry Wives of Windsor* : “ This is not well, master Ford, this wrongs you.” STEEVENS.

Mira.

Mira. There's nothing ill can dwell in such a temple :
If the ill spirit have so fair an house,
Good things will strive to dwell with't.

Pro. Follow me.— [to FERD.
Speak not you for him ; he's a traitor.—Come.
I'll manacle thy neck and feet together :
Sea-water shalt thou drink, thy food shall be
'The fresh-brook muscles, wither'd roots, and husks
Wherein the acorn cradled : Follow.

Fer. No ;
I will resist such entertainment, till
Mine enemy has more power. [He draws,

Mira. O dear father,
Make not too rash a trial of him, for
He's gentle, and not fearful¹.

Pro. What, I say,
My foot my tutor² ! Put thy sword up, traitor ;
Who mak'st a shew, but dar'st not strike, thy conscience
Is so possess'd with guilt : come from thy ward³ ;
For I can here disarm thee with this stick,
And make thy weapon drop.

Mira. Beseech you, father !

Pro. Hence ; hang not on my garments.

Mira. Sir, have pity ;
I'll be his surety.

Pro. Silence : one word more
Shall make me chide thee, if not hate thee. What,
An advocate for an impostor ? hush !
Thou think'st, there are no more such shapes as he,
Having seen but him and Caliban ; Foolish wench !
To the most of men this is a Caliban,
And they to him are angels.

¹ *He's gentle, and not fearful.*] i. e. terrible ; producing fear. In our author's age *fearful* was much more frequently used in the sense of *formidable* than that of *timorous*. MALONE.

² *My foot my tutor !*] So, in the *Mirroure for Magistrates*, 1587, p. 163 :

“ What honest heart would not conceive disdayne,

“ To see the foot surmount above the head ?” HENDERSON.

³ — *come from thy ward ;*] Desist from any hope of awing me by that posture of defence. JOHNSON.

Mira. My affections
Are then most humble ; I have no ambition
To see a goodlier man.

Pro. Come on ; obey : [*to FERDINAND.*
Thy nerves are in their infancy again ⁴ ;
And have no vigour in them.

Fer. So they are :
My spirits, as in a dream, are all bound up ⁵.
My father's loss, the weakness which I feel,
The wreck of all my friends, or this man's threats,
To whom I am subdued, are but light to me ⁶,
Might I but through my prison once a day
Behold this maid : all corners else o' the earth
Let liberty make use of ; space enough
Have I, in such a prison.

Pro. It works :—Come on.—
Thou hast done well, fine Ariel !—Follow me.—
[*to FERD. and MIR.*
Hark, what thou else shalt do me. [*to ARIEL.*

Mira. Be of comfort ;
My father's of a better nature, fir,
Than he appears by speech ; this is unwonted,
Which now came from him.

Pro. Thou shalt be as free
As mountain winds : but then exactly do
All points of my command.

Ari. To the syllable.

Pro. Come, follow : speak not for him. [*Exeunt.*

⁴ *Thy nerves are in their infancy again,*] So Milton in his *Masque at Ludlow Castle*:

“ Thy nerves are all bound up in alabaster.” STEEVENS.

⁵ *My spirits, as in a dream, are all bound up,*] Alluding to a common sensation in dreams ; when we struggle, but with a total impuissance in our endeavours, to run, strike, &c. WARBURTON.

⁶ — *are but light to me,*] This passage, as it stands at present, with all allowances for poetical licence, cannot be reconciled to grammar. I suspect that our author wrote — “ *were* but light to me,” in the sense of—*would be*.—In the preceding line the old copy reads—*nor* this man's threats. The emendation was made by Mr. Steevens. MALONE.

A C T II. S C E N E I.

Another part of the island.

Enter ALONSO, SEBASTIAN, ANTHONIO, GONZALO,
ADRIAN, FRANCISCO, *and Others.*

Gon. Beseech you, sir, be merry : you have cause
(So have we all) of joy ; for our escape
Is much beyond our loss : Our hint of woe ⁷
Is common ; every day, some sailer's wife,
The masters of some merchant, and the merchant,
Have just our theme of woe : but for the miracle,
I mean our preservation, few in millions
Can speak like us : then wisely, good sir, weigh
Our sorrow with our comfort.

Alon. Pr'ythee, peace.

Seb. He receives comfort like cold porridge.

Ant. The visitor ⁸ will not give him o'er so.

Seb. Look, he's winding up the watch of his wit ; by
and by it will strike.

Gon. Sir,—

Seb. One :—Tell.

Gon. When every grief is entertain'd, that's offer'd,
Comes to the entertainer—

Seb. A dollar.

Gon. Dolour comes to him, indeed ⁹ ; you have spoken
truer than you purpos'd.

Seb. You have taken it wiselier than I meant you should.

Gon. Therefore, my lord,—

Ant. Fie, what a spend-thrift is he of his tongue !

⁷ *Our hint of woe—*] *Hint* is that which recalls to the memory.
The cause that fills our minds with grief is common. JOHNSON.

⁸ *The visitor—*] Gonzalo gives not only advice, but comfort, and is
therefore properly called *The visitor*, like others who visit the sick or
distressed to give them consolation. In some of the Protestant churches
there is a kind of officers termed Consolators for the sick. JOHNSON.

⁹ *Dolour comes to him, indeed ;*] The same quibble occurs in *the*
Tragedy of Hoffman, 1637 :

“ And his reward be thirteen hundred dollars,

“ For he hath driven *dolour* from our heart.” STEEVENS.

Alon. I pr'ythee, spare.

Gon. Well, I have done : But yet—

Seb. He will be talking.

Ant. Which of them, he, or Adrian, for a good wager, first begins to crow ?

Seb. The old cock.

Ant. The cockrel.

Seb. Done : The wager ?

Ant. A laughter.

Seb. A match.

Adr. Though this island seem to be desert,—

Seb. Ha, ha, ha !

Ant. So, you've pay'd ¹.

Adr. Uninhabitable, and almost inaccessible.

Seb. Yet,

Adr. Yet—

Ant. He could not miss it.

Adr. It must needs be of subtle, tender, and delicate temperance ².

Ant. Temperance was a delicate wench ³.

Seb. Ay, and a subtle ; as he most learnedly deliver'd.

Adr. The air breathes upon us here most sweetly.

Seb. As if it had lungs, and rotten ones.

Ant. Or, as 'twere perfum'd by a fen.

Gon. Here is every thing advantageous to life.

Ant. True ; save means to live.

Seb. Of that there's none, or little.

Gon. How lush ⁴ and lusty the grass looks ? how green ?

¹ — *you've pay'd.*] Old Copy—*you'r paid.* Corrected by Mr. Steevens. To *pay* sometimes signified—to *beat*, but I have never met with it in a metaphorical sense ; otherwise I should have thought the reading of the folio right : you are *beaten* ; you have *lost*. MALONE.

² — *temperance.*] *Temperance* here means *temperature*. STEEVENS.

³ *Temperance was a delicate wench.*] In the puritanical times it was usual to christen children from the titles of religious and moral virtues. STEEVENS.

⁴ *How lush &c.*] *Lush*, i. e. of a dark full colour, the opposite to *pale* and *faint*. Sir T. HANMER.

The word is still used in the midland counties in this sense. Mr. Henley, however, is of opinion that *lush* here signifies—*rank*. So, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* :

“ Quite overcanopied with *lushious* woodbine.”

I think Sir T. Hanmer's interpretation is right. MALONE.

Ant.

Ant. The ground, indeed, is tawny.

Seb. With an eye of green in't ⁵.

Ant. He misses not much.

Seb. No; he doth but mistake the truth totally.

Gon. But the rarity of it is, (which is indeed almost beyond credit,)—

Seb. As many vouch'd rarities are.

Gon. That our garments, being, as they were, drench'd in the sea, hold notwithstanding their freshness, and glosses; being rather new dy'd, than stain'd with salt water.

Ant. If but one of his pockets could speak, would it not say, he lies?

Seb. Ay, or very falsely pocket up his report.

Gon. Methinks, our garments are now as fresh as when we put them on first in Africk, at the marriage of the king's fair daughter Claribel * to the king of Tunis.

Seb. 'Twas a sweet marriage, and we prosper well in our return.

Adr. Tunis was never grac'd before with such a paragon to their queen.

Gon. Not since widow Dido's time.

Ant. Widow? a pox o' that! How came that widow in? Widow Dido ⁶!

⁵ *With an eye of green in't.*] An eye is a small shade of colour. STEEV.

* *Claribel*] Shakspeare might have found this name in the bl. l. *History of George Lord Fauconbridge*, a pamphlet that he probably read when he was writing *King John*. CLARABEL is there the concubine of King Richard I. and the mother of Lord Falconbridge. MALONE.

⁶ —*Widow Dido*!] The name of a widow brings to their minds their own shipwreck, which they consider as having made many widows in Naples. JOHNSON.

Perhaps our author remembered "An inscription for the statue of Dido," copied from Ausonius, and inserted in *Davison's Poems*:

"O most unhappy *Dido*,

"Unhappy wife, and more unhappy *widow*!

"Unhappy in thy mate,

"And in thy lover more unfortunate! &c."

The edition from whence I have transcribed these lines was printed in 1621, but there was a former in 1608, and another some years before, as I collect from the following passage in a letter from Mr. John Chamberlain to Mr. Carleton, July 8, 1602: "It seems young Davison means to take another course, and turn poet, for he hath lately *set out* certain sonnets and epigrams." Chamberlain's Letters, Vol. I. among Dr. Birch's Mss. in the British Museum. MALONE.

Seb. What if he had said, widower Æneas too? good lord, how you take it!

Adr. Widow Dido, said you? you make me study of that: She was of Carthage, not of Tunis.

Gon. This Tunis, sir, was Carthage.

Adr. Carthage?

Gon. I assure you, Carthage.

Ant. His word is more than the miraculous harp ⁷.

Seb. He hath rais'd the wall, and houses too.

Ant. What impossible matter will he make easy next?

Seb. I think, he will carry this island home in his pocket, and give it his son for an apple.

Ant. And, sowing the kernels of it in the sea, bring forth more islands.

Gon. Ay?

Ant. Why, in good time.

Gon. Sir, we were talking, that our garments seem now as fresh, as when we were at Tunis at the marriage of your daughter, who is now queen.

Ant. And the rarest that e'er came there.

Seb. Bate, I beseech you, widow Dido.

Ant. O, widow Dido; ay, widow Dido.

Gon. Is not, sir, my doublet as fresh as the first day I wore it? I mean, in a sort.

Ant. That sort was well fish'd for.

Gon. When I wore it at your daughter's marriage?

Alon. You cram these words into mine ears, against
The stomach of my sense ⁸: 'Would I had never
Marry'd my daughter there! for, coming thence,
My son is lost; and, in my rate, she too,
Who is so far from Italy remov'd,
I ne'er again shall see her. O thou mine heir
Of Naples and of Milan, what strange fish
Hath made his meal on thee!

Fran. Sir, he may live;

⁷ —the miraculous harp.] Alluding to the wonders of Amphiön's music. STEEVENS.

⁸ The stomach of my sense:] By *sense*, I believe is meant both *reason* and *natural affection*. So, in *Measure for Measure*:

"Against all *sense* do you importune her." STEEVENS.

I saw him beat the surges under him,
 And ride upon their backs ; he trod the water,
 Whose enmity he flung aside, and breast'd
 The surge most swoln that met him : his bold head
 'Bove the contentious waves he kept, and oar'd
 Himself with his good arms in lusty stroke
 To the shore, that o'er his wave-worn basis bow'd,
 As stooping to relieve him : I not doubt,
 He came alive to land.

Alon. No, no, he's gone.

Seb. Sir, you may thank yourself for this great loss ;
 That would not bless our Europe with your daughter,
 But rather lose her to an African ;
 Where she, at least, is banish'd from your eye,
 Who hath cause to wet the grief on't.

Alon Pr'ythee, peace.

Seb. You were kneel'd to, and importun'd otherwise
 By all of us ; and the fair soul herself
 Weigh'd, between lothness and obedience, at
 Which end o' the beam she'd bow⁹. We have lost your
 son,

I fear, for ever : Milan and Naples have
 More widows in them of this business' making,
 Than we bring men to comfort them¹ : the fault's
 Your own.

⁹ Weigh'd, between lothness and obedience, at

Which end o' the beam she'd bow.] *Weigh'd* means deliberated. It is used in nearly the same sense in *Love's Labour's lost* and in *Hamlet*. The old copy reads—*should* bow. *Should* was probably an abbreviation of *she would*, the mark of elision being inadvertently omitted [*sho'uld*]. Thus *be has* is frequently exhibited in the first folio—*b'as*. Mr. Pope corrected the passage thus : " at which end the beam should bow." But omission of any word in the old copy, without substituting another in it's place, is seldom safe, except in those instances where the repeated word appears to have been caught by the compositor's eye glancing on the line above, or below, or where a word is printed twice in the same line. MALONE.

¹ *Than we bring men to comfort them :*] It does not clearly appear whether the king and these lords thought the ship lost. This passage seems to imply, that they were themselves confident of returning, but imagined part of the fleet destroyed. Why, indeed, should Sebastian plot against his brother in the following scene, unless he knew how to find the kingdom which he was to inherit? JOHNSON.

Alon. So is the dearest o' the loss.

Gon. My lord Sebastian,

The truth you speak doth lack some gentleness,

And time to speak it in: you rub the sore,

When you should bring the plaister.

Seb. Very well.

Ant. And most chirurgionly.

Gon. It is foul weather in us all, good fir,

When you are cloudy.

Seb. Foul weather?

Ant. Very foul.

Gon. Had I plantation of this isle, my lord,—

Ant. He'd sow it with nettle-seed.

Seb. Or docks, or mallows.

Gon. And were the king of it, What would I do?

Seb. 'Scape being drunk, for want of wine.

Gon. I' the commonwealth I would by contraries

Execute all things: for no kind of traffick

Would I admit; no name of magistrate;

Letters

2 ————— for no kind of traffick

Would I admit; no name of magistrate; &c.] Our author has here closely followed a passage in Montaigne's *ESSAYS*, translated by John Florio, folio, 1603: "It is a nation, (would I answer Plato,) that hath no kind of trafficke, no knowledge of letters, no intelligence of numbers, no name of magistrate, nor of politick superioritie; no use of service, of riches, or of povertie; no contracts, no successions, no partitions; no occupation, but idle; no respect of kindred, but common; no apparel but natural; no use of wine, corne, or metal. The very words that import lying, falsehood, treason, dissimulations, covetousness, envie, detraction and pardon, were never heard amongst them." This passage was pointed out by Mr. Capell, who knew so little of his author as to suppose that Shakspere had the original French before him, though he has almost literally followed Florio's translation.

Montaigne is here speaking of a newly discovered country which he calls "Antartick France." In the page preceding that already quoted are these words: "The other testimonie of antiquitie to which some will refer the discoverie is in Aristotle, (if at least that little book of unheard-of wonders be his,) where he reporteth that certain Carthaginians having sailed ashwart the Atlantick sea, without the strait of Gibraltar, discovered a great fertile ISLAND, all replenished with goodly woods, and deep rivers, farre distant from any land."

Whoever shall take the trouble to turn to the old translation here quoted, will, I think, be of opinion that, in whatsoever novel our author might

Letters should not be known ; riches, poverty,
And use of service, none ; contract, succession,
Bourn, bound of land ³, tilth, vineyard, none ⁴ :
No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil :
No occupation ; all men idle, all ;
And women too ; but innocent and pure :
No sovereignty :—

Seb. And yet he would be king on't.

Ant. The latter end of his commonwealth forgets the beginning.

Gon. All things in common nature should produce
Without sweat or endeavour : treason, felony,
Sword, pike, knife, gun, or need of any engine ⁵,

Would

might have found the *fable of the Tempest*, he was led by the perusa of this book to make the *scene* of it an unfrequented island. The title of the chapter, which is—"Of the Canniballes," evidently furnished him with the name of one of his characters. In his time almost every proper name was twisted into an anagram. Thus, "*I moyl in law*," was the anagram of the laborious William Noy, Attorney General to Charles I. By inverting this process, and transposing the letters of the word *Canibal*, Shakspeare (as Dr. Farmer long since observed) formed the name of *Caliban*. MALONE.

³ Bourn, bound of land, &c.] A bourn, in this place, signifies a limit, a meer, a land-mark. STEEVENS.

⁴ And use of service, none ; contract, succession,

Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none :] The defective metre of the second of these lines affords a ground for believing that some word was omitted at the press. Many of the defects however in our author's metre have arisen from the words of one line being transferred to another. In the present instance the preceding line is redundant. Perhaps the words here, as in many other passages, have been shuffled out of their places. We might read—

And use of service, none ; succession,

Contract, bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none.

succession being often used by Shakspeare as a quadrisyllable. It must however be owned, that in the passage in Montaigne's *Essays* the words *contract* and *succession* are arranged in the same manner as in the first folio.

If the error did not happen in this way, *bourn* might have been used as a dissyllable, and the word omitted at the press might have been none :

—————contract, succession,

None ; bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none. MALONE.

⁵ —any engine,] An engine is the rack. So, in *K. Lear* :

"—like an engine, wrench'd my frame of nature

"From the fix'd place."

Would I not have ; but nature should bring forth,
Of its own kind, all foizon⁶, all abundance,
To feed my innocent people⁷.

Seb. No marrying 'mong his subjects ?

Ant. None, man : all idle ; whores, and knaves.

Gon. I would with such perfection govern, fir,
To excell the golden age⁸.

Seb. 'Save his majesty !

Ant. Long live Gonzalo !

Gon. And, do you mark me, fir ?—

Alon. Pr'ythee, no more ; thou dost talk nothing to me.

Gon. I do well believe your highness ; and did it to minister occasion to these gentlemen, who are of such sensible and nimble lungs, that they always use to laugh at nothing.

Ant. 'Twas you we laugh'd at.

Gon. Who, in this kind of merry fooling, am nothing to you : so you may continue, and laugh at nothing still.

Ant. What a blow was there given ?

Seb. An it had not fallen flat-long.

Gon. You are gentlemen of brave mettle⁹ ; you would

It may, however, be used here in its common signification of instrument of war, or military machine. STEEVENS.

⁶ —all foizon,] *Foison* or *Foizon* signifies plenty, *ubertas*. EDWARDS.

⁷ ————— nature should bring forth,

Of its own kind, all foison, all abundance,

To feed my innocent people.] “ And if notwithstanding, in divers fruits of those countries that were never tilled, we shall find that in respect of our's they are most excellent, and as delicate unto our taste, there is no reason Art should gain the point of our great and puissant mother, *Nature*.” Montaigne's *Essaies*, ubi sup. MALONE.

⁸ *I would with such perfection govern, fir,*

To excell the golden age.] So Montaigne, ubi supra: “ Me seemeth that what in those [newly discovered] nations we see by experience, doth not only EXCEED all the pictures wherewith licentious poesie hath proudly imbellished the GOLDEN AGE, and all her quaint inventions to fain a happy condition of man, but also the conception and desire of philosophy.” MALONE.

⁹ —of brave mettle ;] The old copy has—*metal*. The two words are frequently confounded in the first folio. The epithet, *brave*, shews clearly, that the word now placed in the text was intended by our author. MALONE.

lift the moon out of her sphere, if she would continue in it five weeks without changing.

Enter ARIEL invisible, playing solemn musick.

Seb. We would so, and then go a bat-fowling.

Ant. Nay, good my lord, be not angry.

Gon. No, I warrant you ; I will not adventure my discretion so weakly. Will you laugh me asleep, for I am very heavy ?

Ant. Go sleep, and hear us.

[All sleep but ALON. SEB. and ANT.]

Alon. What, all so soon asleep ! I wish mine eyes Would, with themselves, shut up my thoughts : I find, They are inclin'd to do so.

Seb. Please you, sir,
Do not omit the heavy offer of it :
It seldom visits sorrow ; when it doth,
It is a comforter.

Ant. We two, my lord,
Will guard your person, while you take your rest,
And watch your safety.

Alon. Thank you : Wond'rous heavy.—

[Alonso sleeps. Exit ARIEL.]

Seb. What a strange drowsiness possesses them ?

Ant. It is the quality o' the climate.

Seb. Why
Doth it not then our eye-lids sink ? I find not
Myself dispos'd to sleep.

Ant. Nor I ; my spirits are nimble.
They fell together all, as by consent ;
They dropp'd, as by a thunder-stroke. What might,
Worthy Sebastian ?—o, what might ?—No more :—
And yet, methinks, I see it in thy face,
What thou should'st be : the occasion speaks thee ; and
My strong imagination sees a crown
Dropping upon thy head.

Seb. What, art thou waking ?

Ant. Do you not hear me speak ?

Seb. I do ; and, surely,
It is a sleepy language ; and thou speak'st

Out

Out of thy sleep: What is it thou did'st say?
 This is a strange repose, to be asleep
 With eyes wide open; standing, speaking, moving,
 And yet so fast asleep.

Ant. Noble Sebastian,
 Thou let'st thy fortune sleep, die rather; wink'st
 Whiles thou art waking.

Seb. Thou dost snore distinctly;
 There's meaning in thy snores.

Ant. I am more serious than my custom: you
 Must be so too, if heed me; which to do,
 Trebles thee o'er¹.

Seb. Well; I am standing water.

Ant. I'll teach you how to flow.

Seb. Do so: to ebb,
 Hereditary sloth instructs me.

Ant. O,
 If you but knew, how you the purpose cherish,
 Whilst thus you mock it! how, in stripping it,
 You more invest it! Ebbing men, indeed,
 Most often do so near the bottom run,
 By their own fear, or sloth.

Seb. Pr'ythee, say on:
 The setting of thine eye, and cheek, proclaim
 A matter from thee; and a birth, indeed,
 Which throes thee much to yield.

Ant. Thus, sir:

¹ *I am more serious than my custom; you
 Must be so too, if heed me; which to do*

Trebles thee o'er.] You must put on more than your usual seriousness, if you are disposed to pay a proper attention to my proposal; which attention if you bestow, it will in the end make you *thrice what you are*. Sebastian is already brother to the throne; but being made a king by Anthonio's contrivance, would be (according to our author's idea of greatness) *thrice* the man he was before. In this sense he would be *trebled* o'er. So, in *Pericles*, 1609:

" ——— the master calls,

"And *trebles* the confusion." STEEVENS.

Again, in the *Merchant of Venice*:

" ——— Yet, for you,

"I would be *trebled* twenty times myself." MALONE.

Although this lord of weak remembrance ², this,
 (Who shall be of as little memory,
 When he is earth'd,) hath here almost persuaded
 (For he's a spirit of persuasion, only
 Professes to persuade³,) the king, his son's alive;
 'Tis as impossible that he's undrown'd,
 As he, that sleeps here, swims.

Seb. I have no hope
 That he's undrown'd.

Ant. O, out of that no hope,
 What great hope have you! no hope, that way, is
 Another way so high an hope, that even
 Ambition cannot pierce a wink beyond ⁴,
 But doubts discovery there. Will you grant, with me,
 That Ferdinand is drown'd?

Seb. He's gone.

Ant. Then, tell me,
 Who's the next heir of Naples?

Seb. Claribel.

Ant. She that is queen of Tunis; she that dwells
 Ten leagues beyond man's life; she that from Naples
 Can have no note ⁵, unless the sun were post,

² — *this lord of weak remembrance,*] This lord, who, being now in his dotage, has outlived his faculty of remembering; and who, once laid in the ground, shall be as little remembered himself, as he can now remember other things. JOHNSON.

³ (*For he's a spirit of persuasion, only Professes to persuade,*)] He is one who professes the art of persuasion, and professes nothing else. STEEVENS.

⁴ — *a wink beyond,*] That this is the utmost extent of the prospect of ambition, the point where the eye can pass no farther, and where objects lose their distinctness, so that what is there discovered is faint, obscure, and doubtful. JOHNSON.

⁵ — *she that from Naples*

Can have no note, &c.] Note is notice, or information. MALONE.

Shakspeare's great ignorance of geography is not more conspicuous in any instance than in this, where he supposes Tunis and Naples to have been at such an immeasurable distance from each other. He may however be countenanced by *Apollonius Rhodius*, who says, that both the *Rhone* and *Po* meet in one, and discharge themselves into the gulph of *Venice*; and by *Æschylus*, who has placed the river *Eridanus* in *Spain*. STEEVENS.

(The

(The man i' the moon's too slow,) till new-born chins
Be rough and razorable; she, from whom ⁶
We all were sea-swallow'd, though some cast again ⁷;
And, by that destiny ⁸, to perform an act,
Whereof what's past is prologue; what to come,
In yours, and my discharge ⁹.

Seb. What stuff is this?—How say you?
'Tis true, my brother's daughter's queen of Tunis;
So is she heir of Naples; 'twixt which regions
There is some space.

Ant. A space whose every cubit
Seems to cry out, *How shall that Claribel*
Measure us back to Naples?—Keep in Tunis ¹,
And let Sebastian wake!—Say, this were death
That now hath seiz'd them; why, they were no worse
Than now they are: There be, that can rule Naples,
As well as he that sleeps; lords, that can prate
As amply, and unnecessarily,
As this Gonzalo; I myself could make
A chough ² of as deep chat. O, that you bore
The mind that I do! what a sleep were this
For your advancement? Do you understand me?

Seb. Methinks, I do.

Ant. And how does your content
Tender your own good fortune?

Seb. I remember,

⁶ —*she, from whom*] i. e. in coming from whom. The old copy has—*she that* from &c; which cannot be right. The compositor's eye probably glanced on a preceding line, "*she that* from Naples—". The emendation was made by Mr. Rowe. MALONE.

⁷ —*though some cast again*;) *Cast* is here used in the same sense as in *Macbeth*, Act II. sc. iii.—"though he took my legs from me, I made a shift to *cast* him." STEEVENS.

⁸ *And, by that destiny*,] It is a common plea of wickedness to call temptation destiny. JOHNSON.

⁹ *In yours, and my discharge.*] i. e. Depends on what you and I are to perform. STEEVENS.

¹ —*Keep in Tunis*,] *Claribel*, (says he) *keep where thou art*, and allow Sebastian time to awaken those senses, by the help of which he may perceive the advantage which now presents itself. STEEVENS.

² A chough is a bird of the jack-daw kind. STEEVENS.

You did supplant your brother Prospero.

Ant. True :

And, look, how well my garments sit upon me ;
Much feater than before : My brother's servants
Were then my fellows, now they are my men.

Seb. But, for your conscience—

Ant. Ay, sir ; where lies that ? if it were a kybe,
'Twould put me to my slipper ; but I feel not
This deity in my bosom : twenty consciences,
That stand 'twixt me and Milan, candy'd be they,
And melt, ere they molest ³ ! Here lies your brother,
No better than the earth he lies upon,
If he were that which now he's like, that's, dead ⁴ ;
Whom I with this obedient steel, three inches of it,
Can lay to bed for ever : whiles you, doing thus,
To the perpetual wink for aye ⁵ might put
This ancient morsel ⁶, this sir Prudence, who
Should not upbraid our course. For all the rest,
They'll take suggestion ⁷, as a cat laps milk ;
They'll tell the clock to any business that
We say befits the hour.

Seb. Thy case, dear friend,
Shall be my precedent ; as thou got'st Milan,
I'll come by Naples. Draw thy sword : one stroke
Shall free thee from the tribute which thou pay'st ;
And I the king shall love thee.

³ ———candy'd be they,

And melt, ere they molest !] i. e. Let twenty consciences be first
congealed, and then dissolved, ere they molest me, or prevent me from
executing my purposes. MALONE.

⁴ — *that's, dead ;*] *That's* is not here used for *who* is, but (as Mr.
Steevens has observed) for "*id est*." *If he were that which now he's*
like, that is to say, *dead*. MALONE.

⁵ —*for aye*—i. e. for ever. STEEVENS.

⁶ *This ancient morsel,*] So we say a *piece of a man*. JOHNSON.

So, in *Measure for Measure*:

"How doth my dear morsel, thy mistress?" STEEVENS.

So, in *Antony and Cleopatra*:

"——— I found thee as a morsel cold,

"Upon dead Cæsar's trencher." MALONE.

⁷ —*take suggestion,*] i. e. receive any hint of villainy. JOHNSON.

Ant.

Ant. Draw together :
And when I rear my hand, do you the like,
To fall it on Gonzalo.

Seb. O, but one word. [*They converse apart.*]

Musick. Re-enter ARIEL *invisible.*

Ari. My master through his art foresees the danger
That you, his friend, are in ; and sends me forth,
For else his project dies, to keep them living ^s.

[*Sings in Gonzalo's ear.*]

While you here do snoring lie,

Open-ey'd conspiracy

His time doth take :

If of life you keep a care,

Shake off slumber, and beware :

Awake ! awake !

Ant. Then let us both be sudden.

Gon. Now, good angels, preserve the king ! [*They wake.*]
Alon.

^s —to keep them living.] By *them*, as the text now stands, Gonzalo and Alonzo must be understood. Dr. Johnson objects very justly to this passage. "As it stands, says he, at present, the sense is this. He sees your danger, and will therefore save *them*." He therefore would read —"That *these* his friends are in."

The confusion has, I think, arisen from the omission of a single letter. Our author, I believe, wrote

———— and sends me forth,

For else his projects dies, to keep them living.

i. e. he has sent me forth, to keep his projects alive, which else would be destroyed by the murder of his friend Gonzalo.—The opposition between the life and death of a project appears to me much in Shakspeare's manner. So, in *Much ado about nothing* : What life is in that, to be the death of this marriage ?"—The plural noun joined to a verb in the singular number is to be met with in almost every page of the first folio. So, to confine myself to the play before us, edit. 1623 :

"My old bones akes."

Again, *ibid* :

——"At this hour

"Lies at my mercy all my enemies."

Again, *ibid* :

"His tears runs down his beard—."

Again : "What cares these roarers for the name of the king ?"

It was the common language of the time ; and ought to be corrected, as indeed it generally has been in the modern editions of our author,
by

Alon. Why, how now, ho! awake! Why are you drawn?

Wherefore this ghastly looking?

Gon. What's the matter?

Seb. Whiles we stood here securing your repose,
Even now, we heard a hollow burst of bellowing
Like bulls, or rather lions; did it not wake you?
It struck mine ear most terribly.

Alon. I heard nothing.

Ant. O, 'twas a din to fright a monster's ear;
To make an earthquake! sure, it was the roar
Of a whole herd of lions.

Alon. Heard you this, Gonzalo?

Gon. Upon mine honour, sir, I heard a humming,
And that a strange one too, which did awake me:
I shak'd you, sir, and cry'd; as mine eyes open'd,
I saw their weapons drawn:—there was a noise,
That's verity¹: 'Tis best we stand upon our guard;
Or that we quit this place: let's draw our weapons.

Alon. Lead off this ground: and let's make further
search

For my poor son.

Gon. Heavens keep him from these beasts!
For he is, sure, i' the island.

Alon. Lead away.

Ari. Prospero my lord shall know what I have done:

So, king, go safely on to seek thy son. *[Aside.*
[Exeunt.

by changing the number of the verb. Thus, in the present instance we should read—For eût his projects *die*, &c. MALONE.

⁹ —drawn?] Having your swords drawn. So, in *Romeo and Juliet*:

“What, art thou *drawn* among these heartless hinds?”

JOHNSON.

¹ *That's verity*:] The old copy reads, that's *verily*. STEEVENS.

The emendation was made by Mr. Pope. MALONE.

S C E N E II.

Another part of the island.

Enter CALIBAN with a burden of wood:

A noise of thunder heard.

Cal. All the infections that the sun sucks up
From bogs, fens, flats, on Prosper fall, and make him
By inch-meal a disease! His spirits hear me,
And yet I needs must curse. But they'll nor pinch,
Fright me with urchin shows, pitch me i' the mire,
Nor lead me, like a fire-brand, in the dark
Out of my way, unless he bid 'em; but
For every trifle are they set upon me;
Sometime like apes, that moe² and chatter at me,
And after, bite me; then like hedge-hogs, which
Lie tumbling in my bare-foot way, and mount
Their pricks at my foot-fall; sometime am I
All wound with adders³, who, with cloven tongues,
Do hiss me into madness:—Lo! now! lo!

Enter TRINCULO.

Here comes a spirit of his; and to torment me,
For bringing wood in slowly: I'll fall flat;
Perchance, he will not mind me.

Trin. Here's neither bush nor shrub, to bear off any
weather at all, and another storm brewing; I hear it sing
i' the wind: yond' same black cloud, yond' huge one,
looks like a foul bombard⁴ that would shed his liquor.
If it should thunder, as it did before, I know not where
to hide my head: yond' same cloud cannot choose but
fall by pailfuls.—What have we here? a man or a fish?
Dead or alive? A fish: he smells like a fish; a very an-
tient and fish-like smell; a kind of, not of the newest,

² —that moe] i. e. Make mouths. STEEVENS.

³ —wound with adders,] Enwrapped by adders wound or twisted about me. JOHNSON.

⁴ —a foul bombard—] A large vessel for holding drink. THEOBALD.

Mr. Upton would read—a full bombard. See a note on—"I thank the Gods, I am foul;" *As you like it*, Act. III. sc. iii. MALONE.

Poor-John. A strange fish! Were I in England now, (as once I was,) and had but this fish painted ⁵, not a holiday fool there but would give a piece of silver: there would this monster make a man ⁶; any strange beast there makes a man: when they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian ⁷. Legg'd like a man! and his fins like arms! Warm, o' my troth! I do now let loose my opinion, hold it no longer; this is no fish, but an islander, that hath lately suffer'd by a thunder-bolt. [*Thunder.*] Alas! the storm is come again: my best way is to creep under his gaberdine ⁸; there is no other shelter hereabout: Misery acquaints a man with strange bedfellows: I will here shroud, till the dregs of the storm be past.

Enter STEPHANO, singing; a bottle in his hand.

Ste. *I shall no more to sea, to sea,
Here shall I die a-shore;—*

This is a very scurvy tune to sing at a man's funeral:
Well, here's my comfort. [*drinks.*]

*The master, the swabber, the boatswain, and I,
The gunner, and his mate,
Lov'd Mall, Meg, and Marian, and Margery,
But none of us car'd for Kate:*

For

⁵ —*this fish painted,*] To exhibit fishes, either real or imaginary, was very common about the time of our author. STEEVENS.

⁶ —*make a man;*] That is, make a man's fortune. So, in *Midsummer Night's Dream*:—"we are all made men." JOHNSON.

⁷ —*a dead Indian.*] And afterwards—*Men of Inde.* Probably some allusion to a particular occurrence, now obscured by time. In *Henry VIII.* the porter asks the mob, if they think—*some strange Indian &c. is come to court.*—In the year 1577 was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company, "A description of the purtrayture and shape of "those strange kinde of people whiche the wurthie Mr. Martin Fourbosier brought into England in A°. 1576." STEEVENS.

⁸ —*his gaberdine;*] A gaberdine is properly the coarse frock or outward garment of a peasant. *Gabardina*, Spanish. The gaberdine is still worn by the peasants in Sussex. STEEVENS.

It here however means, I believe, a loose felt cloak. Minshieu in his *DICT.* 1617, calls it "a rough Irish mantle, or horseman's coat. *Gaban*, Span. and Fr.—*Læna*, i. e. *vestis quæ super cætera*

*For ſhe had a tongue with a tang,
Would cry to a ſailor, Go, hang :
She lov'd not the ſavour of tar nor of pitch,
Yet a tailor might ſcratch her where-e'er ſhe did itch :
Then to ſea, boys, and let her go hang.*

This is a ſcurvy tune too : But here's my comfort. [*drinks.*

Cal. Do not torment me : Oh !

Ste. What's the matter ? Have we devils here ? Do you put tricks upon us with ſavages, and men of Inde ? Ha ! I have not 'ſcap'd drowning, to be aſeard now of your four legs ; for it hath been ſaid, As proper a man as ever went upon four legs cannot make him give ground : and it ſhall be ſaid ſo again, while Stephano breathes at noſtrils.

Cal. The ſpirit torments me : Oh !

Ste. This is ſome monſter of the iſle, with four legs ; who hath got, as I take it, an ague : Where the devil ſhould he learn our language ? I will give him ſome relief, if it be but for that : If I can recover him, and keep him tame, and get to Naples with him, he's a preſent for any emperor that ever trod on neats-leather.

Cal. Do not torment me, pr'ythee ; I'll bring my wood home faſter.

Ste. He's in his fit now ; and does not talk after the wiſeſt : He ſhall taſte of my bottle : if he have never drunk wine afore, it will go near to remove his fit : if I can recover him, and keep him tame, I will not take too much⁹ for him ; he ſhall pay for him that hath him, and that ſoundly.

Cal. Thou doſt me yet but little hurt ; thou wilt anon,

veſtimenta imponebatur." See alſo Cotgrave's *Dict.* in *v. gaban*, and *galleverdine*. MALONE.

⁹ —*too much*—] *Too much* means *any ſum, ever ſo much*. It has, however, been obſerved to me that when the vulgar mean to aſk an extravagant price for any thing, they ſay with a laugh, I won't make him pay twice for it. This ſenſe ſufficiently accommodates itſelf to Trinculo's expreſſion. STEEVENS.

I think the meaning is, Let me take what ſum I will, however great, I ſhall not take *too much* for him : it is impoſſible for me to ſell him too dear. MALONE.

I know

I know it by thy trembling¹: Now Prosper works upon thee.

Ste. Come on your ways; open your mouth; here is that which will give language to you, cat²; open your mouth: this will shake your shaking, I can tell you, and that soundly: you cannot tell who's your friend; open your chaps again.

Trin. I should know that voice: It should be—But he is drown'd; and these are devils: O! defend me!

Ste. Four legs, and two voices; a most delicate monster! His forward voice³ now is to speak well of his friend; his backward voice is to utter foul speeches, and to detract. If all the wine in my bottle will recover him, I will help his ague: Come,—Amen⁴! I will pour some in thy other mouth.

Trin. Stephano,—

Ste. Doth thy other mouth call me? Mercy! mercy! This is a devil, and no monster: I will leave him; I have no long spoon⁵.

Trin. Stephano!—if thou bee'st Stephano, touch me, and speak to me; for I am Trinculo;—be not afraid,—thy good friend Trinculo.

Ste. If thou bee'st Trinculo, come forth; I'll pull thee by the lesser legs: if any be Trinculo's legs, these are they. Thou art very Trinculo, indeed: How cam'st thou to be

¹ —*I know it by thy trembling:*] This tremor is always represented as the effect of being possess'd by the devil. So, in the *Comedy of Errors*:

“Mark how he trembles in his ecstasy!” STEEVENS.

² —*cat;*] Alluding to an old proverb, that *good liquor will make a cat speak.* STEEVENS.

³ *His forward voice &c.*] The person of Fame was anciently described in this manner. STEEVENS.

⁴ —*Amen!*] Means, stop your draught; come to a conclusion. *I will pour some &c.* STEEVENS.

⁵ *I have no long spoon.*] Alluding to the proverb, *A long spoon to eat with the devil.* STEEVENS.

See *Com. of Errors*, act IV. sc. iii. and Chaucer's *Squier's Tale*, ver. 10916 of the late edit.

“Therefore behoveth him a ful long spone,

“That shall ete with a fend.” TYRWHITT.

the siege of this moon-calf⁶? Can he vent Trinculos?

Trin. I took him to be kill'd with a thunder-stroke:—But art thou not drown'd, Stephano? I hope now, thou art not drown'd. Is the storm over-blown? I hid me under the dead moon-calf's gaberdine, for fear of the storm: And art thou living, Stephano? O Stephano, two Neapolitans 'scap'd!

Ste. Pr'ythee, do not turn me about; my stomach is not constant.

Cal. These be fine things, an if they be not sprights. That's a brave god, and bears celestial liquor: I will kneel to him.

Ste. How did'st thou 'scape? How cam'st thou hither? swear by this bottle, how thou cam'st hither. I escap'd upon a butt of sack, which the sailors heav'd over-board, by this bottle! which I made of the bark of a tree, with mine own hands, since I was cast a-shore.

Cal. I'll swear, upon that bottle, to be thy true subject; for the liquor is not earthly.

Ste. Here; swear then how thou escap'dst.

Trin. Swam a-shore, man, like a duck; I can swim⁷ like a duck, I'll be sworn.

Ste. Here, kiss the book: Though thou can'st swim like a duck, thou art made like a goose.

Trin. O Stephano, hast any more of this?

Ste. The whole butt, man; my cellar is in a rock by the sea-side, where my wine is hid. How now, moon-calf? how does thine ague?

Cal. Hast thou not dropp'd from Heaven⁸?

Ste. Out o' the moon, I do assure thee: I was the man in the moon, when time was.

⁶ —to be the siege of this moon-calf?] *Siege* signifies *fool*, in every sense of the word, and is here used in the dirtiest. A *moon-calf* is an inanimate shapeless mass, supposed by Pliny to be engendered of woman only. See his *Nat. Hist.* b. x. ch. 64. STEEVENS.

⁷ I can swim—] I believe Trinculo is speaking of Caliban, and that we should read—"a can swim" &c. See the next speech. MALONE.

⁸ Hast thou not dropp'd from heaven?] The new-discovered Indians of the Island of St. Salvador asked, by signs, whether Columbus and his companions were not come down from heaven. TOLLET.

Cal. I have seen thee in her, and I do adore thee : my mistress shew'd me thee, and thy dog, and thy bush.

Ste. Come, swear to that ; kiss the book : I will furnish it anon with new contents : swear.

Trin. By this good light this is a very shallow monster :—I afeard of him ?—a very weak monster⁹ :—The man i' the moon ?—a most poor credulous monster :—Well drawn, monster, in good sooth.

Cal. I'll shew thee every fertile inch o' the island ; And I will kiss thy foot¹ : I pr'ythee, be my god.

Trin. By this light, a most perfidious and drunken monster ; when his god's asleep, he'll rob his bottle.

Cal. I'll kiss thy foot : I'll swear myself thy subject.

Ste. Come on then ; down, and swear.

Trin. I shall laugh myself to death at this puppy-headed monster : A most scurvy monster ! I could find in my heart to beat him,—

Ste. Come, kiss.

Trin. —but that the poor monster's in drink : An abominable monster !

Cal. I'll shew thee the best springs ; I'll pluck thee berries ; I'll fish for thee, and get thee wood enough.

A plague upon the tyrant that I serve !

I'll bear him no more sticks, but follow thee, Thou wond'rous man.

Trin. A most ridiculous monster ; to make a wonder of a poor drunkard.

Cal. I pr'ythee, let me bring thee where crabs grow ; And I with my long nails will dig thee pig-nuts ;

Shew thee a jay's nest, and instruct thee how

To snare the nimble marmozet ; I'll bring thee

To clust'ring filberds, and sometimes I'll get thee

Young sea-mels² from the rock : Wilt thou go with me ?

Ste.

⁹ *I afeard of him ?—a very weak monster :*] It is to be observed, that Trinculo the speaker is not charged with being afraid ; but it was his consciousness that drew this brag from him. This is nature. WARBURTON.

¹ *—kiss thy foot :*] A sneer upon the papists for kissing the Pope's pantofle. GREY.

² *Young sea-mels—*] The old copy reads—*scamels*. Mr. Holt asserted that *limpets* are in some places called *scams*. But not having found the

Ste. I pr'ythee now, lead the way, without any more talking.—Trinculo, the king and all our company else being drown'd, we will inherit here.—Here; bear my bottle! Fellow Trinculo, we'll fill him by and by again.

Cal. Farewell master; farewell, farewell.

[Sings drunkenly.]

Trin. A howling monster; a drunken monster.

Cal. No more dams I'll make for fish;

Nor fetch in firing

At requiring,

Nor scrape trenchering³, nor wash dish;

'Ban, 'Ban, Ca—Caliban,

Has a new master—Get a new man.

Freedom, hey-day! hey-day, freedom! freedom, hey-day, freedom!

Ste. O brave monster! lead the way.

[Exeunt.]

word *scamel* in any ancient English book, I have adopted the emendation proposed by Mr. Theobald. Mr. Steevens's observation on the epithet "*young*" appears to me decisive. In Lincolnshire, as I learn from Sir Joseph Banks, the name *sea-mail* is applied to all the smaller species of gulls. Plott, the same gentleman adds, in his *History of Staffordshire*, p. 231, gives an account of the mode of taking a species of gull, called in that country *Pewits*, (the black-capped gull of Lincolnshire) with a plate annexed, at the end of which he writes,—“they being accounted a good dish at the most plentiful tables.” MALONE.

Theobald very reasonably proposed to read *sea-mails*, or *sea-mells*. An e by these careless printers was easily changed into a c, and from this accident, I believe, all the difficulty arises, the word having been spelt by the transcriber *sea-mels*. Willoughby mentions the bird, as Theobald informs us [*larus cinereus minor*].—Had Mr. Holt told us in what part of England limpets are called *scams*, more attention would have been paid to his assertion.

I should suppose, at all events, a *bird* to have been design'd, as *young* and *old fish* are taken with equal facility; but *young birds* are more easily surpris'd than *old ones*. Besides, Caliban had already proffered to *fish* for Trinculo. In Cavendish's second voyage, the sailors eat *young gulls* at the isle of Penguins. STEEVENS.

³ *Nor scrape trenchering,*] In our author's time trenchers were in general use; and male domesticks were sometimes employed in cleansing them. “I have helped (says Lilly in his *History of his life and times*, ad an. 1620,) to carry eighteen tubs of water in one morning;—all manner of drudgery I willingly performed; *scrape trenchers*, &c.” MALONE.

A C T

A C T III. S C E N E I.

*Before Prospero's Cell.**Enter FERDINAND, bearing a log.*

Fer. There be some sports are painful ⁴; and their labour

Delight in them sets off ⁵: some kinds of baseness
 Are nobly undergone; and most poor matters
 Point to rich ends. This my mean task would be ⁵
 As heavy to me, as odious; but
 The mistress, which I serve, quickens what's dead,
 And makes my labours pleasures: O, she is
 Ten times more gentle, than her father's crabbed;
 And he's composed of harshness. I must remove
 Some thousands of these logs, and pile them up,
 Upon a sore injunction: My sweet mistress
 Weeps when she sees me work; and says, such baseness
 Had ne'er like executor. I forget ⁶:
 But these sweet thoughts do even refresh my labours;
 Most busy-les, when I do it ⁷.

⁴ *There be some sports are painful; and their labour
 Delight in them sets off:]*

Molliter austerum studio fallente laborem.

Hor. sat. 2. lib. ii. STEEVENS.

We have again the same thought in *Macbeth*:

"The labour we delight in physics pain."

After "and," at the same time must be understood. Mr. Pope, unnecessarily, reads—"But their labour—," which has been followed by the subsequent editors. MALONE.

⁵ *This my mean task would be]* The metre of this line is defective in the old copy, by the words *would be* being transferred to the next line. Our author and his contemporaries generally use *odious* as a trisyllable. MALONE.

⁶ *I forget:]* Perhaps Ferdinand means to say—I forget my task; but that is not surprising, for I am thinking on *Miranda*, and these sweet thoughts &c. He may however mean, that he forgets or thinks little of the baseness of his employment. Whichsoever be the sense, *And, or For,* should seem more proper in the next line, than *But*. MALONE.

⁷ *Most busy-les, when I do it.]* The old copy has—*busy left*. Corrected by Mr. Theobald. MALONE.

Enter MIRANDA ; and PROSPERO at a distance.

Mira. Alas, now ! pray you,
Work not so hard : I would, the lightning had
Burnt up those logs, that you are enjoin'd to pile !
Pray, set it down, and rest you : when this burns,
'Twill weep for having weary'd you : My father
Is hard at study ; pray now, rest yourself ;
He's safe for these three hours.

Fer. O most dear mistress,
The sun will set before I shall discharge
What I must strive to do.

Mira. If you'll sit down,
I'll bear your logs the while : Pray, give me that ;
I'll carry it to the pile.

Fer. No, precious creature :
I had rather crack my sinews, break my back,
Than you should such dishonour undergo,
While I sit lazy by.

Mira. It would become me
As well as it does you : and I should do it
With much more ease ; for my good will is to it,
And yours it is against ^s.

Pro. Poor worm ! thou art infected ;
This visitation shews it.

Mira. You look wearily.

Fer. No, noble mistress ; 'tis fresh morning with me,
When you are by at night ⁹. I do beseech you,
(Chiefly, that I might set it in my prayers,)
What is your name ?

Mira. Miranda :—O my father,

^s *And yours it is against.*] Perhaps we should read, And yours is it against. STEEVENS.

⁹ — 'tis fresh morning with me,

When you are by at night.]

Tu mihi curarum requies, tu nocte vel atra
Lumen—.

Tibul. Lib. iv. El. xiii. MALONE.

I have

I have broke your heft ¹ to say so !

Fer. Admir'd Miranda !

Indeed, the top of admiration ; worth
What's dearest to the world ! Full many a lady
I have ey'd with best regard ; and many a time
The harmony of their tongues hath into bondage
Brought my too diligent ear : for several virtues
Have I lik'd several women ; never any
With so full soul, but some defect in her
Did quarrel with the noblest grace she ow'd,
And put it to the foil : But you, o you,
So perfect, and so peerless, are created
Of every creature's best ².

Mira. I do not know

One of my sex ; no woman's face remember,
Save, from my glass, mine own ; nor have I seen
More that I may call men, than you, good friend,
And my dear father : how features are abroad,
I am skill-less of ; but, by my modesty,
(The jewel in my dower,) I would not wish
Any companion in the world but you ;
Nor can imagination form a shape,
Besides yourself, to like of : But I prattle
Something too wildly, and my father's precepts
I therein do forget.

Fer. I am, in my condition,

A prince, Miranda ; I do think, a king ;
(I would, not so !) and would no more endure
This wooden slavery, than I would suffer ³
The flesh-fly blow my mouth :—Hear my soul speak ;—
The very instant that I saw you, did
My heart fly to your service ; there resides,
To make me slave to it,; and, for your sake,
Am I this patient log-man.

¹ —best] For behest ; i. e. command. STEEVENS.

² Of every creature's best.] Alluding to the picture of Venus by Apelles. JOHNSON.

³—than I would suffer &c.] The old copy reads—Than to suffer,
The emendation is Mr. Pope's. STEEVENS.

Mira.

Mira. Do you love me?

Fer. O heaven, o earth, bear witness to this sound,
And crown what I profess with kind event,
If I speak true; if hollowly, invert
What best is boded me, to mischief! I,
Beyond all limit of what else i' the world ⁴,
Do love, prize, honour you.

Mira. I am a fool ⁵,
To weep at what I am glad of.

Pro. Fair encounter
Of two most rare affections! Heavens rain grace
On that which breeds between them!

Fer. Wherefore weep you?

Mira. At mine unworthiness, that dare not offer
What I desire to give; and much less take,
What I shall die to want: But this is trifling;
And all the more it seeks ⁶ to hide itself,
The bigger bulk it shews. Hence bashful cunning!
And prompt me, plain and holy innocence!
I am your wife, if you will marry me ⁷;

IF

⁴ —of what else i' the world,] i. e. of aught else; of whatsoever else there is in the world. I once thought that we should read—*ought* else. But the old copy is right. So, in *King Henry VI.* P. III:

“With promise of his sister, and *what else*,

“To strengthen and support king Edward's place.” MALONE.

⁵ I am a fool,

To weep at what I am glad of.] This is one of those touches of nature that distinguish Shakspeare from all other writers. It was necessary, in support of the character of Miranda, to make her appear unconscious that excess of sorrow and excess of joy find alike their relief from tears; and as this is the first time that consummate pleasure had made any near approaches to her heart, she calls such a seeming contradictory expression of it, *folly*.

The same thought occurs in *Romeo and Juliet*:

“Back, foolish tears, back to your native spring!

“Your tributary drops belong to woe,

“Which you, mistaking, offer up to joy.” STEEVENS.

⁶ —it seeks—] i. e. my affection seeks. MALONE.

⁷ I am your wife, if you will marry me, &c.]

Si tibi non cordi fuerant connubia nostra,

Attamen in vestras potuisti ducere sedes,

Quæ tibi jucundo famularer serva labore;

Candida

If not, I'll die your maid : to be your fellow^s
 You may deny me ; but I'll be your servant,
 Whether you will or no.

Fer. My mistress, dearest,
 And I thus humble ever.

Mira. My husband then ?

Fer. Ay, with a heart as willing
 As bondage e'er of freedom : here's my hand,

Mira. And mine, with my heart in't^o: And now fare-
 well,

Till half an hour hence.

Fer. A thousand, thousand! [*Exeunt FER. and MIR.*]

Pro. So glad of this as they, I cannot be,
 Who are surpriz'd with all ; but my rejoicing
 At nothing can be more. I'll to my book ;
 For yet, ere supper-time, must I perform
 Much business appertaining. [*Exit.*]

S C E N E II.

Another part of the island.

*Enter STEPHANO and TRINCULO ; CALIBAN
 following with a bottle.*

Ste. Tell not me ;—when the butt is out, we will drink

Candida permulcens liquidis vestigia lymphis,
 Purpureave tuum consternens veste cubile.

Catul. 62. MALONE.

3 —your fellow,] i. e. companion. STEEVENS.

9 Ferd. — here's my hand.

Mira. And mine, with my heart in't.] It is still customary in the west of England, when the conditions of a bargain are agreed upon, for the parties to ratify it by joining their hands, and at the same time for the purchaser to give an earnest. To this practice the poet alludes. So, in the *Winter's Tale*:

“ Ere I could make thee open thy white hand,

“ And clap thyself my love ; then didst thou utter

“ I am your's for ever.”

Again, in the *Two Gent. of Verona*:

“ *Pro.* Why then we'll make exchange ; here, take you this.

“ *Jul.* And seal the bargain with a holy kiss.

“ *Pro.* Here is my hand for my true constancy.” HENLEY.

water

water ; not a drop before : therefore bear up, and board 'em¹ : Servant-monster, drink to me.

Trin. Servant-monster ? the folly of this island ! They say, there's but five upon this isle : we are three of them ; if the other two be brain'd like us, the state totters.

Ste. Drink, servant-monster, when I bid thee ; thy eyes are almost set in thy head.

Trin. Where should they be set else ; he were a brave monster indeed, if they were set in his tail².

Ste. My man-monster hath drown'd his tongue in sack : for my part, the sea cannot drown me : I swam³, ere I could recover the shore, five-and-thirty leagues, off and on, by this light.—Thou shalt be my lieutenant, monster, or my standard.

Trin. Your lieutenant, if you list ; he's no standard⁴.

Ste. We'll not run, monsieur monster.

Trin. Nor go neither : but you'll lie, like dogs ; and yet say nothing neither.

Ste. Moon-calf, speak once in thy life, if thou beest a good moon-calf.

Cal. How does thy honour ? Let me lick thy shoe : I'll not serve him, he is not valiant.

¹ *Bear up, and board 'em :*] A metaphor alluding to a chase at sea.

SIR J. HAWKINS.

² *He were a brave monster indeed, if they were set in his tail.*] I believe this to be an allusion to a story that is met with in *Stowe*, and other writers of the time. It seems, in the year 1574, a whale was thrown a shore near *Ramsgate*. "A monstrous fish (says the *chronicler*) but not so monstrous as some reported,—for his eyes were in his head, and not in his back." *Summary*, 1575, p. 562. FARMER.

³ *I swam, &c.*] This play was not published till 1623. *Albumazar* made its appearance in 1614, and has a passage relative to the escape of a sailor yet more incredible. Perhaps, in both instances, a sneer was meant at the *Voyages of Ferdinando Mendez Pinto*, or the exaggerated accounts of other lying travellers :

"—five days I was under water ; and at length

"Got up and spread myself upon a chest,

"Rowing with arms, and steering with my feet,

"And thus in five days more got land." ACT III. sc. v. STEEVENS.

⁴ *Your lieutenant, if you list ; he's no standard.*] Meaning, he is so much intoxicated, as not to be able to stand. The quibble between *standard*, an ensign, and *standard*, a fruit tree, that grows without support, is evident. STEEVENS.

Trin. Thou liest, most ignorant monster; I am in case to juggle a constable: Why, thou debosh'd^s fish, thou, was there ever man a coward, that hath drunk so much sack as I to day? Wilt thou tell a monstrous lie, being but half a fish, and half a monster?

Cal. Lo, how he mocks me; wilt thou let him, my lord?

Trin. Lord, quoth he!—that a monster should be such a natural!

Cal. Lo, lo, again: bite him to death, I pr'ythee.

Ste. Trinculo, keep a good tongue in your head; if you prove a mutineer, the next tree—The poor monster's my subject, and he shall not suffer indignity.

Cal. I thank my noble lord. Wilt thou be pleas'd to hearken once again to the suit I made to thee?

Ste. Marry will I: kneel, and repeat it; I will stand, and so shall Trinculo.

Enter ARIEL, invisible.

Cal. As I told thee before, I am subject to a tyrant; a forcerer, that by his cunning has cheated me of the island.

Ari. Thou liest.

Cal. Thou liest, thou jesting monkey, thou; I would, my valiant master would destroy thee: I do not lie.

Ste. Trinculo, if you trouble him any more in his tale, by this hand, I will supplant some of your teeth.

Trin. Why, I said nothing.

Ste. Mum then, and no more;—Proceed.

Cal. I say, by sorcery he got this isle; From me he got it. If thy greatness will Revenge it on him,—for, I know, thou dar'st; But this thing dare not,—

Ste. That's most certain.

Cal. Thou shalt be lord of it, and I'll serve thee.

Ste. How now shall this be compass'd? Canst thou bring me to the party?

Cal. Yea, yea, my lord; I'll yield him thee asleep, Where thou may'st knock a nail into his head.

5 —thou debosh'd—] i. e. debauched. See Cotgrave's *Dict.* in v.

MALONE.

Ari.

Ari. Thou liest, thou canst not.

Cal. What a py'd ninny's this⁶? Thou scurvy patch!—
I do beseech thy greatness, give him blows,
And take his bottle from him: when that's gone,
He shall drink nought but brine; for I'll not shew him
Where the quick freshes are.

Ste. Trinculo, run into no further danger: interrupt
the monster one word further, and, by this hand, I'll
turn my mercy out of doors, and make a stock-fish of thee.

Trin. Why, what did I? I did nothing: I'll go further off.

Ste. Didst thou not say, he lied?

Ari. Thou liest.

Ste. Do I so? take thou that. [*strikes him.*] As you like
this, give me the lie another time.

Trin. I did not give the lie:—Out o' your wits, and
hearing too?—A pox o' your bottle! this can sack, and
drinking do.—A murrain on your monster, and the devil
take your fingers!

Cal. Ha, ha, ha!

Ste. Now, forward with your tale.—Pr'ythee stand further off.

Cal. Beat him enough: after a little time,
I'll beat him too.

Ste. Stand further.—Come, proceed.

Cal. Why, as I told thee, 'tis a custom with him
I' the afternoon to sleep: there thou may'st brain him,
Having first seiz'd his books; or with a log
Batter his skull, or paunch him with a stake,
Or cut his wezand with thy knife: Remember,

⁶ *What a py'd ninny's this?*] It should be remember'd that *Trinculo* is no sailor, but a jester, and is so called in the ancient dramatic personæ; he therefore wears the party-colour'd dress of one of these characters. See fig. XII. in the plate annexed to the first part of *K. Henry IV.* and Mr. Tollet's explanation of it. STEEVENS.

Dr. Johnson observes, that Caliban could have no knowledge of the striped coat usually worn by fools; and would therefore transfer this speech to Stephano. But though *Caliban* might not know this circumstance, *Shakspeare* did. Surely he who has given to all countries and all ages the manners of his own, might forget himself here, as well as in other places. MALONE.

First to possess his books, for without them
 He's but a sot, as I am, nor hath not
 One spirit to command⁷: They all do hate him,
 As rootedly as I: Burn but his books;
 He has brave utensils, (for so he calls them,)
 Which, when he has a house, he'll deck withal.
 And that most deeply to consider, is
 The beauty of his daughter; he himself
 Calls her a non-pareil: I never saw a woman,
 But only Sycorax my dam, and she;
 But she as far surpasseth Sycorax,
 As greatest does least.

Ste. Is it so brave a lass?

Cal. Ay, lord; she will becomet hy bed, I warrant,
 And bring thee forth brave brood.

7

————— Remember

First to possess his books, for without them

He's but a sot, as I am, nor hath not

One spirit to command:] In a former scene Prospero says—

————— “I'll to my book;

“For yet, ere supper time, must I perform

“Much business appertaining.”

Again, in Act V:

“And deeper than did ever plummet sound,

“I'll drown my book.”

In the old romances the forcerer is always furnished with a *book*, by reading certain parts of which he is enabled to summon to his aid whatever daemons or spirits he has occasion to employ. When he is deprived of his book, his power ceases. Our author might have observed this circumstance much insisted on in the *Orlando Innamorato* of Boyardo, (of which, as the Rev. Mr. Bowle informs me, the first three Cantos were translated and published in 1598,) and also in Harrington's translation of the *Orlando Furioso*, 1591.

A few lines from the former of these works may prove the best illustration of the passage before us.

Angelica, by the aid of Argalia, having bound the enchanter Magiggi,

“The damsel searcheth forthwith in his breast,

“And there the damned *booke* she straightway founde,

“Which circles strange and shapen of fiendes exprest;

“No sooner she some wordes therein did sound,

“And opened had some damned leaves unblest,

“But *spirits* of th'ayre, earth, sea, came out of hand,

“Crying alowde, what is't you us command?” MALONE.

Ste.

Ste. Monster, I will kill this man: his daughter and I will be king and queen; (save our graces!) and Trinculo and thyself shall be vice-roys:—Dost thou like the plot, Trinculo?

Trin. Excellent.

Ste. Give me thy hand; I am sorry I beat thee: but, while thou liv'st, keep a good tongue in thy head.

Cal. Within this half hour will he be asleep; Wilt thou destroy him then?

Ste. Ay, on mine honour.

Ari. This will I tell my master.

Cal. Thou mak'st me merry: I am full of pleasure; Let us be jocund: Will you troul the catch⁸ You taught me but while-ere?

Ste. At thy request, monster, I will do reason, any reason: Come on, Trinculo, let us sing. [*Sings.*

Flout 'em, and skout 'em; and skout 'em, and flout 'em; Thought is free.

Cal. That's not the tune.

[*Ariel plays the tune on a tabor and pipe.*

Ste. What is this fame?

Trin. This is the tune of our catch, play'd by the picture of No-body⁹.

Ste. If thou bee'st a man, shew thyself in thy likeness: if thou bee'st a devil, take't as thou list.

Trin. O, forgive me my sins!

Ste. He that dies, pays all debts: I defy thee:—Mercy upon us!

Cal. Art thou afeard¹?

Ste. No, monster, not I.

Cal. Be not afeard; the isle is full of noises, Sounds, and sweet airs, that give delight, and hurt not. Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments

⁸ — *Will you troul the catch,*] To troul a catch, I suppose, is to dismiss it trippingly from the tongue. STEEVENS.

⁹ *This is the tune of our catch, play'd by the picture of No-body.*] A ridiculous figure, sometimes represented on signs. *Westward for Smelts*, a book which our author appears to have read, was printed for John Trundle in Barbican, at the *signe of the No-body*. MALONE.

¹ — *afeard?*] Thus the old copy. *To appear*, is an obsolete verb with the same meaning as *to affray*. STEEVENS.

Will hum about mine ears; and sometime voices,
That, if I then had wak'd after long sleep,
Will make me sleep again: and then, in dreaming,
The clouds, methought, would open, and shew riches
Ready to drop upon me; that, when I wak'd,
I cry'd to dream again.

Ste. This will prove a brave kingdom to me, where I
shall have my musick for nothing.

Cal. When Prospero is destroy'd.

Ste. That shall be by and by: I remember the story.

Trin. The sound is going away: let's follow it,
And after do our work.

Ste. Lead, monster; we'll follow,—I wou'd I could
see this taborer: he lays it on.

Trin. Wilt come? I'll follow, Stephano². [*Exeunt.*]

S C E N E III.

Another part of the island.

Enter ALONSO, SEBASTIAN, ANTHONIO, GONZALO,
ADRIAN, FRANCISCO; and Others.

Gon. By'r lakin³, I can go no further, Sir;
My old bones ache: here's a maze trod, indeed,
Through forth-rights, and meanders! by your patience,
I needs must rest me.

Alon. Old lord, I cannot blame thee,
Who am myself attach'd with weariness,
To the dulling of my spirits: sit down, and rest.
Even here I will put off my hope, and keep it
No longer for my flatterer: he is drown'd,
Whom thus we stray to find; and the sea mocks
Our frustrate search on land: Well, let him go.

Ant. I am right glad that he's so out of hope.

[*Aside to Sebastian.*]

² *Wilt come? I'll follow, Stephano.*] The words *Wilt come* are, I believe, addressed to Stephano, who, from a desire to see the "taborer," lingers behind. *Will you come*, or not (says Trinculo)? If you will not, *I'll follow* Caliban without you. MALONE.

³ *By'r lakin,—*] i. e. The diminutive only of our lady, i. e. ladykin. STEEVENS.

Do not, for one repulse, forego the purpose
That you resolv'd to effect.

Seb. The next advantage
Will we take throughly.

Ant. Let it be to-night;
For, now they are oppress'd with travail, they
Will not, nor cannot, use such vigilance
As when they are fresh.

Seb. I say, to-night: no more.

*Solemn and strange musick; and Prospero above, invisible.
Enter several strange Shapes, bringing in a banquet; they
dance about it with gentle actions of salutation; and, in-
viting the king, &c. to eat, they depart.*

Alon. What harmony is this? my good friends, hark!

Gon. Marvellous sweet musick!

Alon. Give us kind keepers, heavens! What were these?

Seb. A living drollery⁴: Now I will believe,
That there are unicorns; that, in Arabia
There is one tree, the phoenix' throne⁵; one phoenix
At this hour reigning there.

Ant. I'll believe both;
And what does else want credit, come to me,
And I'll be sworn 'tis true: Travellers ne'er did lie,
Though fools at home condemn them.

Gon. If in Naples
I should report this now, would they believe me?

⁴ *A living drollery*:—] i. e. A drollery not represented by wooden machines, but by personages who are alive. MALONE.

Shows, called *drolleries*, were in Shakspeare's time performed by puppets only. From these our modern *drolls*, exhibited at fairs, &c. took their name. STEEVENS.

⁵ — one tree, the phoenix' throne;] So again, in one of our author's Poems, p. 732, edit. 1778:

“ Let the bird of loudest lay,

“ On the sole Arabian tree, &c.” MALONE.

For this idea our author might have been indebted to Phil. Holland's Translation of Pliny, b. XIII. chap. 4. “ I myself verily have heard
“ strange things of this kind of tree; and namely in regard of the
“ bird *Phoenix*, which is supposed to have taken that name of this
“ date tree [called in Greek *φοῖνῖξ*]; for it was assured unto me,
“ that the said bird died with that tree, and revived of itselfe as the tree
“ sprung again.” STEEVENS.

If I should say, I saw such islanders ⁶,
 (For, certes ⁷, these are people of the island,)
 Who, though they are of monstrous shape, yet, note,
 Their manners are more gentle, kind, than of
 Our human generation you shall find
 Many, nay, almost any.

Pro. Honest lord,
 Thou hast said well; for some of you there present
 Are worse than devils.

[*Aside.*]

Alon. I cannot too much muse ⁸,
 Such shapes, such gesture, and such sound, expressing
 (Although they want the use of tongue) a kind
 Of excellent dumb discourse.

Pro. Praise in departing ⁹.

[*Aside.*]

Fran. They vanish'd strangely.

Seb. No matter, since
 They have left their viands behind; for we have stomachs.—
 Will't please you taste of what is here?

Alon. Not I.

Gon. Faith, sir, you need not fear: When we were boys,
 Who would believe that there were mountaineers ¹,
 Dew-lapp'd like bulls, whose throats had hanging at 'em
 Wallets of flesh? or that there were such men,
 Whose heads stood in their breasts ²? which now we find,
 Each

⁶ —*such islanders,*] The old copy has *islands*. The emendation was made by the editor of the second folio. MALONE.

⁷ *For certes,*] *Certes* is an obsolete word, signifying *certainly*. STEEV.

⁸ —*muse,*] To *muse*, in ancient language, is to admire. STEEVENS.

⁹ *Praise in departing.*] i. e. Do not praise your entertainment too soon, lest you should have reason to retract your commendation. It is a proverbial saying. STEEVENS.

¹ —*that there were mountaineers, &c.*] Whoever is curious to know the particulars relating to these *mountaineers* may consult *Maundeville's Travels*, printed in 1503, by Wynken de Worde; but it is yet a known truth that the inhabitants of the Alps have been long accusom'd to such excrescences or tumours.

Quis tumidum guttur miratur in Alpibus? STEEVENS.

² —*men,*

Whose heads stood in their breasts?] Our author might have had this intelligence likewise from the translation of Pliny, B. V. chap. 8: "The Blemmyi, by report, have no heads, but mouth and eies both in their breasts." STEEVENS.

Each putter-out on five for one³, will bring us
Good warrant of.

Alon. I will stand to, and feed,
Although my last:—no matter since I feel
The best is past:—Brother, my lord the duke,
Stand to, and do as we.

*Thunder and lightning. Enter ARIEL, like a harpy⁴; claps
his wings upon the table, and, with a quaint device, the
banquet vanishes.*

Ari. You are three men of sin, whom destiny
(That hath to instrument this lower world⁵, And

Or he might have had it from Hackluyt's *Voyages*, 1598: "On that
" branch which is called *Caora* are a nation of people, whose heads appear not
" above their shoulders. They are reported to have their eyes in their
" shoulders, and their mouths in the middle of their breasts." MALONE.

³ Each putter-out on five for one, &c.] The old copy reads—of five
for one. The emendation was made by Mr. Theobald. Perhaps it
ought rather to be corrected by only transposing the words: "Each putter
out of one for five—." So, in the *Scourge of Folly*, by John Davies, of
Hereford, printed about 1611:

"Sir Solus straight will travel, as they say,

"And gives out one for three, when home comes he." MALONE.

The ancient custom here alluded to was this. In this age of travel-
ling, it was customary for those who engaged in long expeditions to
place out a sum of money, on condition of receiving great interest for it at
their return home. So Puntarvolo (it is Theobald's quotation) in Ben
Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour*: "I do intend, this year of ju-
" bilee coming on, to travel; and (because I will not altogether go
" upon expence) I am determined to put forth some five thousand pound,
" to be paid me five for one, upon the return of my wife, myself, and
" my dog, from the Turk's court in Constantinople." STEEVENS.

It appears from Moryson's *ITINERARY*, 1617, Part I. p. 198,
that "this custom of giving out money upon these adventures was first
used in court, and among noblemen;" and that some years before his
book was published, "bankerouts, stage-players, and men of base con-
dition had drawn it into contempt," by undertaking journeys merely
for gain upon their return. MALONE.

⁴ Enter Ariel, like a harpy, &c.] Milton's *Par. Reg.* B. II.

— "with that

"Both table and provisions vanish'd quite,

"With sound of harpies' wings, and talons heard."

At subitæ horrifico lapsu de montibus adsunt

Harpyiæ, & magnis quatiant clangoribus a. as,

Diripiuntque dapes. Virg. *Æn.* iii. STEEVENS.

⁵ That hath to instrument this lower world, &c.] i. e. that makes use
of

And what is in't,) the never-surfeited sea
 Hath caused to belch up ⁶; and on this island
 Where man doth not inhabit; you 'mongst men
 Being most unfit to live. I have made you mad;
 [*seeing Alonso, Sebastian, &c. draw their swords.*
 And even with such like valour men hang and drown
 Their proper selves. You fools! I and my fellows
 Are ministers of fate; the elements
 Of whom your swords are temper'd, may as well
 Wound the loud winds, or with bemock'd-at stabs
 Kill the still-closing waters, as diminish
 One dowe that's in my plume ⁷; my fellow-ministers
 Are like invulnerable: if you could hurt,
 Your swords are now too massy for your strengths,
 And will not be uplifted: But, remember,
 (For that's my business to you,) that you three
 From Milan did supplant good Prospero;
 Expos'd unto the sea, which hath requit it,
 Him, and his innocent child: for which foul deed
 The powers, delaying, not forgetting, have
 Incens'd the seas and shores, yea, all the creatures,
 Against your peace: Thee, of thy son, Alonso,
 They have bereft; and do pronounce by me,
 Ling'ring perdition (worse than any death
 Can be at once,) shall step by step attend
 You, and your ways; whose wraths to guard you from
 (Which here, in this most desolate isle, else falls
 Upon your heads,) is nothing, but heart's sorrow,
 And a clear life ensuing ⁸.

He

of this world, and every thing in it, as its *instruments*, to bring about its ends. STEEVENS.

⁶ *Hath caused to belch up*;] The old copy reads—to belch up you. Corrected by Mr. Theobald. MALONE.

⁷ *One dowe that's in my plume*;] Bailey, in his Dictionary, says that *dowe* is a feather, or rather the single particles of the down. STEEVENS. Cole, in his Latin Dict. 1670, interprets “young dowe” by “*lanugo*.”

The old copy reads—in my *plumbe*. Corrected by Mr. Rowe. MALONE.

⁸ ——— is nothing, but heart's sorrow,
And a clear life ensuing.] The meaning, which is somewhat obscured by the expression, is,—a miserable fate, which nothing but contrition and amendment of life can avert. MALONE.

He vanishes in thunder: then to soft musick, enter the Shapes again, and dance with mops and mowes⁹, and carry out the table.

Pro. [Aside.] Bravely the figure of this harpy hast thou Perform'd, my Ariel; a grace it had, devouring; Of my instruction hast thou nothing 'bated, In what thou hadst to say: so, with good life¹, And observation strange, my meaner ministers Their several kinds have done: my high charms work, And these, mine enemies, are all knit up In their distractions: they now are in my power; And in these fits I leave them, whilst I visit Young Ferdinand, (whom they suppose is drown'd,) And his and my lov'd darling. [*Exit PRO. from above.*]

Gon. I' the name of something holy, sir, why stand you In this strange stare?

Alon. O, it is monstrous! monstrous! Methought, the billows spoke, and told me of it; The winds did sing it to me; and the thunder, That deep and dreadful organ-pipe, pronounc'd The name of Prosper; it did bafis my trespass². Therefore my son i'th the ooze is bedded; and I'll seek him deeper than e'er plummet sounded, And with him there lie mudded.

[*Exit.*]

Seb. But one fiend at a time,

—*clear life*—] Pure, blameless, innocent. JOHNSON.

So in *Timon*: "—roots, you *clear* heavens." STEEVENS.

⁹ —*with mops and mowes*,] So, in *K. Lear*: "—and Flibbertigibbet of *mopping* and *mowing*." To *mop* and to *move* seems to have the same meaning, i. e. to make mouths or wry faces. STEEVENS,

The old copy, by a manifest error of the press, reads—with *mocks*. See p. 73. Penult.—"Will be here with *mop* and *mowe*." MALONE. on

¹ —*with good life*,] *With good life* may mean, with *exact* presentation of *their several characters*, with *observation strange* of their particular and distinct parts. So we say, he acted to the *life*. JOHNSON.

Life seems to be used in the chorus to the fifth act of *K. Henry V.* with some meaning like that wanted to explain the approbation of Prospero:

"Which cannot in their huge and proper *life*

"Be here presented." STEEVENS.

² —*bafis my trespass*.] The deep pipe told it me in a rough bafis sound. JOHNSON.

I'll fight their legions o'er.

Ant. I'll be thy second.

[*Exeunt* SEB. and ANT.]

Gon. All three of them are desperate; their great guilt,
Like poison given to work a great time after ³,
Now 'gins to bite the spirits:—I do beseech you
That are of suppler joints, follow them swiftly,
And hinder them from what this ecstasy ⁴
May now provoke them to.

Adri. Follow, I pray you.

[*Exeunt.*]

A C T IV.

Before Prospero's Cell.

Enter PROSPERO, FERDINAND, and MIRANDA.

Pro. If I have too austere^{ly} punish'd you,
Your compensation makes amends; for I
Have given you here a third of mine own life ⁵,
Or that for which I live; whom once again
I tender to thy hand: all thy vexations
Were but my trials of thy love, and thou

Hast

³ *Like poison given &c.*] The natives of Africa have been supposed to be possessed of the secret how to temper poisons with such art as not to operate till several years after they were administered, and were then as certain in their effect, as they were subtle in their preparation. STEEVENS.

⁴ —*this ecstasy*] *Ecstasy* meant not anciently, as at present, *rapturous pleasure*, but alienation of mind. Mr. Locke has not inelegantly stiled it *dreaming with our eyes open*. STEEVENS.

⁵ —*a third of mine own life,*] The word *thread* was formerly spelt *tbird*, as appears from the following passage:

“Long maist thou live, and when the sisters shall decree

“To cut in twaine the twisted *tbird* of life,

“Then let him die, &c.”

See comedy of *Mucedorus*, 1619. signat. c. 3. HAWKINS.

The late Mr. *Hawkins* has properly observed that the word *thread* was anciently spelt *tbird*. The following quotation should seem to place the meaning beyond all dispute. In *Acadastus*, a comedy, 1529, is this passage: “—one of worldly shame's *children*, of his countenance, and “THREDE of his body.” STEEVENS.

Again, in *Tancred and Gismund*, a tragedy, 1592, Tancred, speaking of his intention to kill his daughter, says,

F 4

“Against

Hast strangely stood the test ⁶: here afore Heaven,
 I ratify this my rich gift: O Ferdinand,
 Do not smile at me, that I boast her off,
 For thou shalt find she will outstrip all praise,
 And make it halt behind her.

Fer. I do believe it,
 Against an oracle.

Pro. Then, as my gift ⁷, and thine own acquisition
 Worthily purchas'd, take my daughter: But
 If thou dost break her virgin knot before
 All sanctimonious ceremonies ⁸ may
 With full and holy rite be minister'd,
 No sweet aspersion ⁹ shall the Heavens let fall
 To make this contract grow; but barren hate,

“Against all law of kinde, to shed in twaine

“The golden threede that doth us both maintain.”

Mr. Tollet was of opinion that “a third of my own life” here signifies a *fibre* or *part* of my own life: “Prospero (he adds) considers himself as the stock or parent tree, and his daughter a *fibre* or *portion* of himself, and for whose benefit he himself lives. In this sense the word is used in Markham’s *English Husbandman*, edit. 1635, p. 146.” MALONE.

⁶ —strangely stood the test:] Strangely is used by way of commendation, *merveilleusement, to a wonder*; the sense is the same in the foregoing scene, with *observation strange*. JOHNSON.

⁷ —my gift,] My guest, *first folio*. JOHNSON.

The emendation is Mr. Rowe’s. *Gueste* and *Guiste*, as they were anciently written, were easily confounded. MALONE.

⁸ If thou dost break her virgin knot before

All sanctimonious ceremonies &c.] This, and the passage in *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*,

“Untide I still my virgin knot will keepe,”

are manifest allusions to the zones of the ancients, which were worn as guardians of chastity by marriageable young women. Puellæ, contra, nondum viripotentes, hujusmodi zonis non utebantur: quod videlicet immaturis virgunculis nullum, aut certe minimum, a corruptoribus periculum immineret: quas propterea vocabant *αμικτες*, nempe *discinctas*. There is a passage in NONNUS, which will sufficiently illustrate Prospero’s expression.

Κέρας δ’ ἔγγις ἵκανε καὶ ἀτρέμας ἄκρον ἐρύσας

Δεσμὸν ἀσυνήτοιον φυλάκτορα λυτατο μίσης

Φειδομένη παλάμη, μὴ παρθένον ὕπνῳ ἰάσση. HENLEY.

⁹ No sweet aspersion—] *Aspersion* is here used in its primitive sense of *sprinkling*. At present it is expressive only of calumny and detraction.

STEEVENS.

Sour-

Sour-ey'd disdain, and discord, shall bestrew
The union of your bed with weeds so loathly,
That you shall hate it both: therefore, take heed,
As Hymen's lamps shall light you.

Fer. As I hope

For quiet days, fair issue, and long life,
With such love as 'tis now; the murkiest den,
The most opportune place, the strong'st suggestion
Our worser Genius can, shall never melt
Mine honour into lust; to take away
The edge of that day's celebration,
When I shall think, or Phœbus' steeds are founder'd,
Or night kept chain'd below.

Pro. Fairly spoke:

Sit then, and talk with her, she is thine own.—
What, Ariel; my industrious servant Ariel!

Enter ARIEL.

Ari. What would my potent master? here I am.

Pro. Thou and thy meaner fellows your last service
Did worthily perform; and I must use you
In such another trick: go, bring the rabble¹,
O'er whom I give thee power, here, to this place:
Incite them to quick motion; for I must
Bestow upon the eyes of this young couple
Some vanity of mine art; it is my promise,
And they expect it from me.

Ari. Presently?

Pro. Ay, with a twink.

Ari. Before you can say, *Come*, and *go*,
And breathe twice; and cry, *so, so*;
Each one, tripping on his toe²,
Will be here with mop and mow:
Do you love me, master? no.

¹ —the rabble,] The crew of meaner spirits. JOHNSON.

² ————— *Come, and go,*—

Each one, tripping on his toe,] So Milton:

“Come, and trip it as you go

“On the light fantastick toe.” STEEVENS.

Pro.

Pro. Dearly, my delicate Ariel : Do not approach,
Till thou dost hear me call.

Ari. Well, I conceive.

[*Exit.*

Pro. Look, thou be true ; do not give dalliance
Too much the rein ; the strongest oaths are straw
To the fire i'the blood : be more abstemious,
Or else, good night, your vow !

Fer. I warrant you, sir ;
The white cold virgin snow upon my heart
Abates the ardour of my liver.

Pro. Well.—

Now come, my Ariel ; bring a corollary³,
Rather than want a spirit ; appear, and pertly.—
No tongue⁴ ; all eyes ; be silent.

[*Soft musick.*

A Masque. Enter IRIS.

Iris. Ceres, most bounteous lady, thy rich leas
Of wheat, rye, barley, vetches, oats, and pease ;
Thy turfy mountains, where live nibbling sheep,
And flat meads thatch'd with flover⁵, them to keep ;
Thy banks with pionied and twilled brims⁶,

Which

³ —bring a corollary,] That is, bring more than are sufficient, rather than fail for want of numbers. *Corollary* means *surplus*. *Corolaire*, Fr. See Cotgrave's Dictionary. STEEVENS.

⁴ No tongue ;] Those who are present at incantations are obliged to be strictly silent ; “ else,” as we are afterwards told, “ the spell is marred.” JOHNSON.

⁵ —thatch'd with flover,] *Esfowers* is generally used by law writers for an allowance of wood to be taken off another man's estate. In this sense Sir William Blackstone supposes it to be derived from the French word *esfoffer*, to furnish. But it likewise sometimes signifies nourishment, or maintenance, in which sense Cowel derives it from *esfower*, fovere.—From Cole's English Dictionary 8vo. 1717, it appears that the word *flover* was then used in Essex, and signified “ fodder for cattle ;” the precise sense wanted here, being equally applicable to the preceding word “ thatch'd,” and to the subsequent part of the line. It probably has the same signification in Warwickshire. MALONE.

⁶ Thy banks with pionied, and twilled brims,] The old edition reads *pioned* and twilled brims, which gave rise to Mr. Holt's conjecture, that the poet originally wrote,

——with pionied and tilled brims.

Spenser

Which spongy April at thy hest betrimms,
 To make cold nymphs chaste crowns; and thy broom
 groves ⁷,
 Whose shadow the dismissed bachelor loves,
 Being lass-lorn ⁸; thy pole-clipt vineyard ⁹;
 And thy sea-marge, steril, and rocky-hard,
 Where thou thyself dost air: The queen o' the sky,
 Whose watery arch, and messenger, am I,
 Bids thee leave these; and with her sovereign grace,
 Here on this grass-plot, in this very place,
 To come and sport: her peacocks fly amain;
 Approach, rich Ceres, her to entertain.

Enter CERES.

Cer. Hail, many-colour'd messenger, that ne'er

Spenser and the author of *Muleasses the Turk*, a tragedy, 1610, use *pioning* for digging. It is not, therefore, difficult to find a meaning for the word as it stands in the old copy; and remove a letter from *twilled*, and it leaves us *tilled*. I am yet, however, in doubt whether we ought not to read *lillied brims*; for *Pliny*, B. XXVI, ch. x. mentions the *water-lilly* as a preserver of chastity.

In the 20th song of Drayton's *Polyolbion*, the Naiades are represented as making chaplets with all the tribe of aquatick flowers; and Mr. Tollet informs me that Lyte's *Herbal* says, "one kind of *peonie* is called by "some, *maiden* or *virgin* peonie."

In *Ovid's Banquet of Sense*, by Chapman, 1595, *twill-pants* are enumerated among flowers.

If *twill* be the ancient name of any flower, the present reading, *pionied* and *twilled* may uncontrovertibly stand. STEEVENS.

Pionied is the emendation of Sir Thomas Hanmer. MALONE.

⁷ —and thy broom groves,] A grove of *broom*, I believe, was never heard of, as it is a low shrub, and not a tree. Hanmer reads *brown* groves. STEEVENS.

Disappointed lovers are still said to wear the *willow*, and in these lines *broom groves* are assigned to that unfortunate tribe for a retreat: This may allude to some old custom. We still say that a husband *bangs out the broom* when his wife goes from home for a short time; and on such occasions a *broom* besom has been exhibited, as a signal that the house was freed from uxorial restraint, and where the master might be considered as a temporary bachelor. *Broom grove* may signify *broom bushes*. See *Grava*, in Cowel's Law Dict. TOLLET.

⁸ Being lass-lorn;] i. e. Forsaken of his mistress. STEEVENS.

⁹ —thy pole-clipt vineyard,] To *clip* is to *twine round* or *embrace*. The poles are *clipt* or *embraced* by the vines. STEEVENS.

Dost

Dost disobey the wife of Jupiter ;
 Who, with thy saffron wings, upon my flowers
 Diffusest honey drops, refreshing showers ;
 And with each end of thy blue bow dost crown
 My bosky acres ¹, and my unshrubb'd down,
 Rich scarf to my proud earth ; Why hath thy queen
 Summon'd me hither, to this short-grass'd green ² ?

Iris. A contract of true love to celebrate ;
 And some donation freely to estate
 On the blest'd lovers.

Cer. Tell me, heavenly bow,
 If Venus, or her son, as thou dost know,
 Do now attend the queen ? since they did plot
 The means, that dusky Dis my daughter got,
 Her and her blind boy's scandal'd company
 I have forsworn.

Iris. Of her society
 Be not afraid : I met her deity
 Cutting the clouds towards Paphos ; and her son
 Dove-drawn with her : here thought they to have done
 Some wanton charm upon this man and maid,
 Whose vows are, that no bed-rite shall be paid
 Till Hymen's torch be lighted : but in vain ;
 Marfes hot minion is return'd again ;
 Her waspish-headed son has broke his arrows,
 Swears he will shoot no more, but play with sparrows,
 And be a boy right out.

Cer. Highest queen of state,
 Great Juno comes ; I know her by her gait ³.

¹ *My bosky acres,*] *Bosky* is woody. *Bosquet*, Fr. STEEVENS.

² *short-grass'd green ?*] The old copy has—*short-gras'd*. The omission of the second *s* was probably owing to the carelessness of the transcriber. MALONE.

³ *Highest queen of state,*

Great Juno comes ; I know her by her gait.] So, in the *Arraignment of Paris* :

“ First statelie *Juno*, with her porte and grace.” STEEVENS.

Highest queen of state,] Sir John Harrington has likewise used this word as one syllable :

“ Thus said the *hy'st*, and-then there did ensue—”.

Orlando Fur. B. 29. St. 32. MALONE.

Enter JUNO.

Jun. How does my bounteous sister? Go with me,
To blefs this twain, that they may prosperous be,
And honour'd in their issue.

S O N G.

Jun. Honour, riches, marriage-bleffing,
Long continuance, and increafing,
Hourly joys be ftill upon you!
Juno fings her bleffings on you.

Cer. Earth's increafe, and foifon plenty⁴;
Barns, and garners never empty;
Vines, with cluft'ring bunches growing;
Plants, with goodly burden bowing;
Spring come to you, at the fartheft,
In the very end of harveft!
Scarcity, and want, fhall fhun you;
Ceres' bleffing fo is on you.

Fer. This is a moft majeffick vifion, and
Harmonious charmingly⁵: May I be bold
To think thefe fpirits?

Pro. Spirits, which by mine art
I have from their confines call'd to enact
My prefent fancies.

Fer. Let me live here ever;
So rare a wonder'd father, and a wife,
Make this place paradife.

Juno and Ceres whisper, and fend Iris on employment.

Pro. Sweet now, filence:

Juno and Ceres whisper ferioufly;
There's fomewhat elfe to do: hufh, and be mute,

⁴ *Earth's increafe*, and *foifon plenty*; &c.] Thefe, as well as the foregoing lines, are in the old copy given to Juno. Mr. Theobald made the alteration. *And* is not in that copy. It was added by the editor of the fecond folio. *Earth's increafe*, is the *produce* of the earth. The expreffion is fcriptural: "Then fhall the earth bring forth her *increafe*, and God, even our God, fhall give us his bleffing." PSALM 67. MALONE.

Foifon plenty is plenty to the utmoft abundance. See p. 40. n. 6. STE.
⁵ *Harmonious charmingly*:] i. e. charmingly harmonious. A fimilar inverfion occurs in *A Midfummer Night's Dream*:

"But miserable moft to live unlov'd." MALONE.

Or else our spell is marr'd.

Iris. You nymphs, call'd Naiads, of the wand'ring
brooks ⁶,

With your sedg'd crowns, and ever-harmless looks,
Leave your crisp channels ⁷, and on this green land
Answer your summons; Juno does command:
Come, temperate nymphs, and help to celebrate
A contract of true love; be not too late.

Enter certain Nymphs.

You sun-burn'd fickle-men, of August weary,
Come hither from the furrow, and be merry;
Make holy-day: your rye-straw hats put on,
And these fresh nymphs encounter every one
In country footing.

*Enter certain Reapers, properly habited: they join with the
nymphs in a graceful dance; towards the end whereof
Prospero starts suddenly, and speaks; after which, to a
strange, hollow, and confused noise, they heavily vanish.*

Pro. I had forgot that foul conspiracy [*Aside.*
Of the beast Caliban, and his confederates,
Against my life; the minute of their plot
Is almost come. [*to the spirits.*] Well done; avoid; no
more.

Fer. This is strange: your father's in some passion,
That works him strongly.

Mira. Never till this day,
Saw I him touch'd with anger so distemper'd.

Pro. You do look, my son, in a mov'd fort,
As if you were dismay'd: be chearful, sir:
Our revels now are ended: these our actors,

⁶ —wand'ring brooks,] The old copy reads—windring. Corrected by
Mr. Steevens. MALONE.

⁷ Leave your crisp channels,] *Crisp*, i. e. curling, winding. Lat.
crispus. So in *Hen. IV.* Part I. act I. sc. iv. Hotspur, speaking of
the river Severn:

“And hid his *crisped* head in the hollow bank.”

Crisp, however, may allude to the little wave or *curl* (as it is com-
monly called) that the gentlest wind occasions on the surface of waters.

STEEVENS.

As I foretold you, were all spirits, and
 Are melted into air, into thin air :
 And, like the baseless fabrick of this vision⁸,
 The cloud-capt towers, the gorgeous palaces,
 The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
 Yea, all which it inherit⁹, shall dissolve ;
 And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,¹

Leave

⁸ *And, like the baseless fabrick of this vision, &c.*] The exact period at which this play was produced is unknown : It was not, however, published before 1623. In the year 1603, the *Tragedy of Darius*, by Lord Sterline, made its appearance, and there I find the following passage :

- “ Let greatness of her glassy scepters vaunt,
- “ Not scepters, no, but reeds, soon bruis'd, soon broken ;
- “ And let this worldly pomp our wits enchant,
- “ All fades, and scarcely leaves behind a token.
- “ Those golden palaces, those gorgeous halls,
- “ With furniture superfluously fair,
- “ Those stately courts, those sky-encount'ring walls,
- “ Evanish all like vapours in the air.”

Lord Sterline's play must have been written before the death of queen Elizabeth, (which happen'd on the 24th of March 1603) as it is dedicated to James VI. King of Scots.

Whoever should seek for this passage (as here quoted from the 4to, 1603) in the folio edition, 1637, will be disappointed, as Lord Sterline made considerable changes in all his plays, after their first publication.

STEEVENS.

⁹ — *all which it inherit*,] i. e. all who possess, who dwell upon it. So, in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona* :

“ This, or else nothing, will inherit her.” MALONE.

¹ *And, like this insubstantial pageant faded*,] *Faded* means here—having vanished ; from the Latin, *vado*. So, in *Hamlet* :

“ It faded on the crowing of the cock.”

To feel the justice of this comparison, and the propriety of the epithet, the nature of these exhibitions should be remembered. The ancient English *pageants* were shows exhibited on the reception of a prince, or any other solemnity of a similar kind. They were presented on occasional stages erected in the streets. Originally they appear to have been nothing more than dumb shows ; but before the time of our author, they had been enlivened by the introduction of speaking personages, who were characteristically habited. The speeches were sometimes in verse ; and as the procession moved forward, the speakers, who constantly bore some allusion to the ceremony, either conversed together in the form of a dialogue, or addressed the noble person whose presence occasioned the celebrity. On these allegorical spectacles very costly ornaments were bestowed. See Fabian, II. 382. Warton's *Hist. of Poet.* II. 199. 202.

The

Leave not a rack behind ²: We are such stuff
 As dreams are made on ³, and our little life
 Is rounded with a sleep.—Sir, I am vex'd;
 Bear with my weakness; my old brain is troubled.
 Be not disturb'd with my infirmity:
 If thou be pleas'd, retire into my cell,
 And there repose; a turn or two I'll walk,
 To fill my beating mind.

Fer.

The well-known lines before us may receive some illustration from Stowe's account of the pageants exhibited in the year 1604, (not very long before this play was written,) on King James, his Queen &c. passing triumphantly from the Tower to Westminster; on which occasion seven Gates or Arches were erected in different places through which the procession passed.—Over the first gate “ was represented the “ true likeness of all the notable houses, Towers and steeples, within “ the citie of London.”——“ The sixth arche or gate of triumph was “ erected above the Conduit in Fleete-Streete, whereon the GLOBE “ of the world was seen to move, &c. At Temple-bar a seventh arche “ or gate was erected, the forefront whereof was proportioned in every “ respect like a TEMPLE, being dedicated to Janus, &c.—The citie “ of Westminster, and dutchy of Lancaster, at the Strand had erected “ the invention of a Rainbow, the moone, sunne, and starres, advanced between two Pyramides, &c.” ANNALS, p. 1429, edit. 1605. MALONE.

² *Leave not a rack behind:*] Rack is generally used by our ancient writers for a *body of clouds* sailing along; or rather for the *course of the clouds when in motion*. So, in *Antony and Cleopatra*:

“ That which is now a horse, even with a thought

“ The rack dissimins.”

But no instance has yet been produced, where it is used to signify a *single small fleeting cloud*, in which sense only it can be figuratively applied here. I incline, therefore, to Sir Thomas Hanmer's emendation, though I have not disturbed the text. MALONE.

Sir T. H. instead of *rack*, reads *track*, which may be supported by the following passage in the first scene of *Timon of Athens*:

“ But flies an eagle flight, bold, and forth on,

“ Leaving no track behind.” STEEVENS.

³ —*We are such stuff*

As dreams are made on,] I would willingly persuade myself, that this vulgarism was introduced by the transcriber, and that Shakspeare wrote—*made of*. But I fear other instances are to be found in these plays of this unjustifiable phraseology, and therefore have not disturbed the text.

The stanza which immediatly precedes the lines quoted by Mr. Steevens from Lord Sterling's *Darius*, may serve still further to confirm the
 con-

Fer. Mira. We wish your peace.

[*Exeunt.*

Pro. Come with a thought:—I thank thee:—Ariel, come.

Enter ARIEL.

Ari. Thy thoughts I cleave to ⁴: What's thy pleasure?

Pro. Spirit,

We must prepare to meet with Caliban ⁵.

Ari. Ay, my commander: when I presented Ceres, I thought to have told thee of it; but I fear'd Lest I might anger thee.

Pro. Say again, where didst thou leave these varlets?

Ari. I told you, sir, they were red-hot with drinking; So full of valour, that they smote the air For breathing in their faces; beat the ground For kissing of their feet: yet always bending Towards their project: Then I beat my tabor, At which, like unback'd colts, they prick'd their ears, Advanc'd their eye-lids, lifted up their noses As they smelt musick; so I charm'd their ears, That, calf-like, they my lowing follow'd, through Tooth'd briers, sharp furzes, pricking goss ⁶, and thorns, Which enter'd their frail shins: at last I left them I' the filthy mantled pool beyond your cell, There dancing up to the chins, that the foul lake O'er stunk their feet.

Pro.

conjecture that one of these poets imitated the other. Our author was, I believe, the imitator:

“And when the eclipse comes of our glory's light,

“Then what avails the adoring of a name?

“A meer illusion made to mock the sight,

“Whose best was but the shadow of a dream.” MALONE.

⁴ *Thy thoughts I cleave to:*] *To cleave to* is to unite with closely. So, in *Macbeth*:

“Like our strange garments, cleave not to their mould.”

Again: “If you shall cleave to my consent.” STEEVENS.

⁵ —to meet with Caliban.] *To meet with* is to counteract; to play stratagem against stratagem. JOHNSON.

⁶ —pricking goss,] I know not how Shakspeare distinguished goss from furze; for what he calls furze, is called goss or gorse in the midland counties. STEEVENS.

Pro. This was well done, my bird:
Thy shape invisible retain thou still:
The trumpery in my house, go, bring it hither,
For stale to catch these thieves⁷.

Ari. I go, I go.

[*Exit*]

Pro. A devil, a born devil, on whose nature
Nurture can never stick⁸; on whom my pains,
Humanely taken, all, all lost⁹, quite lost;
And as, with age, his body uglier grows,
So his mind cankers¹: I will plague them all,

Re-enter ARIEL, loaden with glistering apparel, &c.
Even to roaring:—Come, hang them on this line².

PROSPERO and ARIEL remain invisible. Enter CALIBAN, STEPHANO, and TRINCULO, all wet.

Cal. Pray you, tread softly, that the blind mole may not
Hear a foot fall³: we now are near his cell.

Ste. Monster, your fairy, which, you say, is a harm-

By the latter, Shakspeare means the low sort of gorse that only grows upon wet ground, and which is well described by the name of *robins* in Markham's *Farewell to Husbandry*. It has prickles like those on a rose-tree or a gooseberry. TOLLET.

⁷ For stale to catch these thieves.] Stale is a word in fowling, and is used to mean a bait or decoy to catch birds. STEEVENS.

⁸ Nurture can never stick;] Nurture is education. STEEVENS.

⁹—all, all lost,] The first of these words was probably introduced by the carelessness of the transcriber or compositor. We might safely read,—are all lost. MALONE.

¹ And as, with age, his body uglier grows,

So his mind cankers:] Shakspeare, when he wrote this description, perhaps recollected what his patron's most intimate friend, the great lord Essex, in an hour of discontent, said of queen Elizabeth; "*that she grew old and canker'd, and that her mind was become as crooked as her carcase*:"—a speech, which, according to Sir Walter Raleigh, cost him his head, and which, we may therefore suppose, was at that time much talked of. This play being written in the time of King James, these obnoxious words might be safely repeated. MALONE.

² —hang them on this line.] The old copy reads—hang on them. Corrected by Mr. Rowe. MALONE.

³ — that the blind mole may not

Hear a foot fall:] This quality of hearing, which the mole is supposed to possess in so high a degree, is mentioned in *Euphues*, quarto, 1581, p. 64. REED.

less

less fairy, has done little better than play'd the Jack with us ⁴.

Trin. Monster, I do smell all horse-piss; at which my nose is in great indignation.

Ste. So is mine. Do you hear, monster? If I should take a displeasure against you; look you,—

Trin. Thou wert but a lost monster.

Cal. Good, my lord, give me thy favour still :
Be patient, for the prize I'll bring thee to
Shall hood-wink this mischance : therefore, speak softly ;
All's hush'd as midnight yet.

Trin. Ay, but to lose our bottles in the pool,—

Ste. There is not only disgrace and dishonour in that, monster, but an infinite loss.

Trin. That's more to me than my wetting : yet this is your harmless fairy, monster.

Ste. I will fetch off my bottle, though I be o'er ears for my labour.

Cal. Pr'ythee, my king, be quiet : See'st thou here,
This is the mouth o' the cell : no noise, and enter :
Do that good mischief, which may make this island
Thine own for ever, and I, thy Caliban,
For aye thy foot-licker.

Ste. Give me thy hand : I do begin to have bloody thoughts.

Trin. O king Stephano ! O peer ! O worthy Stephano !
look, what a wardrobe here is for thee ⁵!

Cal. Let it alone, thou fool ; it is but trash.

Trin. Oh, ho, monster ; we know what belongs to a

⁴ —has done little better than play'd the Jack with us.] i. e. He has played Jack with a lantern; has led us about like an *ignis fatuus*, by which travellers are decoyed into the mire. JOHNSON.

⁵ O king Stephano ! O peer ! O worthy Stephano ! look, what a wardrobe here is for thee !] The humour of these lines consists in their being an allusion to an old celebrated ballad, which begins thus : *King Stephen was a worthy peer*—and celebrates that king's parsimony with regard to his wardrobe.—There are two stanzas of this ballad in *Otello*. WARBURTON.

The old ballad is printed at large in *The Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, vol. i. PERCY.

frippery⁶:—O king Stephano!

Ste. Put off that gown, Trinculo; by this hand, I'll have that gown.

Trin. Thy grace shall have it.

Cal. The dropsy drown this fool! what do you mean, To doat thus on such luggage? Let it alone⁷, And do the murder first: if he awake, From toe to crown he'll fill our skins with pinches; Make us strange stuff.

Ste. Be you quiet, monster.—Mistress line, is not this my jerkin? Now is the jerkin under the line⁸: now, jerkin, you are like to lose your hair⁹, and prove a bald jerkin.

Trin. Do, do: We steal by line and level, and't like your grace.

Ste. I thank thee for that jest; here's a garment for't: wit shall not go unrewarded, while I am king of this country: *Steal by line and level* is an excellent pass of pate; there's another garment for't.

Trin. Monster, come, put some lime¹ upon your fingers, and away with the rest.

Cal. I will have none on't: we shall lose our time,

⁶ —*we know what belongs to a frippery*:] A *frippery* was a shop where old cloaths were sold. *Fripperie*, Fr. The person who kept one of these shops was called a *fripper*. Strype, in the life of Stowe, says, that these *frippers* lived in Birchin-lane and Cornhill. STEEVENS.

⁷ Let it alone,] The old copy reads—Let's alone. For the emendation the present editor is answerable. Caliban had used the same expression before.—Mr. Theobald reads—Let's *along*. MALONE.

⁸ —*under the line*, &c.] An allusion to what often happens to people who pass the line. The violent fevers, which they contract in that hot climate, make them lose their hair. EDWARDS' MSS.

Perhaps the allusion is to a more indelicate disease than any peculiar to the equinoxial. Shakspeare seems to design an equivocation between the equinoxial and the girdle of a woman. STEEVENS.

⁹ Now, jerkin, you are like to lose your hair] Jerkins made of goat-skins seem to have been part of the wardrobe of the theatres in our author's time. [See a note on the *Winter's Tale*, Act IV. sc. iii.] However, as the apparel brought in by Ariel is described as splendid and glittering, the garments here spoken of were probably ornamented with tinsel, or gilt leather, and hang upon a *bair*-line. MALONE.

¹ —*put some lime*, &c.] That is, *birdlime*. JOHNSON.

And

And all be turn'd to barnacles, or to apes²
With foreheads villainous low³.

Ste. Monster, lay to your fingers; help to bear this away, where my hog'shead of wine is, or I'll turn you out of my kingdom: go to, carry this.

Trin. And this.

Ste. Ay, and this.

*A noise of hunters heard*⁴. *Enter divers Spirits, in shape of hounds, and hunt them about; Prospero and Ariel setting them on.*

Pro. Hey, Mountain, hey!

Ari. Silver! there it goes, Silver!

Pro. Fury, Fury! there, Tyrant, there! hark, hark!

[*CAL. STE. and TRIN. are driven out.*]

Go, charge my goblins that they grind their joints
With dry convulsions; shorten up their sinews
With aged cramps; and more pinch-spotted make them,
Than pard, or cat o' mountain.

Ari. Hark, they roar.

Pro. Let them be hunted soundly: At this hour
Lie at my mercy all mine enemies:
Shortly shall all my labours end, and thou
Shalt have the air at freedom: for a little,
Follow, and do me service.

[*Exeunt.*]

² —to barnacles, or to apes] Skinner says *barnacle* is *Anser Scoticus*: The *barnacle* is a kind of shell-fish growing on the bottoms of ships, and which was anciently supposed, when broken off, to become one of these geese. COLLINS.

³ *With foreheads villainous low.*] *Low foreheads* were anciently reckoned among deformities. STEEVENS.

This opinion was perhaps peculiar to the age of Queen Elizabeth, and to England, whose customs and fashions Shakspeare gave to every country, and to all times. In his *Antony and Cleopatra* he makes a messenger assure the Egyptian Queen, that the forehead of her rival Octavia was "as low as she could wish it." MALONE.

⁴ *A noise of hunters heard.*] Shakspeare might have had in view, "*Arthur's Chace*, which many believe to be in France, saying that it is a kennel of black dogs, followed by unknown huntsmen, with an exceeding great sound of horns, as if it were a very hunting of some wild beast." See a *Treatise of Spectres* translated from the French of Peter de Loier, and published in quarto, 1605; p. II. GREY.

"HECATE, (says the same writer, *ibid.*) as the Greeks affirmed, did use to send dogges unto men, to feare and terrifie them." MALONE.

A C T V.

S C E N E, *the same.**Enter PROSPERO in his magick robes, and ARIEL;*

Pro. Now does my project gather to a head:
My charms crack not; my spirits obey; and time
Goes upright with his carriage⁵. How's the day?

Ari. On the sixth hour; at which time, my lord,
You said our work should cease.

Pro. I did say so,
When first I rais'd the tempest. Say, my spirit,
How fares the king and his followers?

Ari. Confin'd together
In the same fashion as you gave in charge;
Just as you left them; all prisoners, sir,
In the lime-grove which weather-fends your cell;
They cannot budge, till your release⁶. The king,
His brother, and yours, abide all three distracted;
And the remainder mourning over them,
Brim-full of sorrow and dismay; but chiefly him,
That you term'd, sir, *The good old lord, Gonzalo*;
His tears run down his beard, like winter's drops
From eaves of reeds: your charm so strongly works 'em,
That if you now beheld them, your affections
Would become tender.

Pro. Dost thou think so, spirit?

Ari. Mine would, sir, were I human.

Pro. And mine shall.

Hast thou, which art but air, a touch⁷, a feeling

⁵ ———and time

Goes upright with his carriage.] Alluding to one carrying a burthen. This critical period of my life proceeds as I could wish. Time brings forward all the expected events, without faltering under his burthen. STEEVENS.

⁶ *till your release.*] i. e. till you release them. MALONE.

⁷ —a touch,] *A touch* is a sensation. So, in *Cymbeline*:

“ ——— a touch more rare

“ Subdues all pangs, all fears.” STEEVENS.

Of their afflictions? and shall not myself,
 One of their kind, that relish all as sharply,
 Passion as they⁸, be kindlier mov'd than thou art?
 Though with their high wrongs I am struck to the quick,
 Yet, with my nobler reason, 'gainst my fury
 Do I take part: the rarer action is
 In virtue than in vengeance: they being penitent,
 The sole drift of my purpose doth extend
 Not a frown farther: Go, release them, Ariel;
 My charms I'll break, their senses I'll restore,
 And they shall be themselves.

Ari. I'll fetch them, sir.

[*Exit.*

Pro. Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes, and groves⁹;
 And

⁸ ——— that relish all as sharply,

Passion as they,] *Passion* is a verb in Shakspeare. I feel every thing with the same quick sensibility, and am moved by the same passions as they are. So, in his *Venus and Adonis*:

“Dumbly she *passions*, frantically she doateth.” STEEVENS.

⁹ *Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes, and groves*;] This speech Dr. Warburton rightly observes to be borrowed from Medea's in *Ovid*: and “it proves, says Mr. Holt, beyond contradiction, that Shakspeare was perfectly acquainted with the sentiments of the ancients on the subject of enchantments.” The original lines are these:

“*Auræque, & venti, montesque, amnesque, lacusque,*

“*Diique omnes nemorum, diique omnes noctis adeste.*”

the translation of which, by Golding, is by no means literal, and Shakspeare hath closely followed it. FARMER.

Whoever will take the trouble of comparing this whole passage with Medea's speech, as translated by Golding, quarto, 1576, will see evidently that Shakspeare copied the translation, and not the original. The particular expressions that seem to have made an impression on his mind are printed in Italicks:

“Ye ayres and windes, *ye elves of hills, of brookes, of woodes alone,*

“Of *standing lakes*, and of the night, *approche ye everych one.*

“*Througb help of whom* (the crooked bankes much wondering at the thing)

“I have compelled streames to run clean backward to their spring.

“By charms I make the calm sea rough, and make the rough seas playne,

“And cover all the sky with clouds, and *chase* them thence again.

“By *charmes* I raise and lay the windes, and burst the viper's jaw,

“And from the bowels of the earth both stones and trees do draw.

“Whole woods and Forrests I remove, *I make the mountains shake,*

“And even the earth itself to groan, and fearfully to quake.

And ye, that on the sands with printless foot
 Do chase the ebbing Neptune¹, and do fly him,
 When he comes back; you demy-puppets, that
 By moon-shine do the green sour ringlets make,
 Whereof the ewe not bites; and you, whose pastime
 Is to make midnight mushrooms; that rejoice
 To hear the solemn curfew; by whose aid
 (Weak masters though ye be)² I have be-dimm'd
 The noon-tide sun, call'd forth the mutinous winds,
 And 'twixt the green sea and the azur'd vault
 Set roaring war: to the dread rattling thunder
 Have I given fire, and rifted Jove's stout oak
 With his own bolt: the strong-bas'd promontory
 Have I made shake; and by the spurs pluck'd up

“ I call up dead men from their graves, and thee, o lightsome moone,
 “ I darken oft, though beaten brags abate thy peril soone.
 “ Our forcerie *dimmes* the morning faire, and darks *the sun at noone*.
 “ The flaming breath of fierie builes ye quenched for my sake,
 “ And caus'd their unwieldy neckes the bended yoke to take.
 “ Among the earth-bred brothers you a *mortal warre* did set,
 “ And brought asleep the dragon fell, whose eyes were never shet.”

MALONE.

Ye elves of hills, &c.] Fairies and elves are frequently in the poets mentioned together, without any distinction of character that I can recollect. Keysser says that *alp* and *alf*, which is *elf* with the *Suedes* and *English*, equally signified a mountain, or a dæmon of the mountains. This seems to have been its original meaning; but Somner's Dict. mentions elves or fairies of the mountains, of the woods, of the sea and fountains, without any distinction between elves and fairies. TOL.

¹ ———— *with printless foot*

Do chase the ebbing Neptune,] So Milton, in his *Masque*:

“ Whilst from off the waters fleet,

“ Thus I set my *printless* feet.” STEEVENS.

² (*Weak masters though ye be*)] The meaning of this passage may be; *Though you are but inferior masters of these supernatural powers,—though you possess them but in a low degree.* STEEVENS.

————— *by whose aid*

(*Weak masters though ye be*)

That is; ye are powerful auxiliaries, but weak if left to yourselves;—your employment is then to make green ringlets, and midnight mushrooms, and to play the idle pranks mentioned by Ariel in his next song;—yet by your aid I have been enabled to invert the course of nature. We say proverbially, “ Fire is a good *servant*, but a bad *master*.”

BLACKSTONE.

The

The pine, and cedar: graves, at my command,
 Have wak'd their sleepers; oped, and let them forth
 By my so potent art: But this rough magick
 I here abjure: and, when I have requir'd
 Some heavenly musick, (which even now I do,)
 To work mine end upon their senses, that
 This airy charm is for, I'll break my staff,
 Bury it certain fathoms in the earth,
 And, deeper than did ever plummet sound,
 I'll drown my book. [Solemn musick.]

Re-enter ARIEL: after him, ALONSO, with a frantick gesture, attended by GONZALO; SEBASTIAN and ANTHONIO in like manner, attended by ADRIAN and FRANCISCO: They all enter the circle which Prospero had made, and there stand charmed; which Prospero observing, speaks.

A solemn air, and the best comforter,
 To an unsettled fancy's cure!³—Thy brains,
 Now useles, boil within thy skull:⁴ there stand,
 For you are spell-stopp'd.—
 Holy Gonzalo, honourable man,
 Mine eyes, even sociable to the shew of thine,
 Fall fellowly drops.—The charm dissolves a pace;
 And as the morning steals upon the night,
 Melting the darkness, so their rising senses

³ *To an unsettled fancy's cure!*] The old copy reads—*fancy*. For this emendation the present editor is answerable. So, in *King John*:

My widow's comfort, and my sorrow's cure.

Again, in *Romeo and Juliet*:

——— *Confusion's cure*

Lives not in these confusions.

Prospero begins by observing, that the air which had been played was admirably adapted to compose unsettled minds. He then addresses Gonzalo and the rest, who had just before gone into the circle: "Thy brains, now useles, boil within thy skull &c." [the soothing strain not having yet begun to operate]. Afterwards, perceiving that the musick begins to have the effect intended, he adds, "The charm dissolves a pace." Mr. Pope and the subsequent editors read—*boil'd*. MALONE.

⁴ —*boil within thy skull:*] So, in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*:

"Lovers and madmen have such seething brains, &c." STEEVENS.

Again, in the *Winter's Tale*: "Would any but these *boil'd brains* of nineteen and two-and-twenty hunt this weather?" MALONE.

Begin

Begin to chase the ignorant fumes¹ that mantle
 Their clearer reason.—O good Gonzalo,
 My true preserver, and a loyal fir
 To him thou follow'it; I will pay thy graces
 Home, both in word and deed.—Most cruelly
 Didst thou, Alonso, use me and my daughter:
 Thy brother was a furtherer in the act;—
 Thou'rt pinch'd for't now, Sebastian.—Flesh and blood²,
 You brother mine, that entertain'd ambition³,
 Expell'd remorie, and nature⁴; who, with Sebastian,
 (Whose inward pinches therefore are most strong,)
 Would here have kill'd your king; I do forgive thee,
 Unnatural though thou art!—Their understanding
 Begins to swell; and the approaching tide
 Will shortly fill the reasonable shores,
 That now lie foul and muddy. Not one of them,
 That yet looks on me, or would know me:—Ariel,
 Fetch me the hat and rapier in my cell;— [*Exit ARIEL.*
 I will discharge me, and myself present,
 As I was sometime Milan:—quickly, spirit;
 Thou shalt ere long be free.

ARIEL re-enters, singing, and helps to attire PROSPERO.

*Ari. Where the bee sucks, there suck I;
 In a cowslip's bell I lie⁵:*

¹ —the ignorant fumes] i. e. the fumes of ignorance. HEATH.

² Thou'rt pinch'd for't now, Sebastian.—Flesh and blood,] Thus the old copy: Theobald points the passage in a different manner, and perhaps rightly:

“Thou'rt pinch'd for't now, Sebastian, flesh and blood.” STEEVENS.

³ That entertain'd ambition,] Old copy—*certain*. Corrected by the editor of the second folio. MALONE.

⁴ — remorie and nature;] *Remorse* is by our author and the contemporary writers generally used for pity, or tenderness of heart. *Nature* is natural affection. MALONE.

⁵ In a cowslip's bell I lie:] So, in Drayton's *Nymphidia*:

“At midnight, the appointed hour;

“And for the queen a sitting bower,

“Quoth he, is that fair cowslip flower

“On Hipocrit hill that bloweth.”

The date of this poem not being ascertained, we know not whether our author was indebted to it, or was himself copied by Drayton. I believe, the latter was the imitator. *Nymphidia* was not written, I imagine, till after the English Don Quixote had appeared in 1612. MALONE.

There I couch, when owls do cry¹.

On the bat's back I do fly

After summer, merrily²:

Merrily, merrily, shall I live now,

Under the blossom that hangs on the bough².

Pro. Why, that's my dainty Ariel: I shall miss thee;
But yet thou shalt have freedom: So, so, so.—
To the king's ship, invisible as thou art:
There shalt thou find the mariners asleep
Under the hatches; the master, and the boatswain,
Being awake, enforce them to this place;
And presently, I pr'ythee.

Ari.

¹ —*when owls do cry.*] i. e. at night. Dr. Warburton thought that these words denoted the time of Ariel's flight to be *winter*; but owls, as Mr. Steevens has observed, are as clamorous in summer as in winter. As this passage is now printed, Ariel says that he reposes in a cowslip's bell during the night. Perhaps, however, a full point ought to be placed after the word *couch*, and a comma at the end of the line. If the passage should be thus regulated, Ariel will then take his departure by night, the proper season for the bat to set out upon the expedition. MAL.

² *After summer merrily:*] Mr. Theobald reads—after *sun-set*, “because the bat is not visible by day, but appears first about twilight.” Dr. Warburton thinks *summer* is right, “the roughness of winter being represented by Shakspeare as disagreeable to fairies and such like delicate spirits, who on this account constantly follow *summer*.”—Mr. Steevens thinks that, “the bat being no bird of passage, this expression is probably used to signify, not that Ariel *pursues summer*, but that *after summer is past*, he rides upon the soft down of a bat's back, which suits not improperly with the delicacy of his airy being.”—I see, however, no reason why Ariel should bestride his bat with more ardour *after summer* than *before*, or *during* that season; unless we understand, with Dr. Warburton, that he goes in *pursuit* of summer, in whatever part of the globe it could be found (in which sense the word *after* is frequently used in the midland counties). Our author is seldom solicitous that every part of his imagery should correspond. I, therefore, think, that though the bat is “no bird of passage,” Shakspeare probably meant to express what Dr. Warburton supposes. A short account, however, of this winged animal may perhaps prove the best illustration of the passage before us:

“The bat (says Dr. Goldsmith, in his entertaining and instructive “*Natural History*,”) makes its appearance in *summer*, and begins its flight “in the dusk of the evening. It appears only in the *most pleasant* “evenings; at other times it continues in its retreat; the chink of a “ruined building, or the hollow of a tree. Thus the little animal even “in summer sleeps the greatest part of his time, never venturing out by “day-

Ari. I drink the air * before me, and return
Or e'er your pulse twice beat. [Exit ARIEL.]

Gon. All torment, trouble, wonder, and amazement
Inhabits here; Some heavenly power guide us
Out of this fearful country!

Pro. Behold, sir king,
The wronged duke of Milan, Prospero:
For more assurance that a living prince
Does now speak to thee, I embrace thy body;
And to thee, and thy company, I bid
A hearty welcome.

Alon. Whe'r thou be'st he, or no,
Or some enchanted trifle to abuse me,
As late I have been, I not know: thy pulse
Beats, as of flesh and blood; and, since I saw thee,
The affliction of my mind amends, with which,
I fear, a madneſs held me: this must crave
(An if this be at all,) a most strange story.
Thy dukedom I resign; and do intreat,
Thou pardon me my wrongs:—But how should Prospero
Be living; and be here?

Pro. First, noble friend,

“ day-light, nor in rainy weather. But its short life is still more abridged
“ by continuing in a torpid state during the winter. At the approach of
“ the cold season, the bat prepares for its state of lifeless inactivity, and
“ seems rather to choose a place where it may continue safe from in-
“ terruption, than where it may be warmly or commodiously lodged.”

When Shakspeare had determined to send Ariel in pursuit of summer, wherever it could be found, as most congenial to such an airy being, is it then surprising that he should have made the *bat*, rather than “ the wind, his post-horse;” an animal thus delighting in that season, and reduced by winter to a state of lifeless inactivity? MALONE.

3 *Under the blossom that hangs on the bough.*] So, in *Godfrey of Bulloigne*, translated by Fairfax, 1600:

“ The goblins, *fairies*——

“ Ranged in *flowerie dales*, and mountaines hore,

“ *And under every trembling leaf they sit.*” ANONYMOUS.

4 *I drink the air.*—] *To drink the air*—is an expression of swiftness of the same kind as *to devour the way* in *Henry IV.* JOHNSON.

5 *Thy dukedom I resign;*—] The duchy of Milan being through the reachery of Anthonio made feudatory to the crown of Naples, Alonso promises to resign his claim of sovereignty for the future. STEEVENS.

Let

Let me embrace thine age ; whose honour cannot
Be measur'd, or confin'd.

Gon. Whether this be,
Or be not, I'll not swear.

Pro. You do yet taste
Some subtilties o' the isle, that will not let you
Believe things certain :—Welcome, my friends all :—
But you, my brace of lords, were I so minded,

[*Aside to SEB. and ANT.*

I here could pluck his highness' frown upon you,
And justify you traitors ; at this time
I'll tell no tales.

Seb. The devil speaks in him.

[*Aside.*

Pro. No :—

For you, most wicked fir, whom to call brother
Would even infect my mouth, I do forgive
Thy rankest fault ; all of them ; and require
My dukedom of thee, which, perforce, I know,
Thou must restore.

Alon. If thou be'st Prospero,
Give us particulars of thy preservation :
How thou hast met us here, who three hours since⁶
Were wreck'd upon this shore ; where I have lost,
How sharp the point of this remembrance is !
My dear son Ferdinand.

Pro. I am woe for't, fir⁷.

⁶ —*who three hours since*] The unity of time is most rigidly observed in this piece. The fable scarcely takes up a greater number of hours than are employed in the representation ; and from the very particular care which our author takes to point out this circumstance in so many other passages. as well as here, it should seem as if it were not accidental, but purposely designed to shew the admirers of Ben Jonson's art, and the cavillers of the time, that he too could write a play within all the strictest laws of regularity, when he chose to load himself with the critick's fetters.

The *Boatswain* marks the progress of the day again—*which but three glasses since*, &c. and at the beginning of this act the duration of the time employed on the stage is particularly ascertained ; and it refers to a passage in the first act, of the same tendency. The storm was raised at least two glasses after mid-day, and Ariel was promised that *the work should cease at the sixth hour.* STEEVENS.

⁷ *I am woe for't, fir.*] i. e. *I am sorry for it.* STEEVENS.

Alon.

Alon. Irreparable is the loss; and patience
Says, it is past her cure.

Pro. I rather think,
You have not sought her help; of whose soft grace,
For the like loss, I have her sovereign aid,
And rest myself content.

Alon. You the like loss?

Pro. As great to me, as late⁸; and, supportable
To make the dear loss, have I means much weaker
Than you may call to comfort you; for I
Have lost my daughter.

Alon. A daughter?

O heavens! that they were living both in Naples,
The king and queen there! that they were, I wish
Myself were mudded in that oozy bed,
Where my son lies. When did you lose your daughter?

Pro. In this last tempest. I perceive, these lords
At this encounter do so much admire,
That they devour their reason; and scarce think,
Their eyes do offices of truth, their words
Are natural breath⁹: but, howsoever you have
Been justified from your senses, know for certain,
That I am Prospero, and that very duke
Which was thrust forth of Milan; who most strangely
Upon this shore, where you were wreck'd, was landed,
To be the lord on't. No more yet of this;
For 'tis a chronicle of day by day,
Not a relation for a breakfast, nor
Befitting this first meeting. Welcome, sir;
This cell's my court: here have I few attendants,

⁸ *As great to me, as late;*] My loss is as great as yours, and has as lately happened to me. JOHNSON.

⁹ ——— their words

Are natural breath.] An anonymous correspondent thinks that *their* is a corruption, and that we should read—*these* words. His conjecture appears not improbable. The lords had no doubt concerning *themselves*. Their doubts related only to *Prospero*, whom they at first apprehended to be some “enchanted trifle to abuse them.” They doubt, says he, whether what they see and hear is a mere illusion; whether the person they behold is a living mortal, whether the words they hear are spoken by a human creature. MALONE.

And subjects none abroad : pray you, look in,
My dukedom since you have given me again,
I will requite you with as good a thing ;
At least, bring forth a wonder, to content ye,
As much as me my dukedom.

*The entrance of the cell opens, and discovers FERDINAND
and MIRANDA playing at chess.*

Mira. Sweet lord, you play me false.

Fer. No, my dearest love,
I would not for the world.

Mira. Yes, for a score of kingdoms¹, you should wrangle,
And I would call it fair play.

Alon. If this prove
A vision of the island, one dear son
Shall I twice lose.

Seb. A most high miracle !

Fer. Though the seas threaten, they are merciful :
I have curs'd them without cause. [*Fer. kneels to Alon.*]

Alon. Now all the blessings
Of a glad father compass thee about !
Arise, and say how thou cam'st here.

Mira. O wonder !
How many goodly creatures are there here !
How beauteous mankind is ! O brave new world,
That has such people in't !

Pro. 'Tis new to thee.

Alon. What is this maid, with whom thou wast at play ?
Your eld'st acquaintance cannot be three hours :
Is she the goddess that hath sever'd us,
And brought us thus together ?

¹ Yes, for a score of kingdoms, &c.] I take the sense to be only this : Ferdinand would not, he says, play her false for the *world* : yes, answers she, I would allow you to do it for something less than the world, for *twenty kingdoms*, and I wish you well enough to allow you, after a little *wrangle*, that your play was fair. So likewise Dr. Grey. JOHNSON.

I would recommend another punctuation, and then the sense would be as follows :

*Yes, for a score of kingdoms you should wrangle,
And I would call it fair play ;
because such a contest would be worthy of you.* STEEVENS.

Fer. Sir, she's mortal ;
 But, by immortal providence, she's mine ;
 I chose her, when I could not ask my father
 For his advice ; nor thought I had one : she
 Is daughter to this famous duke of Milan,
 Of whom so often I have heard renown,
 But never saw before ; of whom I have
 Receiv'd a second life, and second father
 This lady makes him to me.

Alon. I am hers :
 But o, how oddly will it sound, that I
 Must ask my child forgiveness !

Pro. There, sir, stop ;
 Let us not burthen our remembrances²
 With a heaviness that's gone,

Gon. I've inly wept,
 Or should have spoke ere this. Look down, you gods,
 And on this couple drop a blessed crown ;
 For it is you, that have chalk'd forth the way
 Which brought us hither !

Alon. I say, Amen, Gonzalo !

Gon. Was Milan thrust from Milan, that his issue
 Should become kings of Naples ? O, rejoice
 Beyond a common joy ; and set it down
 With gold on lasting pillars : In one voyage
 Did Claribel her husband find at Tunis ;
 And Ferdinand, her brother, found a wife,
 Where he himself was lost ; Prospero his dukedom,
 In a poor isle ; and all of us, ourselves,
 When no man was his own.³

Alon. Give me your hands : [To *Fer.* and *Mir.*
 Let grief and sorrow still embrace his heart,
 That doth not wish you joy !

Gon. Be't so ! Amen !

² *Our remembrances—*] By the mistake of the transcriber the word *with* being placed at the end of this line, Mr. Pope and the subsequent editors, for the sake of the metre, read—*remembrance*. The regulation now made renders change unnecessary. MALONE.

³ *When no man was his own.*] i. e. at a time when no one was in his senses. It is still said, in colloquial language, that a madman is *not his own man*, i. e. is not master of himself. STEEVENS.

Re-enter ARIEL, with the Master and Boatswain amazedly following.

O look, fir, look, fir, here are more of us!
 I prophesy'd, if a gallows were on land,
 This fellow could not drown:—Now, blasphemy,
 That swear'st grace o'erboard, not an oath on shore?
 Hast thou no mouth by land? What is the news?

Boatsf. The best news is, that we have safely found
 Our king, and company: the next, our ship,
 Which, but three glasses since, we gave out split,
 Is tight, and yare, and bravely rigg'd, as when
 We first put out to sea.

Ari. Sir, all this service } *Aside.*
 Have I done since I went.

Pro. My tricksy spirit⁴!

Alon. These are not natural events; they strengthen,
 From strange to stranger:—Say, how came you hither?

Boatsf. If I did think, fir, I were well awake,
 I'd strive to tell you. We were dead asleep⁵,
 And (how, we know not,) all clapp'd under hatches,
 Where, but even now, with strange and several noises
 Of roaring, shrieking, howling, gingling chains,
 And more diversity of sounds, all horrible,
 We were awak'd; straitway, at liberty:
 Where we, in all her trim⁶, freshly beheld
 Our royal, good, and gallant ship; our master
 Capering to eye her: On a trice, so please you,
 Even in a dream, were we divided from them,
 And were brought moping hither.

Ari. Was't well done?

Pro. Bravely, my diligence. Thou shalt be } *Aside.*
 free.

4 *My tricksy spirit!*] is, I believe, my clever, adroit spirit. Shakspeare uses the same word elsewhere:

“ —that for a *tricksy* word

“ Defy the matter.” STEEVENS.

5 — *dead asleep,*] The old copy reads—*of sleep.* STEEVENS.

The emendation is Mr. Pope's. MALONE.

6 — *in all her trim,*] The old copy has—*our trim.* Corrected by Dr. Thirlby. MALONE.

Alon. This is as strange a maze as e'er men trod;
And there is in this business more than nature
Was ever conduct of⁷: some oracle
Must rectify our knowledge.

Pro. Sir, my liege,
Do not infest your mind with beating on
The strangeness of this business⁸; at pick'd leisure,
Which shall be shortly, single I'll resolve you
(Which to you shall seem probable) of every
These happen'd accidents⁹: till when, be chearful,
And think of each thing well.—Come hither, spirit; [*aside.*
Set Caliban and his companions free:
Untie the spell. [*Exit Ariel.*] How fares my gracious sir?
There are yet missing of your company
Some few odd lads, that you remember not.

*Re-enter ARIEL, driving in CALIBAN, STEPHANO,
and TRINCULO, in their stolen apparel.*

Ste. Every man shift for all the rest, and let no man
take care for himself; for all is but fortune:—Coragio,
bully-monster, Coragio!

7 — conduct of:] Conduct for conductor. STEEVENS.

So, in *Romeo and Juliet*: "Come bitter conduct, &c." MALONE.

Conduct is yet used in the same sense: the person at Cambridge who
reads prayers in King's and Trinity College chapels is still so styled.
HENLEY.

8 ———with beating on

The strangeness &c.] A similar expression occurs in one of the
parts of *King Henry VI*:

"———your thoughts

"Beat on a crown."

Beating may mean *hammering*, working in the mind, dwelling long
upon. Miranda, in the second scene of this play, tells her father that
the storm is still *beating* in her mind. STEEVENS.

A kindred expression occurs in *Hamlet*: "*Cudgel thy brains no more
about it.*" MALONE.

9 ——— I'll resolve you

(Which to you shall seem probable) of every
These happen'd accidents:] I will inform you how all these won-
derful accidents have happened; which, though they now appear to
you strange, will then seem probable.

An anonymous writer pointed out the true construction of this pas-
sage, but his explanation is, I think, incorrect. MALONE.

Trin.

Trin. If these be true spies which I wear in my head,
There's a goodly sight.

Cal. O Setebos, these be brave spirits, indeed !
How fine my master is ! I am afraid
He will chastise me.

Seb. Ha, ha ;
What things are these, my lord Anthonio !
Will money buy them ?

Ant. Very like ; one of them
Is a plain fish, and, no doubt, marketable.

Pro. Mark but the badges of these men, my lords,
Then say, if they be true¹ :—This mis-shapen knave,—
His mother was a witch ; and one so strong
That could control the moon², make flows and ebbs,
And deal in her command without her power :
These three have robb'd me ; and this demi-devil
(For he's a bastard one,) had plotted with them
To take my life ; two of these fellows you
Must know, and own ; this thing of darkness I
Acknowledge mine.

Cal. I shall be pinch'd to death.

Alon. Is not this Stephano, my drunken butler ?

Seb. He's drunk now : Where had he wine ?

Alon. And Trinculo is reeling ripe ; Where should they
Find this grand liquor that hath gilded them³ ? —

How

¹ —true:] That is, *bonest*. A true man is, in the language of that time, opposed to a *thief*. The sense is, *Mark what these men wear, and say if they are bonest*. JOHNSON.

² ——— and one so strong

That could control the moon,] From Medea's speech in Ovid (as translated by Golding) our author might have learned, that this was one of the pretended powers of witchcraft :

“—— And thee, o lightsome moon,

“ I darken oft, though beaten brass abate thy peril soon.”

MALONE.

³ —this grand liquor that hath gilded them?] Shakspeare, to be sure, wrote—grand *lixir*, alluding to the grand Elixir of the alchemists, which they pretend would restore youth, and confer immortality. This, as they said, being a preparation of gold, they called *Aurum potable*. The phrase of being gilded was a trite one on this occasion. Thus Fletcher, in his *Chances* :—“ Duke. *Is she not drunk too ?* Whore. *A. little gilded o'er, sir ; old sack, old sack, boys !*” WARBURTON.

How cam'st thou in this pickle?

Trin. I have been in such a pickle, since I saw you last, that, I fear me, will never out of my bones: I shall not fear fly-blowing ⁴.

Seb. Why, how now, Stephano?

Ste. O, touch me not; I am not Stephano, but a cramp ⁵.

Pro. You'd be king of the isle, firrah?

Ste. I should have been a fore one then.

Alon. This is a strange thing as e'er I look'd on.

[*Pointing to* CALIBAN.

Pro. He is as disproportion'd in his manners,
As in his shape:—Go, firrah, to my cell;
Take with you your companions; as you look
To have my pardon, trim it handsomely.

Cal. Ay, that I will; and I'll be wise hereafter,
And seek for grace: What a thrice-double ass
Was I, to take this drunkard for a god,
And worship this dull fool?

Pro. Go to; away!

Alon. Hence, and bestow your luggage where you
found it.

Seb. Or stole it, rather. [*Exeunt* CAL. STE. and TRIN.

Pro. Sir, I invite your highness, and your train,
To my poor cell: where you shall take your rest
For this one night; which (part of it) I'll waste
With such discourse, as, I not doubt, shall make it
Go quick away: the story of my life,
And the particular accidents, gone by,
Since I came to this isle: And in the morn,
I'll bring you to your ship, and so to Naples,
Where I have hope to see the nuptial
Of these our dear-beloved solemniz'd;

As the alchymist's *Elixir* was supposed to be a liquor, the old reading may stand, and the allusion holds good without any alteration.

STEEVENS.

4 — *fly-blowing.*] This pickle alludes to their plunge into the stinking pool; and *pickling* preserves meat from *fly-blowing*. STEEVENS.

5 — *but a cramp.*] i. e. I am all over a cramp. Prospero had ordered Ariel to *shorten up their sinews with aged cramps*. *Touch me not* alludes to the *soreness* occasioned by them. In the next line the speaker confirms this meaning by a quibble on the word *sore*. STEEVENS.

And

And thence retire me to my Milan, where
Every third thought shall be my grave.

Alon. I long

To hear the story of your life, which must
Take the ear strangely.

Pro. I'll deliver all;

And promise you calm seas, auspicious gales,

And fail so expeditious, that shall catch

Your royal fleet far off.—My Ariel;—chick,— } *Aside.*

That is thy charge; then to the elements

Be free, and fare thou well!—Please you, draw near.

[*Exeunt.*]

EPILOGUE,

SPOKEN BY PROSPERO.

NOW my charms are all o'erthrown,
 And what strength I have's mine own;
 Which is most faint : now, 'tis true,
 I must be here confin'd by you,
 Or sent to Naples : Let me not,
 Since I have my dukedom got,
 And pardon'd the deceiver, dwell
 In this bare island, by your spell;
 But release me from my bands,
 With the help of your good hands⁶.
 Gentle breath of yours my sails
 Must fill, or else my project fails,
 Which was to please : Now I want
 Spirits to enforce, art to enchant;
 And my ending is despair,
 Unless I be reliev'd by prayer⁷;
 Which pierces so, that it assaults
 Mercy itself, and frees all faults.

*As you from crimes would pardon'd be,
 Let your indulgence set me free⁸.*

⁶ *With the help &c.*] By your applause, by clapping hands. JOHNS.
 Noise was supposed to dissolve a spell. So twice before in this play :

“ No tongue ; all eyes ; be silent.”

Again : “ ——— hush ! be mute ;

“ Or else our spell is marr'd. STEEVENS.

⁷ *And my ending is despair,*

Unless I be reliev'd by prayer ;] This alludes to the old stories told of the despair of necromancers in their last moments, and of the efficacy of the prayers of their friends for them. WARBURTON.

⁸ It is observed of *The Tempest*, that its plan is regular ; this the author of *The Revival* thinks, what I think too, an accidental effect of the story, not intended or regarded by our author. But, whatever might be Shakspeare's intention in forming or adopting the plot, he has made it instrumental to the production of many characters, diversified with boundless invention, and preserved with profound skill in nature, extensive knowledge of opinions, and accurate observation of life. In a single drama are here exhibited princes, courtiers, and sailors, all speaking in their real characters. There is the agency of airy spirits, and of an earthly goblin. The operations of magick, the tumults of a storm, the adventures of a desert island, the native effusion of untaught affection, the punishment of guilt, and the final happiness of the pair for whom our passions and reason are equally interested. JOHNSON.

TWO GENTLEMEN of VERONA.

Persons Represented.

Duke of Milan, *father to Silvia.*
Valentine, } *Gentlemen of Verona.*
Protheus, }
Anthonio, *father to Protheus.*
Thurio, *a foolish rival to Valentine.*
Eglamour, *agent for Silvia in her escape.*
Speed, *a clownish servant to Valentine.*
Launce, *servant to Protheus.*
Panthino*, *servant to Anthonio.*
Host, *where Julia lodges in Milan.*
Out-laws.

Julia, *a lady of Verona, beloved by Protheus.*
Silvia, *the duke's daughter, beloved by Valentine.*
Lucetta, *waiting-woman to Julia.*

Servants, musicians.

SCENE, *sometimes in Verona; sometimes in Milan; and
on the frontiers of Mantua.*

* *Panthino,*] In the enumeration of characters in the old copy, this attendant on Anthonio is called *Pantbion*, but in the play, always *Panthino*. STEEVENS.

TWO GENTLEMEN of VERONA¹.

ACT I. SCENE I.

An open place in Verona.

Enter VALENTINE and PROTHEUS.

Val. Cease to persuade, my loving Protheus;
Home-keeping youth have ever homely wits :

Wer't

¹ Some of the incidents in this play may be supposed to have been taken from *The Arcadia*, book I. chap. 6. where Pyrocles consents to head the Helots. (*The Arcadia* was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company, Aug. 23d, 1588, and printed in 1590.) The love-adventure of Julia resembles that of Viola in *Twelfth Night*, and is indeed common to many of the ancient novels. STEEVENS.

Mrs. Lenox observes, and I think not improbably, that the story of *Protheus* and *Julia* might be taken from a similar one in the *Diana* of *George of Montemayor*.—"This pastoral romance," says she, "was translated from the *Spanish* in *Shakspeare's* time." I have seen no earlier translation than that of *Bartholomew Yong*, who dates his dedication in *November* 1598; and *Meres*, in his *Wit's Treasury*, printed the same year, expressly mentions the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. Indeed *Montemayor* was translated two or three years before by one *Thomas Wilson*; but this work, I am persuaded, was never published *entirely*; perhaps some parts of it were, or the tale might have been translated by others. However, Mr. Steevens says, very truly, that this kind of love adventure is frequent in the old *novelists*. FARMER.

There is no earlier translation of the *Diana* entered on the books of the Stationers' Company, than that of B. Younge, September 1598. Many translations, however, after they were licensed, were capriciously suppressed. Among others, "The Decameron of Mr. John Boccace, Florentine," was "recalled by my lord of Canterbury's commands." STEEVENS.

This comedy, I believe, was written in 1595. See *An Attempt to ascertain the order of Shakspeare's plays*, ante. MALONE.

It is observable, (I know not for what cause,) that the style of this comedy is less figurative, and more natural and unaffected than the greater part of this author's, though supposed to be one of the first he wrote. POPE.

Wer't not, affection chains thy tender days
To the sweet glances of thy honour'd love,

It may very well be doubted whether Shakspeare had any other hand in this play than the enlivening it with some speeches and lines thrown in here and there, which are easily distinguished, as being of a different stamp from the rest. HANMER.

To this observation of Mr. Pope, which is very just, Mr. Theobald has added, that this is one of Shakspeare's *worst plays, and is less corrupted than any other*. Mr. Upton peremptorily determines, *that if any proof can be drawn from manner and style, this play must be sent packing, and seek for its parent elsewhere*. How otherwise, says he, do painters distinguish copies from originals? and have not authors their peculiar style and manner, from which a true critick can form as unerring judgment as a painter? I am afraid this illustration of a critick's science will not prove what is desired. A painter knows a copy from an original by rules somewhat resembling those by which criticks know a translation, which if it be literal, and literal it must be to resemble the copy of a picture, will be easily distinguished. Copies are known from originals, even when the painter copies his own picture; so, if an author should literally translate his work, he would lose the manner of an original.

Mr. Upton confounds the copy of a picture with the imitation of a painter's manner. Copies are easily known, but good imitations are not detected with equal certainty, and are, by the best judges, often mistaken. Nor is it true that the writer has always peculiarities equally distinguishable with those of the painter. The peculiar manner of each arises from the desire, natural to every performer, of facilitating his subsequent works by recurrence to his former ideas; this recurrence produces that repetition which is called habit. The painter, whose work is partly intellectual and partly manual, has habits of the mind, the eye, and the hand; the writer has only habits of the mind. Yet, some painters have differed as much from themselves as from any other; and I have been told, that there is little resemblance between the first works of Raphael and the last. The same variation may be expected in writers; and if it be true, as it seems, that they are less subject to habit, the difference between their works may be yet greater.

But by the internal marks of a composition we may discover the author with probability, though seldom with certainty. When I read this play, I cannot but think that I find, both in the serious and ludicrous scenes, the language and sentiments of Shakspeare. It is not indeed one of his most powerful effusions; it has neither many diversities of character, nor striking delineations of life, but it abounds in *novelty* beyond most of his plays, and few have more lines or passages, which, singly considered, are eminently beautiful. I am yet inclined to believe that it was not very successful, and suspect that it has escaped corruption, only because, being seldom played, it was less exposed to the hazards of transcription. JOHNSON.

I rather would entreat thy company,
To see the wonders of the world abroad,
Than, living dully sluggardiz'd at home,
Wear out thy youth with shapeless idleness².
But, since thou lov'st, love still, and thrive therein,
Even as I would, when I to love begin.

Pro. Wilt thou be gone? Sweet Valentine, adieu!
Think on thy Protheus, when thou, haply, seest
Some rare note-worthy object in thy travel:
Wish me partaker in thy happiness,
When thou dost meet good hap; and, in thy danger,
If ever danger do environ thee,
Commend thy grievance to my holy prayers,
For I will be thy bead's-man, Valentine.

Val. And on a love-book pray for my success.

Pro. Upon some book I love, I'll pray for thee.

Val. That's on some shallow story of deep love,
How young Leander cross'd the Hellespont³.

Pro. That's a deep story of a deeper love;
For he was more than over shoes in love.

Val. 'Tis true; for you are over boots in love,
And yet you never swom the Hellespont.

Pro. Over the boots? nay, give me not the boots⁴.

Val.

² — *shapeless idleness.*] The expression is fine, as implying that idleness prevents the giving any form or character to the manners.

WARBURTON.

³ — *some shallow story of deep love,*

How young Leander cross'd the Hellespont.] The poem of Musæus, entitled HERO AND LEANDER, is meant. Marlowe's translation of this piece was entered on the Stationers' books, Sept. 18, 1593, and the first two Sestiads of it, with a small part of the third, (which was all that he had finished,) were printed, I imagine, in that, or the following year. See Blount's dedication to the edition of 1637, by which it appears that it was originally published in an imperfect state. It was extremely popular, and deservedly so, many of *Marlowe's* lines being as smooth as those of Dryden. Our author has quoted one of them in *As you like it*. He had probably read this poem recently before he wrote the present play; for he again alludes to it in the third act:

"Why then a ladder, quaintly made of cords,

"Would serve to scale another *Hero's* tower,

"So bold *Leander* would adventure it." MALONE.

⁴ — *nay, give me not the boots.*] A proverbial expression, though now disused,

Val. No, I will not, for it boots thee not.

Pro. What?

Val. To be in love, where scorn is bought with groans;
Coy looks, with heart-fore sighs; one fading moment's
mirth,

With twenty watchful, weary, tedious nights:
If haply won, perhaps, a hapless gain;
If lost, why then a grievous labour won;
However, but a folly bought with wit,
Or else a wit by folly vanquished⁵.

Pro. So, by your circumstance, you call me fool.

Val. So, by your circumstance, I fear you'll prove.

Pro. 'Tis love you cavil at; I am not love.

Val. Love is your master, for he masters you;
And he that is so yoked by a fool,
Methinks should not be chronicled for wife.

Pro. Yet writers say, As in the sweetest bud
The eating canker dwells⁶, so eating love
Inhabits in the finest wits of all.

Val. And writers say, As the most forward bud
Is eaten by the canker ere it blow,
Even so by love the young and tender wit
Is turn'd to folly; blasting in the bud,
Losing his verdure even in the prime,
And all the fair effects of future hopes.
But wherefore waste I time to counsel thee,

disused, signifying, don't make a laughing stock of me; don't play upon me. The French have a phrase, *Bailler foin en corse*; which Cotgrave thus interprets, *To give one the boots*; to sell him a bargain.

THEOBALD.

Perhaps this expression took its origin from a sport the country people in Warwickshire use at their harvest-home, where one sits as judge, to try misdemeanours committed in harvest, and the punishment for the men is to be laid on a bench, and slapped on the breech with a pair of *boots*. This they call *giving them the boots*. The *boots*, however, were anciently an engine of torture. See *Mss Harl.* 6999—48. STEEV.

⁵ *However, but a folly &c.*] This love will end in a *foolish action*, to produce which you are long to spend your *wit*, or it will end in the loss of your *wit*, which will be overpowered by the folly of love. JOHNSON.

⁶ ——— *As in the sweetest bud*

The eating canker dwells,] So, in our author's 70th Sonnet,

"For canker vice the *sweetest buds* doth love." MALONE.

That

That art a votary to fond desire?
Once more adieu: my father at the road
Expects my coming, there to see me shipp'd.

Pro. And thither will I bring thee, Valentine.

Val. Sweet Protheus no; now let us take our leave.
At Milan⁷, let me hear from thee by letters,
Of thy success in love, and what news else
Betideth here in absence of thy friend;
And I likewise will visit thee with mine.

Pro. All happiness bechance to thee in Milan!

Val. As much to you at home! and so, farewell!

[Exit VALENTINE.]

Pro. He after honour hunts, I after love:
He leaves his friends, to dignify them more;
I leave myself*, my friends, and all for love.
Thou, Julia, thou hast metamorphos'd me;
Made me neglect my studies, lose my time,
War with good counsel, set the world at nought;
Made wit⁸ with musing weak, heart sick with thought.

Enter SPEED.

Speed. Sir Protheus, save you: Saw you my master?

Pro. But now he parted hence, to embark for Milan.

Speed. Twenty to one then, he is shipp'd already;
And I have play'd the sheep, in losing him.

Pro. Indeed a sheep doth very often stray,
An if the shepherd be awhile away.

Speed. You conclude, that my master is a shepherd then,
and I a sheep⁹?

Pro. I do.

Speed. Why then my horns are his horns, whether I
wake or sleep.

Pro. A silly answer, and fitting well a sheep.

⁷ At Milan,—] The old copy has—To Milan. The emendation was made by the editor of the second folio. The first copy however may be right. "To Milan"—may here be intended as an imperfect sentence. I am now bound for Milan. MALONE.

* I leave, &c.] Old copy—I love—. Corrected by Mr. Pope. MALONE.

⁸ Made wit—] i. e. thou hast made &c. MALONE.

⁹— a sheep?] The article, which is wanting in the original copy, was supplied by the editor of the second folio. MALONE.

Speed.

110 TWO GENTLEMEN

Speed. This proves me still a sheep.

Pro. True; and thy master a shepherd.

Speed. Nay, that I can deny by a circumstance.

Pro. It shall go hard, but I'll prove it by another.

Speed. The shepherd seeks the sheep, and not the sheep the shepherd; but I seek my master, and my master seeks not me: therefore, I am no sheep.

Pro. The sheep for fodder follow the shepherd, the shepherd for food follows not the sheep; thou for wages followest thy master, thy master for wages follows not thee: therefore, thou art a sheep.

Speed. Such another proof will make me cry baa.

Pro. But dost thou hear? gav'st thou my letter to Julia?

Speed. Ay, sir: I, a lost mutton, gave your letter to her, a laced mutton¹; and she, a laced mutton, gave me, a lost mutton, nothing for my labour.

Pro. Here's too small a pasture for such a store of muttons.

Speed. If the ground be overcharg'd, you were best stick her.

Pro. Nay, in that you are astray; 'twere best pound you.

Speed. Nay, sir, less than a pound shall serve me for carrying your letter.

Pro. You mistake; I mean the pound, a pinfold.

Speed. From a pound to a pin? fold it over and over, 'Tis threefold too little for carrying a letter to your lover.

9 I, a lost mutton, gave your letter to her, a laced mutton;] *Speed* calls himself a *lost mutton*, because he had lost his master, and because *Protheus* had been proving him a sheep. But why does he call the lady a laced mutton? Wenchers are to this day called *mutton-mongers*, and consequently the object of their passion must be the *mutton*. THEOB.

A *laced mutton* was in our author's time so established a term for a courtesan, that a street in Clerkenwell, which was much frequented by women of the town, was then called *Mutton-lane*. It seems to have been a phrase of the same kind as the French expression—*caille coiffée*, and might be rendered in that language, *mouton en corset*. This appellation appears to have been as old as the time of king Henry III. "Item sequitur gravis poena corporalis, sed sine amissione vitæ vel membrorum, si raptus sit de concubina legitima, vel aliâ quæstum faciente, sine delectu personarum: has quidem oves debet rex tueri pro pace suâ," *Bracton de Legibus*, lib. ii. MALONE.

Pro.

Pro. But what said she? did she nod².

Speed. I.

[*Speed nods.*]

Pro. Nod, I? why that's nodd³.

Speed. You mistook, sir; I say she did nod: and you ask me, if she did nod; and I say, I.

Pro. And that set together, is nodd^y.

Speed. Now you have taken the pains to set it together, take it for your pains.

Pro. No, no, you shall have it for bearing the letter.

Speed. Well, I perceive, I must be fain to bear with you.

Pro. Why, sir, how do you bear with me?

Speed. Marry, sir, the letter very orderly; having nothing but the word, nodd^y, for my pains.

Pro. Beshrew me, but you have a quick wit.

Speed. And yet it cannot overtake your slow purse.

Pro. Come, come, open the matter in brief: What said she?

Speed. Open your purse, that the money, and the matter, may be both at once deliver'd.

Pro. Well sir, here is for your pains: What said she?

Speed. Truly, Sir, I think you'll hardly win her.

Pro. Why? Couldst thou perceive so much from her?

Speed. Sir, I could perceive nothing at all from her; no, not so much as a ducat for delivering your letter: And being so hard to me that brought your mind, I fear she'll prove as hard to you in telling your mind⁴. Give her no token but stones; for she's as hard as steel.

Pro. What, said she nothing?

² —*did she nod?*] These words have been supplied by some of the editors, to introduce what follows. STEEVENS.

They were supplied by Mr. Theobald. In Speed's answer the old spelling of the affirmative particle has been retained; otherwise the conceit of Protheus (such as it is) would be unintelligible. MALONE.

³ —*that's nodd^y.*] *Noddy* was a game at cards. STEEVENS.

This play upon syllables is hardly worth explaining. The speakers intend to fix the name of *noddy*, that is *fool*, on each other. REED.

⁴ —*in telling your mind.*] The editor of the second folio, not understanding this, altered *your* to *her*, which has been followed in all the subsequent editions. The old copy is certainly right. The meaning is,—*She being so hard to me who was the bearer of your mind, I fear she will prove no less so to you, when you address her in person.* The opposition is between *brought* and *telling*. MALONE.

Speed.

Speed. No, not so much as—*take this for thy pains.* To testify your bounty, I thank you, you have testern'd me⁵; in requital whereof, henceforth carry your letters yourself: and so, sir, I'll commend you to my master.

Pro. Go, go, be gone, to save your ship from wreck; Which cannot perish, having thee aboard⁶, Being destined to a drier death on shore:— I must go send some better messenger; I fear, my Julia would not deign my lines, Receiving them from such a worthless post. [*Exeunt*]

S C E N E II.

The same. Garden of Julia's house.

Enter JULIA and LUCETTA.

Jul. But say, Lucetta, now we are alone, Would'st thou then counsel me to fall in love?

Luc. Ay, madam; so you stumble not unheedfully.

Jul. Of all the fair resort of gentlemen, That every day with parle encounter me, In thy opinion, which is worthiest love?

Luc. Please you, repeat their names, I'll shew my mind According to my shallow simple skill.

Jul. What think'st thou of the fair Sir Eglamour⁷?

Luc. As of a knight well-spoken, neat and fine; But, were I you, he never should be mine.

Jul. What think'st thou of the rich Mercatio?

Luc. Well, of his wealth; but of himself, so, so.

Jul. What think'st thou of the gentle Protheus?

Luc. Lord, lord! to see what folly reigns in us!

Jul. How now, what means this passion at his name?

Luc. Pardon, dear madam; 'tis a passing shame, That I, unworthy body as I am,

⁵ —you have testern'd me;] You have gratified me with a *tester*, *testern*, or *testen*, that is, with a sixpence. JOHNSON.

The old reading is—*cessern'd*. STEEVENS.

This typographical error was corrected by the editor of the second folio. MALONE.

⁶ Which cannot perish, &c.] The same proverb has been already alluded to. See p. 6. REED.

⁷ —fair Sir Eglamour?] *Sir Eglamour of Artoys* is the hero of an ancient metrical romance. STEEVENS.

Should censure thus ⁸ on lovely gentlemen.

Jul. Why not on Protheus, as of all the rest?

Luc. Then thus,—of many good I think him best.

Jul. Your reason?

Luc. I have no other but a woman's reason;

I think him so, because I think him so.

Jul. And would'st thou have me cast my love on him?

Luc. Ay, if you thought your love not cast away.

Jul. Why, he of all the rest hath never mov'd me.

Luc. Yet he of all the rest, I think, best loves ye.

Jul. His little speaking shows his love but small.

Luc. Fire, that is closest kept, burns most of all.

Jul. They do not love, that do not show their love.

Luc. O, they love least, that let men know their love.

Jul. I would, I knew his mind.

Luc. Peruse this paper, madam.

Jul. To *Julia*,—Say, from whom?

Luc. That the contents will show.

Jul. Say, say; who gave it thee?

Luc. Sir Valentine's page; and sent, I think, from
Protheus:

He would have given it you, but I, being in the way,
Did in your name receive it; pardon the fault, I pray.

Jul. Now, by my modesty, a goodly broker ⁹!

Dare you presume to harbour wanton lines?

To whisper and conspire against my youth?

Now, trust me, 'tis an office of great worth,

And you an officer fit for the place.

There, take the paper, see it be return'd;

Or else return no more into my sight.

Luc. To plead for love deserves more fee than hate.

Jul. Will you be gone?

Luc. That you may ruminate.

[*Exit.*

Jul. And yet, I would I had o'erlook'd the letter.

It were a shame, to call her back again,

And pray her to a fault for which I chid her.

⁸ *Should censure thus—*] To *censure*, in our author's time, generally signified to give one's judgment or opinion. MALONE.

⁹ — *a goodly broker!*] A *broker* was used for matchmaker, sometimes for a procurer. JOHNSON.

What fool is she, that knows I am a maid,
And would not force the letter to my view?
Since maids, in modesty, say *No*, to that¹
Which they would have the profferer construe, *Ay*.
Fie, fie! how wayward is this foolish love,
That, like a testy babe, will scratch the nurse,
And presently, all humbled, kiss the rod!
How churlishly I chid Lucetta hence,
When willingly I would have had her here!
How angrily I taught my brow to frown,
When inward joy enforc'd my heart to smile!
My penance is, to call Lucetta back,
And ask remission for my folly past:—
What ho! Lucetta!

Re-enter LUCETTA.

Luc. What would your ladyship?

Jul. Is it near dinner-time?

Luc. I would, it were;

That you might kill your stomach² on your meat,
And not upon your maid.

Jul. What is't that you
Took up so gingerly?

Luc. Nothing.

Jul. Why didst thou stoop then?

Luc. To take a paper up that I let fall.

Jul. And is that paper nothing?

Luc. Nothing concerning me.

Jul. Then let it lie for those that it concerns.

Luc. Madam, it will not lie where it concerns,
Unless it have a false interpreter.

Jul. Some love of yours hath writ to you in rhyme.

Luc. That I might sing it, madam, to a tune:
Give me a note: your ladyship can set.

Jul. As little by such toys as may be possible:
Best sing it to the tune of *Light o' love*.

Luc. It is too heavy for so light a tune.

Jul. Heavy? belike, it hath some burden then.

¹ —*say No, to that &c.*] A paraphrase on the old proverb, "Maids say nay, and take it." STEEVENS.

² —*stomach*] was used for *passion* or *obstinacy*. JOHNSON.

Luc. Ay ; and melodious were it, would you sing it.

Jul. And why not you ?

Luc. I cannot reach so high.

Jul. Let's see your song :—How now, minion ?

Luc. Keep tune there still, so you will sing it out :
And yet, methinks, I do not like this tune.

Jul. You do not ?

Luc. No, madam ; it is too sharp.

Jul. You, minion, are too saucy.

Luc. Nay, now you are too flat,
And mar the concord with too harsh a descant³ :
There wanteth but a mean⁴ to fill your song.

Jul. The mean is drown'd with your unruly base.

Luc. Indeed, I bid the base for Protheus⁵.

Jul. This babble shall not henceforth trouble me.
Here is a coil with protestation !— [*Tears the letter.*
Go, get you gone ; and let the papers lie :
You would be fingering them, to anger me.

Luc. She makes it strange ; but she would be best pleas'd
To be so anger'd with another letter. [*Exit.*

Jul. Nay, would I were so anger'd with the same !
O hateful hands, to tear such loving words !

Injurious wasps ; to feed on such sweet honey,
And kill the bees, that yield it, with your stings !
I'll kiss each several paper for amends.

Look, here is writ—*kind Julia* ;—unkind Julia !

As in revenge of thy ingratitude,
I throw thy name against the bruising stones,
'Trampling contemptuously on thy disdain.

And here is writ—*love-wounded Protheus* :—

Poor wounded name ! my bosom, as a bed,
Shall lodge thee, till thy wound be thoroughly heal'd ;

And

³ — *too harsh a descant* :] *Descant* is a term in music. See Sir John Hawkins's note on the first speech in *K. Richard III.* STEEVENS.

⁴ — *but a mean, &c.*] The *mean* is the *tenor* in music. STEEVENS.

⁵ *Indeed, I bid the base for Protheus.*] The speaker here turns the allusion (which her mistress employed) from the *base in musick* to a country exercise, *Bid the base* : in which some pursue, and others are made prisoners. So that Lucetta would intend, by this, to say, Indeed I take pains to make you a captive to Protheus's passion. WARB.

Dr. Warburton is not quite accurate. The game was not called *Bid* the

And thus I search it with a sovereign kiss.
 But twice, or thrice, was Protheus written down:
 Be calm, good wind, blow not a word away,
 Till I have found each letter in the letter,
 Except mine own name; that some whirlwind bear
 Unto a ragged, fearful, hanging rock,
 And throw it thence into the raging sea!
 Lo, here in one line is his name twice writ,—
Poor forlorn Protheus, passionate Protheus,
To the sweet Julia;—that I'll tear away;
 And yet I will not, fith so prettily
 He couples it to his complaining names:
 Thus will I fold them one upon another;
 Now kiss, embrace, contend, do what you will.

Re-enter LUCETTA.

Luc. Madam, dinner's ready, and your father stays.

Jul. Well, let us go.

Luc. What, shall these papers lie like tell-tales here?

Jul. If you respect them, best to take them up.

Luc. Nay, I was taken up for laying them down:

Yet here they shall not lie, for catching cold.

Jul. I see, you have a month's mind to them⁶.

Luc. Ay, madam, you may say what fights you see;
 I see things too, although you judge I wink.

Jul. Come, come, will't please you go? [*Exeunt.*]

the Base, but *the Base*. To *bid the base* means here, I believe, *to challenge to a contest*. So, in our author's *Venus and Adonis*:

“To *bid* the wind a *base* he now prepares,

“And wh'er he run, or fly, they knew not whether.” MALONE.

⁶ *I see, you have a month's mind to them.*] A *month's mind* was an anniversary in times of popery; or, as Mr. Ray calls it, a less solemnity directed by the will of the deceased. There was also a *year's mind*, and a *week's mind*. See *Proverbial Phrases*. GREY.

A *month's mind*, in the ritual sense, signifies not desire or inclination, but remembrance; yet I suppose this is the true original of the expression. JOHNSON.

In Hampshire, and other western counties, for “I can't remember it,” they say, “I can't *mind* it.” BLACKSTONE.

If this line was designed for a verse, we should read—*month's mind*. So, in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*:

“Swifter than the moon's sphere.”

Both these are the Saxon genitive case. STEEVENS.

SCENE

SCENE III.

The same. A Room in Anthonio's House.

Enter ANTHONIO and PANTHINO.

Ant. Tell me, Panthino, what sad talk ⁷ was that,
Wherewith my brother held you in the cloister?

Pant. 'Twas of his nephew Protheus, your son.

Ant. Why, what of him?

Pant. He wonder'd, that your lordship
Would suffer him to spend his youth at home;
While other men, of slender reputation,
Put forth their sons to seek preferment out:
Some to the wars, to try their fortune there;
Some, to discover islands far away ⁸;
Some, to the studious universities.
For any, or for all these exercises,
He said, that Protheus, your son, was meet;
And did request me, to importune you,
To let him spend his time no more at home,
Which would be great impeachment to his age ⁹,
In having known no travel in his youth.

Ant. Nor need'st thou much importune me to that
Whereon this month I have been hammering.
I have consider'd well his loss of time;
And how he cannot be a perfect man,
Not being try'd, and tutor'd in the world:
Experience is by industry achiev'd,
And perfected by the swift course of time:
Then, tell me, whither were I best to send him?

⁷ — *what sad talk*] *Sad* is the same as *grave* or *serious*. JOHNSON.

⁸ *Some, to discover islands far away* ;] In Shakspeare's time, voyages for the discovery of the islands of America were much in vogue. And we find, in the journals of the travellers of that time, that the sons of noblemen, and of others of the best families in England, went very frequently on these adventures. Such as the Fortescues, Collitons, Thornhills, Farmers, Pickerings, Littletons, Willoughbys, Chesters, Hawleys, Bromleys, and others. To this prevailing fashion our poet frequently alludes, and not without high commendations of it. WARB.

⁹ — *great impeachment to his age*,] *Impeachment* is *hindrance*.

STEEVENS.

Pant. I think, your lordship is not ignorant,
How his companion, youthful Valentine,
Attends the emperor in his royal court ¹.

Ant. I know it well.

Pant. 'Twere good, I think, your lordship sent him
thither:

There shall he practise tilts and tournaments,
Hear sweet discourse, converse with noblemen;
And be in eye of every exercise,
Worthy his youth and nobleness of birth.

Ant. I like thy counsel; well hast thou advis'd;
And, that thou may'st perceive how well I like it,
The execution of it shall make known;
Even with the speediest expedition
I will dispatch him to the emperor's court.

Pant. To-morrow, may it please you, Don Alphonso,
With other gentlemen of good esteem,
Are journeying to salute the emperor,
And to commend their service to his will.

Ant. Good company; with them shall Protheus go;
And, in good time ²,—now will we break with him.

Enter PROTHEUS.

Pro. Sweet love! sweet lines! sweet life!
Here is her hand, the agent of her heart;
Here is her oath for love, her honour's pawn:
O, that our fathers would applaud our loves,

¹ *Attends the emperor in his royal court.*] Shakspeare has been guilty of no mistake in placing the emperor's court at Milan in this play. Several of the first German emperors held their courts there occasionally, it being, at that time, their immediate property, and the chief town of their Italian dominions. Some of them were crowned kings of Italy at Milan, before they received the imperial crown at Rome. Nor has the poet fallen into any contradiction, by giving a duke to Milan at the same time that the emperor held his court there. The first dukes of that, and all the other great cities in Italy, were not sovereign princes, as they afterwards became; but were merely governors, or viceroys, under the emperors, and removeable at their pleasure. Such was the Duke of Milan mentioned in this play. STEEVENS.

² —*in good time.*] *In good time* was the old expression when something happened which suited the thing in hand, as the French say, *à propos.* JOHNSON.

To seal our happiness with their consents !

O heavenly Julia !

Ant. How now ? what letter are you reading there ?

Pro. May't please your lordship, 'tis a word or two
Of commendation sent from Valentine,
Deliver'd by a friend that came from him.

Ant. Lend me the letter ; let me see what news.

Pro. There is no news, my lord ; but that he writes
How happily he lives, how well belov'd,
And daily graced by the emperor ;
Wishing me with him, partner of his fortune.

Ant. And how stand you affected to his wish ?

Pro. As one relying on your lordship's will,
And not depending on his friendly wish.

Ant. My will is something sort'd with his wish :
Mute not that I thus suddenly proceed ;
For what I will, I will, and there an end.
I am resolv'd, that thou shalt spend some time
With Valentinus in the emperor's court ;
What maintenance he from his friends receives,
Like exhibition³ thou shalt have from me.
To-morrow be in readiness to go ;
Excuse it not, for I am peremptory.

Pro. My lord, I cannot be so soon provided ;
Please you, deliberate a day or two.

Ant. Look, what thou want'st, shall be sent after thee :
No more of stay ; to-morrow thou must go.—
Come on, Panthino ; you shall be employ'd
To hasten on his expedition.

[*Exeunt* ANTHONIO and PANTHINO.]

Pro. Thus have I shunn'd the fire, for fear of burn-
ing ;
And drench'd me in the sea, where I am drown'd :
I fear'd to shew my father Julia's letter,
Lest he should take exceptions to my love ;
And with the vantage of mine own excuse
Hath he excepted most against my love.

³ —*exhibition*] i. e. allowance. STEEVENS.

O, how this spring of love resembleth ⁴

The uncertain glory of an April day ;
Which now shews all the beauty of the sun,
And by and by a cloud takes all away !

Re-enter

4 *O, how this spring of love resembleth*] It was not always the custom among our early writers to make the first and third lines rhyme to each other ; and when a word was not long enough to complete the measure, they occasionally extended it. Thus Spenser, in his *Faery Queen*, B. II. c. 12 :

“ Formerly grounded, and fast *setteled*.”

Again, B. II. c. 12 :

“ The while sweet Zephyrus loud *whifseled*, &c.

From this practice, I suppose our author wrote *resembleth*, which, though it affords no jingle, completes the verse. Many poems have been written in this measure, where the second and fourth lines only rhyme. STEEVENS.

Resembleth is here used as a quadrisyllable, as if it was written *resembeletb*. See *Com. of Errors*, Act V. sc. the last :

“ And these two Dromios, one in *semblance*.”

As you like it, Act II. sc. ii.

“ The parts and graces of the *wrestler*.”

And it should be observed, that Shakspeare takes the same liberty with many other words, in which *l*, or *r*, is subjoined to another consonant, See *Com. of Errors*, next verse but one to that cited above :

“ These are the parents to these *children*.”

where some editors, being unnecessarily alarmed for the metre, have endeavoured to help it by a word of their own :

“ These *plainly* are the parents to these children.” TYRWHITT.

Thus much I had thought sufficient to say upon this point, in the edition of these plays published by Mr. Steevens in 1778. Since which the Author of *Remarks*, &c. on that edition has been pleased to assert, p. 7. “ that Shakspeare does not appear, from the above instances at least, to have taken the smallest liberty in extending his words : neither has the incident of *l*, or *r*, being subjoined to another consonant any thing to do in the matter.”—“ The truth is,” he goes on to say, “ that every verb in the English language gains an *additional syllable* by its termination in *est*, *eth*, *ed*, *ing*, or, (when formed into a substantive) in *er* ; and the above words, *when rightly printed*, are not only unexceptionable, but most just. Thus *resemble* makes *resemble-eth* ; *wrestle*, *wrestle-er* ; and *settle*, *whistle*, *tickle*, make *settle-ed*, *whistle-ed*, *tickle-ed*.”

As to this *supposed* Canon of the English language, it would be easy to shew that it is quite fanciful and unfounded ; and what he calls *the right method of printing the above words* is such as, I believe, was never adopted before by any mortal in writing them, nor can be followed in the pronunciation of them without the help of an entirely new system
of

Re-enter PANTHINO.

Pant. Sir Protheus, your father calls for you ;
He is in haste, therefore, I pray you, go.

Pro. Why, this it is ! my heart accords thereto ;
And yet a thousand times it answers, no. [*Exeunt.*]

of spelling. But any further discussion of this matter is unnecessary ; because the hypothesis, though allowed in its utmost extent, will not prove either of the points to which it is applied. It will neither prove that Shakspeare has not taken a liberty in extending certain words, nor that he has not taken that liberty chiefly with words in which *l*, or *r*, is subjoined to another consonant. The following are all instances of nouns, substantive or adjective, which can receive no support from the supposed Canon. That Shakspeare has taken a liberty in extending these words is evident, from the consideration, that the same words are more frequently used, by his contemporaries and by himself, without the additional syllable. Why he has taken this liberty chiefly with words in which *l*, or *r*, is subjoined to another consonant, must be obvious to any one who can pronounce the language.

Country, trisyllable.

T. N. Act I. sc. ii. The like of him. Know'st thou this *country* ?
Coriol. Act I. sc. iii. Die nobly for their *country*, than one.

Remembrance, quadrisyllable.

T. N. Act I. sc. i. And lasting in her sad *remembrance*.

W. T. Act IV. sc. iv. Grace and *remembrance* be to you both.

Angry, trisyllable.

Timon. Act III. sc. v. But who is man, that is not *angry*.

Henry, trisyllable.

Rich. III. Act II. sc. iii. So stood the state, when *Henry* the Sixth—.

2 H. VI. Act II. sc. ii. Crown'd by the name of *Henry* the Fourth.
And so in many other passages.

Monstrous, trisyllable.

Macb. Act IV. sc. vi. Who cannot want the thought how *monstrous*.

Othello. Act II. sc. iii. 'Tis *monstrous*. Iago, who began it ?

Assembly, quadrisyllable.

M. A. A. N. Act V. sc. last. Good morrow to this fair *assembly*.

Douglas, trisyllable.

1 H. IV. Act V. sc. ii. Lord *Douglas* go you and tell him so.

England, trisyllable.

Rich. II. Act IV. sc. i. Than Bolingbrooke return to *England*.

Humbler, trisyllable.

1 H. VI. Act III. sc. i. Methinks his lordship should be *humbler*.

Nobler, trisyllable.

Coriol. Act III. sc. ii. You do the *nobler*. Cor. I muse my mother—.

TYRWHITT.

ACT

ACT II. SCENE I.

Milan. *A Room in the Duke's Palace.*

Enter VALENTINE and SPEED.

Speed. Sir, your glove.

Val. Not mine ; my gloves are on.

Speed. Why then this may be yours, for this is but one⁵.

Val. Ha ! let me see : ay, give it me, it's mine :—
Sweet ornament that decks a thing divine !

Ah Silvia ! Silvia !

Speed. Madam Silvia ! madam Silvia !

Val. How now, firrah ?

Speed. She is not within hearing, fir.

Val. Why, fir, who bad you call her ?

Speed. Your worship, fir ; or else I mistook.

Val. Well, you'll still be too forward.

Speed. And yet I was last chidden for being too slow.

Val. Go to, fir ; tell me, do you know madam Silvia ?

Speed. She that your worship loves ?

Val. Why, how know you that I am in love ?

Speed. Marry, by these special marks : First, you have learn'd, like fir Protheus, to wreath your arms like a male-content ; to relish a love-song, like a Robin-red-breast ; to walk alone, like one that had the pestilence ; to sigh, like a school-boy that had lost his A B C ; to weep, like a young wench that had buried her grandam ; to fast, like one that takes diet⁶ ; to watch, like one that fears rob-

⁵ *Val.* Not mine, my gloves are on.

Speed. *Why then, this may be yours ; for this is but one.*] It should seem from this passage, that the word *one* was anciently pronounced as if it were written *on*. The quibble here is lost by the change of pronunciation ; a loss, however, which may be very patiently endured. MALONE.

⁶ —takes diet ;] To take diet was the phrase for being under a regimen for a disease mentioned in *Timon* :

“ —bring down the rose-cheek'd youth

“ To the tub-fast and the diet.” STEEVENS.

bing ; to speak puling, like a beggar at Hallowmas⁷. You were wont, when you laugh'd, to crow like a cock ; when you walk'd, to walk like one of the lions ; when you fasted, it was presently after dinner ; when you look'd sadly, it was for want of money : and now you are metamorphos'd with a mistress, that, when I look on you, I can hardly think you my master.

Val. Are all these things perceived in me ?

Speed. They are all perceived without ye.

Val. Without me ? they cannot.

Speed. Without you ? nay, that's certain ; for, without you were so simple, none else would⁸ : but you are so without these follies, that these follies are within you, and shine through you like the water in an urinal ; that not an eye, that sees you, but is a physician to comment on your malady.

Val. But, tell me, dost thou know my lady Silvia ?

Speed. She, that you gaze on so, as she sits at supper ?

Val. Hast thou observed that ? even she I mean.

Speed. Why, sir, I know her not.

Val. Dost thou know her by my gazing on her, and yet know'st her not ?

Speed. Is she not hard-favour'd, sir ?

Val. Not so fair, boy, as well-favour'd.

Speed. Sir, I know that well enough.

Val. What dost thou know ?

Speed. That she is not so fair, as (of you) well-favour'd.

Val. I mean, that her beauty is exquisite, but her favour infinite.

7 —*Hallowmas.*] That is, about the feast of All-Saints, when winter begins, and the life of a vagrant becomes less comfortable. JOHNSON.

Is it worth remarking, that on *All-Saints-Day* the poor people in *Staffordshire*, and perhaps in other country places, go from parish to parish a *souling* as they call it ; i. e. begging and *puling* (or singing small, as Bailey's Dict. explains *puling*) for *soul-cakes*, or any good thing to make them merry ? This custom is mentioned by *Peck*, and seems a remnant of Popish superstition to pray for departed souls, particularly those of friends. The *souler's* song, in *Staffordshire*, is different from that which Mr. *Peck* mentions, and is by no means worthy publication. TOLLET.

⁸ none else would :] None else would be so simple. JOHNSON.

Speed.

Speed. That's because the one is painted, and the other out of all count.

Val. How painted? and how out of count?

Speed. Marry, fir, so painted, to make her fair, that no man 'counts of her beauty.

Val. How esteem'st thou me? I account of her beauty.

Speed. You never saw her since she was deform'd.

Val. How long hath she been deform'd?

Speed. Ever since you loved her.

Val. I have loved her ever since I saw her; and still I see her beautiful.

Speed. If you love her, you cannot see her.

Val. Why?

Speed. Because love is blind. O, that you had mine eyes; or your own eyes had the lights they were wont to have, when you chid at fir Protheus for going ungartered⁹!

Val. What should I see then?

Speed. Your own present folly, and her passing deformity: for he, being in love, could not see to garter his hose; and you, being in love, cannot see to put on your hose.

Val. Belike, boy, then you are in love; for last morning you could not see to wipe my shoes.

Speed. True, fir; I was in love with my bed: I thank you, you fwinged me for my love, which makes me the bolder to chide you for yours.

Val. In conclusion, I stand affected to her.

Speed. I would you were set; so, your affection would cease.

Val. Last night she enjoind me to write some lines to one she loves.

Speed. And have you?

Val. I have.

Speed. Are they not lamely writ?

Val. No, boy, but as well as I can do them:—
Peace, here she comes.

9 —for going ungartered!] This is enumerated by Rosalind in *As You Like It*, Act III. sc. ii. as one of the undoubted marks of love: "Then your hose should be ungartered, your bonnet unbanded, &c."

Enter SILVIA.

Speed. O excellent motion¹! O exceeding puppet! Now will he interpret to her.

Val. Madam and mistress, a thousand good morrows.

Speed. O, 'give ye good even! here's a million of manners. [Aside.]

Sil. Sir Valentine and servant², to you two thousand.

Speed. He should give her interest; and she gives it him.

Val. As you enjoin'd me, I have writ your letter, Unto the secret nameless friend of yours; Which I was much unwilling to proceed in, But for my duty to your ladyship.

Sil. I thank you, gentle servant: 'tis very clerkly done³.

Val. Now trust me, madam, it came hardly off⁴; For, being ignorant to whom it goes, I writ at random, very doubtfully.

Sil. Perchance you think too much of so much pains?

Val. No, madam; so it stead you, I will write, Please you command, a thousand times as much: And yet,—

Sil. A pretty period! Well, I guess the sequel; And yet I will not name it:—and yet I care not;— And yet take this again;—and yet I thank you; Meaning henceforth to trouble you no more.

Speed. And yet you will; and yet another yet. [Aside.]

Val. What means your ladyship? do you not like it?

Sil. Yes, yes! the lines are very quaintly writ: But since unwillingly, take them again; Nay, take them.

Val. Madam, they are for you.

¹ O excellent motion! &c.] *Motion*, in Shakspeare's time, signified *puppet*, and sometimes a *puppet-show*. *Speed* means to say, that *Silvia* is a *puppet*, and that *Valentine* is to interpret *to*, or rather *for* her.

SIR J. HAWKINS.

² —*servant*,] [Here *Silvia* calls her lover *servant*, and again, below, her *gentle servant*. This was the language of ladies to their lovers at the time when Shakspeare wrote. SIR J. HAWKINS.

³ —'tis very clerkly done.] i. e. like a scholar. STEEVENS.

⁴ —it came hardly off;] A similar phrase occurs in *Timon*, Act I. sc. i:

'This comes off well and excellent.' STEEVENS.

Sil.

Sil. Ay, ay; you writ them, fir, at my request;
But I will none of them; they are for you:
I would have had them writ more movingly.

Val. Please you, I'll write your ladyship another.

Sil. And, when it's writ, for my sake read it over:
And, if it please you, so; if not, why, so.

Val. If it please me, madam; what then?

Sil. Why, if it please you, take it for your labour;
And so good-morrow, servant. [Exit SILVIA.]

Speed. O jest unseen, inscrutable, invisible,
As a nose on a man's face, or a weathercock on a steeple!
My master sues to her; and she hath taught her suitor,
He being her pupil, to become her tutor.

O excellent device! was there ever heard a better?
That my master, being scribe, to himself should write the
letter?

Val. How now, fir? what are you reasoning with yourself?

Speed. Nay, I was rhiming; 'tis you that have the reason.

Val. To do what?

Speed. To be a spokesman from madam Silvia.

Val. To whom?

Speed. To yourself: why, she wooes you by a figure.

Val. What figure?

Speed. By a letter, I should say.

Val. Why, she hath not writ to me?

Speed. What need she, when she hath made you write
to yourself? Why, do you not perceive the jest?

Val. No, believe me.

Speed. No believing you indeed, fir: But did you per-
ceive her earnest?

Val. She gave me none, except an angry word.

Speed. Why, she hath given you a letter.

Val. That's the letter I writ to her friend.

Speed. And that letter hath she deliver'd, and there an
end⁶.

Val. I would, it were no worse.

5 — reasoning with yourself?] That is, discoursing, talking. An Italianism. JOHNSON.

6 — and there an end.] i. e. there's the conclusion of the matter. STEEVENS.

Speed. I'll warrant you, 'tis as well :

*For often have you writ to her ; and she, in modesty,
Or else for want of idle time, could not again reply ;
Or fearing else some messenger, that might her mind discover,
Herself hath taught her love himself to write unto her lover.—
All this I speak in print⁷ ; for in print I found it.—
Why muse you, sir ? 'tis dinner time.*

Val. I have dined.

Speed. Ay, but hearken, sir : though the cameleon love
can feed on the air, I am one that am nourish'd by my
viſuals, and would fain have meat : O, be not like your
miſtreſs ; be moved, be moved. [*Exeunt.*

S C E N E II.

Verona. *A Room in Julia's House.*

Enter PROTHEUS and JULIA.

Pro. Have patience, gentle Julia.

Jul. I muſt, where is no remedy.

Pro. When poſſibly I can, I will return.

Jul. If you turn not, you will return the ſooner :
Keep this remembrance for thy Julia's ſake.

[giving a ring.]

Pro. Why then we'll make exchange ; here, take you this.

Jul. And ſeal the bargain with a holy kiſs.

Pro. Here is my hand for my true conſtancy ;
And when that hour o'er-flips me in the day,
Wherein I ſigh not, Julia, for thy ſake,
The next enſuing hour ſome foul miſchance
Torment me for my love's forgetfulneſs !
My father ſtays my coming ; anſwer not ;
The tide is now : nay, not thy tide of tears ;
That tide will ſtay me longer than I ſhould ;
Julia, farewell.—What ! gone without a word ? [*Exit JUL.*
Ay, ſo true love ſhould do : it cannot ſpeak ;
For truth hath better deeds, than words, to grace it.

Enter PANTHINO.

Pant. Sir Protheus, you are ſtaid for.

Pro. Go ; I come, I come :—

Alas ! this parting ſtrikes poor lovers dumb. [*Exeunt.*

7 — in print ;] Means with exactneſs. STEEVENS.

S C E N E

SCENE III.

*The same. A Street.**Enter LAUNCE, leading a dog.*

Launce. Nay, 'twill be this hour ere I have done weeping; all the kind of the Launces have this very fault: I have received my proportion, like the prodigious son, and am going with sir Protheus to the imperial's court. I think, Crab my dog be the fourest-natured dog that lives: my mother weeping, my father wailing, my sister crying, our maid howling, our cat wringing her hands, and all our house in a great perplexity, yet did not this cruel-hearted cur shed one tear: he is a stone, a very pebble-stone, and has no more pity in him than a dog: a Jew would have wept to have seen our parting; why, my grandam having no eyes, look you, wept herself blind at my parting. Nay, I'll show you the manner of it: This shoe is my father;—no, this left shoe is my father;—no, no, this left shoe is my mother;—nay, that cannot be so neither;—yes, it is so, it is so; it hath the worser sole: This shoe, with the hole in it, is my mother, and this my father; A vengeance on't! there 'tis: now, sir, this staff is my sister; for, look you, she is as white as a lilly, and as small as a wand: this hat is Nan, our maid; I am the dog⁷:—no, the dog is himself, and I am the dog,—oh, the dog is me, and I am myself; ay, so, so. Now come I to my father; *Father, your blessing*; now should not the shoe speak a word for weeping; now should I kiss my father; well, he weeps on: now come I to my mother, (O, that she could speak now!) like a wood woman⁸;—well,

7 — *I am the dog*:—&c.] This passage is much confused, and of confusion the present reading makes no end. Sir T. Hanmer reads, *I am the dog, no, the dog is himself, and I am me, the dog is the dog, and I am myself*. This certainly is more reasonable, but I know not how much reason the author intended to bestow on Launce's soliloquy.

JOHNSON.

8 — *like a wood woman*!] i. e. a frantick woman. The old copy reads—*would woman*. The emendation is Mr. Theobald's. MALONE.

Ob!

well, I kiss her;—why there 'tis; here's my mother's breath up and down: now come I to my sister; mark the moan she makes: now the dog all this while sheds not a tear, nor speaks a word; but see how I lay the dust with my tears.

Enter PANTHINO.

Pant. Launce, away, away, aboard; thy master is shipped, and thou art to post after with oars. What's the matter? why weep'st thou, man? Away, afs; you will lose the tide, if you tarry any longer.

Launce. It is no matter, if the ty'd were lost⁹; for it is the unkindest ty'd that ever any man ty'd.

Pant. What's the unkindest tide?

Launce. Why, he that's ty'd here; Crab, my dog.

Pant. Tut, man, I mean thou'lt lose the flood; and, in losing the flood, lose thy voyage; and, in losing thy voyage, lose thy master; and, in losing thy master, lose thy service; and, in losing thy service,—Why dost thou stop my mouth?

Launce. For fear thou should'st lose thy tongue.

Pant. Where should I lose my tongue?

Launce. In thy tale.

Pant. In thy tail?

Launce. Lose the tide, and the voyage, and the master,

Ob! that she could speak now like a wood-woman! I am not certain that I understand this passage. *Wood*, or crazy women, were anciently supposed to tell fortunes. *Launce* may therefore mean, that as her gestures are those of frantick persons, so he wishes she was possessed of their other powers, and could predict his fate. Or should we point the line as interrupted? *Oh that she could speak now!*—like a wood woman! meaning, I wish she could speak—but she behaves as if she were out of her senses! STEEVENS.

Print thus: Now come I to my mother (oh that she could speak now!) like a wood woman. Perhaps the humour would be heightened by reading (oh that the *shoe* could speak now!) BLACKSTONE.

I have followed the punctuation recommended by Sir W. Blackstone. The emendation proposed by him was made, I find, by Sir T. Hammer. MALONE.

9 —if the ty'd were lost;] This quibble, wretched as it is, might have been borrowed by *Shakspeare* from *Lylly's Endymion*, 1591: “*Epi.* You know it is said, the tide tarrieth for no man.—*Sam.* True.—*Epi.* A monstrous lye: for I was ty'd two hours, and tarried for one to unlose me.” STEEVENS.

and the service, and the tide¹? Why, man, if the river were dry, I am able to fill it with my tears; if the wind were down, I could drive the boat with my sighs.

Pant. Come, come away, man; I was sent to call thee.

Launce. Sir, call me what thou darest.

Pant. Wilt thou go?

Launce. Well, I will go.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE IV.

Milan. *A Room in the Duke's Palace.*

Enter VALENTINE, SILVIA, THURIO, and SPEED.

Sil. Servant,—

Val. Mistress?

Speed. Master, sir Thurio frowns on you.

Val. Ay, boy, it's for love.

Speed. Not of you.

Val. Of my mistress then.

Speed. 'Twere good, you knock'd him.

Sil. Servant, you are iad.

Val. Indeed, madam, I seem so.

Thu. Seem you that you are not?

Val. Haply, I do.

Thu. So do counterfeits.

Val. So do you.

Thu. What seem I, that I am not?

Val. Wife.

Thu. What instance of the contrary?

Val. Your folly.

Thu. And how quote you my folly²?

Val. I quote it in your jerkin.

Thu. My jerkin is a doublet.

Val. Well, then, I'll double your folly.

Thu. How?

Sil. What, angry, sir Thurio? do you change colour?

¹ — and the tide²] I should suppose these three words to be repeated through some error of the printer. STEEVENS.

² — how quote you my folly?] To quote is to observe. STEEVENS.
Valentine in his answer plays upon the word, which was pronounced as if written *coat*. MALONE.

Val. Give him leave, madam ; he is a kind of cameleon.

Thu. That hath more mind to feed on your blood, than live in your air.

Val. You have said, fir.

Thu. Ay, fir, and done too, for this time.

Val. I know it well, fir ; you always end ere you begin.

Sil. A fine volley of words, gentlemen, and quickly shot off.

Val. 'Tis indeed, madam ; we thank the giver.

Sil. Who is that, servant ?

Val. Yourself, sweet lady ; for you gave the fire : fir Thurio borrows his wit from your ladyship's looks, and spends what he borrows, kindly in your company.

Thu. Sir, if you spend word for word with me, I shall make your wit bankrupt.

Val. I know it well, fir : you have an exchequer of words, and, I think, no other treasure to give your followers ; for it appears by their bare liveries, that they live by your bare words.

Sil. No more, gentlemen, no more ; here comes my father.

Enter Duke.

Duke. Now, daughter Silvia, you are hard beset. ;
Sir Valentine, your father's in good health :
What say you to a letter from your friends
Of much good news ?

Val. My lord, I will be thankful
To any happy messenger from thence.

Duke. Know you Don Anthonio, your countryman ?

Val. Ay, my good lord, I know the gentleman
To be of worth, and worthy estimation,
And not without desert so well reputed ³.

Duke. Hath he not a son ?

Val. Ay, my good lord ; a son, that well deserves
The honour and regard of such a father.

Duke. You know him well ?

³ *And not without desert &c.]* And not dignified with so much reputation without proportionate merit. JOHNSON.

Val. I knew him, as myself; for from our infancy
 We have convers'd, and spent our hours together :
 And though myself have been an idle truant,
 Omitting the sweet benefit of time,
 To cloath mine age with angel-like perfection ;
 Yet hath fir Protheus, for that's his name,
 Made use and fair advantage of his days ;
 His years but young, but his experience old ;
 His head unmellow'd, but his judgment ripe ;
 And, in a word, (for far behind his worth
 Come all the praises that I now bestow,)
 He is complete in feature, and in mind,
 With all good grace to grace a gentleman.

Duke. Beshrew me, fir, but, if he make this good,
 He is as worthy for an emprefs' love,
 As meet to be an emperor's counsellor.
 Well, fir; this gentleman is come to me,
 With commendation from great potentates ;
 And here he means to spend his time a-while :
 I think, 'tis no unwelcome news to you.

Val. Should I have wish'd a thing, it had been he.

Duke. Welcome him then according to his worth ;
 Silvia, I speak to you ; and you, fir Thurio :—
 For Valentine, I need not 'cite him to it ⁴ :
 I'll send him hither to you presently. [Exit Duke.]

Val. This is the gentleman, I told your ladyship,
 Had come along with me, but that his mistress
 Did hold his eyes lock'd in her crystal looks.

Sil. Belike, that now she hath enfranchis'd them
 Upon some other pawn for fealty.

Val. Nay, sure, I think, she holds them prisoners still.

Sil. Nay, then he should be blind ; and, being blind,
 How could he see his way to seek out you ?

Val. Why, lady, love hath twenty pair of eyes.

Thu. They say, that love hath not an eye at all.

Val. To see such lovers, 'Thurio, as yourself ;
 Upon a homely object love can wink.

⁴ I need not 'cite him to it :] i. e. incite him to it. MALONE.

Enter PROTHEUS.

Sil. Have done, have done ; here comes the gentleman.

Val. Welcome, dear Protheus !—Mistress, I beseech you, Confirm his welcome with some special favour.

Sil. His worth is warrant for his welcome hither, If this be he you oft have wish'd to hear from.

Val. Mistress, it is : sweet lady, entertain him To be my fellow-servant to your ladyship.

Sil. Too low a mistress for so high a servant.

Pro. Not so, sweet lady ; but too mean a servant To have a look of such a worthy mistress.

Val. Leave off discourse of disability :— Sweet lady, entertain him for your servant.

Pro. My duty will I boast of, nothing else.

Sil. And duty never yet did want his meed : Servant, you are welcome to a worthless mistress.

Pro. I'll die on him that says so, but yourself.

Sil. That you are welcome ?

Pro. That you are worthless⁵.

Enter Servant.

Ser. Madam⁶, my lord your father would speak with you.

Sil. I'll wait upon his pleasure. [*Exit* Servant.] Come, Sir Thurio,

Go with me :—Once more, new servant, welcome : I'll leave you to confer of home-affairs ;

When you have done, we look to hear from you.

Pro. We'll both attend upon your ladyship.

[*Exeunt* SILVIA, THURIO, and SPEED.

Val. Now, tell me, how do all from whence you came ?

Pro. Your friends are well, and have them much commended.

Val. And how do yours ?

⁵ *That you are worthless.*] Dr. Johnson reads—*No*, that you are worthless. But perhaps the particle which he has supplied is unnecessary. *Worthless* was, I believe, used as a trisyllable. See Mr. Tyrwhitt's note, p. 120. MALONE.

⁶ *Ser. Madam,*—] This speech, which was given in the old copies to Thurio, was properly transferred to the Servant by Mr. Theobald.

MALONE.

Pro. I left them all in health.

Val. How does your lady ? and how thrives your love ?

Pro. My tales of love were wont to weary you ;
I know, you joy not in a love-discourse.

Val. Ay, Protheus, but that life is alter'd now :
I have done penance for contemning love ;
Whose high imperious thoughts ⁷ have punish'd me
With bitter fasts, with penitential groans,
With nightly tears, and daily heart-sore sighs ;
For, in revenge of my contempt of love,
Love hath chac'd sleep from my enthralled eyes,
And made them watchers of mine own heart's sorrow.
O, gentle Protheus, love's a mighty lord ;
And hath so humbled me, as, I confess,
There is no woe to his correction ⁸,
Nor, to his service, no such joy on earth !
Now, no discourse, except it be of love ;
Now can I break my fast, dine, sup, and sleep,
Upon the very naked name of love.

Pro. Enough ; I read your fortune in your eye :
Was this the idol that you worship so ?

Val. Even she ; and is she not a heavenly saint ?

Pro. No ; but she is an earthly paragon.

Val. Call her divine.

Pro. I will not flatter her.

Val. O flatter me ; for love delights in praises.

Pro. When I was sick, you gave me bitter pills ;
And I must minister the like to you.

Val. Then speak the truth by her ; if not divine,

⁷ Whose high imperious thoughts—] For *whose* I read *those*. I have contemned love and am punished. *Those* high thoughts, by which I exalted myself above human passions or frailties, have brought upon me fasts and groans. JOHNSON.

I believe the old copy is right. *Imperious* is an epithet very frequently applied to *love* by Shakspeare and his contemporaries. A few lines lower Valentine observes, that "love's a mighty lord." MALONE.

⁸ —no woe to his correction ;] No misery that can be compared to the punishment inflicted by love. Herbert called for the prayers of the Liturgy a little before his death, saying, *None to them, none to them.*

JOHNSON.

Yet let her be a principality¹,
Sovereign to all the creatures on the earth.

Pro. Except my mistress.

Val. Sweet, except not any;

Except thou wilt except against my love.

Pro. Have I not reason to prefer mine own?

Val. And I will help thee to prefer her too:

She shall be dignified with this high honour,—
To bear my lady's train; lest the base earth
Should from her vesture chance to steal a kiss,
And, of so great a favour growing proud,
Disdain to root the summer-swelling flower²,
And make rough winter everlastingly.

Pro. Why, Valentine, what braggardism is this?

Val. Pardon me, Protheus: all I can, is nothing
To her, whose worth makes other worthies nothing;
She is alone³.

Pro. Then let her alone.

Val. Not for the world: why, man, she is mine own;
And I as rich in having such a jewel,
As twenty seas, if all their sand were pearl,
The water nectar, and the rocks pure gold.
Forgive me, that I do not dream on thee,
Because thou see'st me dote upon my love,
My foolish rival, that her father likes,
Only for his possessions are so huge,
Is gone with her along; and I must after,
For love, thou know'st, is full of jealousy.

Pro. But she loves you?

Val. Ay, and we are betroth'd; nay, more, our marriage hour,

With all the cunning manner of our flight,
Determin'd of: how I must climb her window;

¹ — *a principality*,] The first or *principal* of women. So the old writers use *state*. "*She is a lady, a great state*." Latymer. JOHNSON.

There is a similar sense of this word in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, viii. 38.—"*nor angels, nor principalities*." STEEVENS.

² — *summer-swelling flower*,] The *summer-swelling flower* is the flower which swells in summer, till it expands itself into bloom. STEEV.

³ *She is alone*.] She stands by herself. There is none to be compared to her. JOHNSON.

The ladder made of cords; and all the means
Plotted, and 'greed on, for my happiness.
Good Proteus, go with me to my chamber,
In these affairs to aid me with thy counsel.

Pro. Go on before; I shall enquire you forth:
I must unto the road⁴, to disembark
Some necessities that I needs must use;
And then I'll presently attend you.

Val. Will you make haste?

Pro. I will.—

[*Exit VALENTINE.*]

Even as one heat another heat expels,
Or as one nail by strength drives out another,
So the remembrance of my former love
Is by a newer object quite forgotten⁵.
Is it mine eye, or Valentinus' praise⁶,
Her true perfection, or my false transgression,
That makes me, reasonless, to reason thus?
She's fair; and so is Julia, that I love;—
That I did love, for now my love is thaw'd;
Which, like a waxen image 'gainst a fire⁷,

Bears

4 — the road] The haven; where ships ride at anchor. MALONE.

5 *Even as one heat another heat expels,
Or as one nail by strength drives out another,
So the remembrance of my former love*

Is by a newer object quite forgotten.] Our author seems here to have remembered *The Tragicall History of Romeus and Juliet*, 1562:

“And as out of a planke a nayle a nayle doth drive,

“So novel love out of the minde the auncient love doth riue.”

So also, in *Coriolanus*:

“One fire drives out one fire; one nail one nail.” MALONE.

6 *Is it mine eye, or Valentinus' praise.*] The word *eye*, which is not in the first folio, was supplied by Dr. Warburton. The editor of the second folio, finding the line defective, absurdly filled it up thus:

Is it mine then, or Valentinean's praise.

The old copy has—*Valen, fines*, and perhaps the Saxon genitive case was intended. The reading however, that I have placed in the text, is justified by a former line. See page 119. MALONE.

7 — a waxen image 'gainst a fire,] Alluding to the figures made by witches, as representatives of those whom they designed to torment or destroy. STEEVENS.

King James ascribes these images to the devil, in his *Treatise of Daemonologie*:—“to some others at these times he teacheth to make pictures of waxe or claye, that by the roasting thereof, the persons that they

Bears no impression of the thing it was.
 Methinks, my zeal to Valentine is cold;
 And that I love him not, as I was wont:
 O! but I love his lady too, too much;
 And that's the reason I love him so little.
 How shall I dote on her with more advice⁸;
 That thus without advice begin to love her?
 'Tis but her picture I have yet beheld⁹,
 And that hath dazzled my reason's light;
 But when I look on her perfections,
 There is no reason but I shall be blind¹.
 If I can check my erring love, I will;
 If not, to compass her I'll use my skill.

[Exit.

SCENE V.

*A Street.**Enter SPEED and LAUNCE.*

Speed. Launce! by mine honesty, welcome to Milan².

Launce. Forswear not thyself, sweet youth; for I am not welcome. I reckon this always—that a man is never un-

they bear the name of may be continually melted, and dried away by continual sickness." See Servius on the 8th Eclogue of Virgil; Theoc. Idyl. ii. 22; Hudibras, p. 2. l. 2, v. 331. S. W.

⁸ — *with more advice,*] *Is, on further knowledge, on better consideration.* STEEVENS.

The word is still current among mercantile people, whose constant language is "we are *advised* by letters from abroad;" meaning—*informed*. So, in bills of exchange, the conclusion always is, "without further *advice*—". MALONE.

⁹ *'Tis but her picture &c.*] Protheus means, that, as yet, he had seen only her outward form, without having known her long enough to have any acquaintance with her mind. So, in *Cymbeline*:

"All of her, that is *out of door*, most rich!"

"If she be furnish'd with a mind so rare, &c." STEEVENS.

¹ *And that hath dazzled my reason's light;*

But when I look &c.] Our author uses *dazzled* as a triflyllable. The editor of the second folio not perceiving this, introduced *so*, ("And that hath dazzled *so*" &c.) a word as hurtful to the sense as unnecessary to the metre. The plain meaning is, *Her mere outside has dazzled me;—when I am acquainted with the perfections of her mind, I shall be struck blind.* MALONE.

² — *to Milan.*] It is *Padua* in the former editions. See the note on Act III. p. 149. POPE.

done,

done, till he be hang'd ; nor never welcome to a place, till some certain shot be paid, and the hostess say, welcome.

Speed. Come on, you mad-cap, I'll to the ale-house with you presently ; where, for one shot of five pence, thou shalt have five thousand welcomes. But, firrah, how did thy master part with madam Julia ?

Launce. Marry, after they closed in earnest, they parted very fairly in jest.

Speed. But shall she marry him ?

Launce. No.

Speed. How then ? Shall he marry her ?

Launce. No, neither.

Speed. What, are they broken ?

Launce. No, they are both as whole as a fish.

Speed. Why then, how stands the matter with them ?

Launce. Marry, thus ; when it stands well with him, it stands well with her.

Speed. What an ass art thou ? I understand thee not.

Launce. What a block art thou, that thou canst not ? My staff understands me ³.

Speed. What thou say'st ?

Launce. Ay, and what I do too : look thee, I'll but lean, and my staff understands me.

Speed. It stands under thee, indeed,

Launce. Why, stand-under and understand is all one.

Speed. But tell me true, will't be a match ?

Launce. Ask my dog : if he say, ay, it will ; if he say, no, it will ; if he shake his tail, and say nothing, it will.

Speed. The conclusion is then, that it will.

Launce. Thou shalt never get such a secret from me, but by a parable.

Speed. 'Tis well that I get it so. But, Launce, how say'st thou, that my master is become a notable lover ?

³ *My staff understands me.*] This equivocation, miserable as it is, has been admitted by Milton in his great poem, B. vi :

“ —The terms we sent were terms of weight,

“ Such as we may perceive, amaz'd them all,

“ And stagger'd many ; who receives them right,

“ Had need from head to foot well *understand* ;

“ Not *understood*, this gift they have besides,

“ To shew us when our foes stand not upright.” JOHNSON.

Launce.

Launce. I never knew him otherwise.

Speed. Than how?

Launce. A notable lubber, as thou reportest him to be.

Speed. Why, thou whorson ass, thou mistakest me.

Launce. Why, fool, I meant not thee; I meant thy master.

Speed. I tell thee, my master is become a hot lover.

Launce. Why, I tell thee, I care not though he burn himself in love. If thou wilt go with me to the ale-house, so⁴; if not, thou art an Hebrew, a Jew, and not worth the name of a Christian.

Speed. Why?

Launce. Because thou hast not so much charity in thee, as to go to the ale⁵ with a Christian: Wilt thou go?

Speed. At thy service. [Exeunt.]

SCENE VI.

The same. A Room in the Palace.

Enter PROTHEUS.

Pro. To leave my Julia, shall I be forsworn;
To love fair Silvia, shall I be forsworn;
To wrong my friend, I shall be much forsworn;
And even that power, which gave me first my oath,
Provokes me to this threefold perjury.
Love bad me swear, and love bids me forswear:
O sweet-suggesting love⁶, if thou hast sinn'd,
Teach me, thy tempted subject, to excuse it!
At first I did adore a twinkling star,
But now I worship a celestial sun.
Unheedful vows may heedfully be broken;
And he wants wit, that wants resolved will
To learn his wit to exchange the bad for better.—

⁴ *If thou wilt go with me to the ale-house, so;*] So, which is wanting in the first folio, was supplied by the editor of the second. MALONE.

⁵ — *the ale*] *Ales* were merry-meetings instituted in country places. STEEVENS.

⁶ *O sweet-suggesting love,*] To suggest is to tempt in our author's language. So again:

“Knowing that tender youth is soon suggested.”

The sense is. O tempting love, if thou hast influenced me to sin, teach me to excuse it. JOHNSON.

Fie, fie, unreverend tongue! to call her bad,
 Whose sovereignty so oft thou hast preferr'd
 With twenty thousand soul-confirming oaths.
 I cannot leave to love, and yet I do;
 But there I leave to love, where I should love.
 Julia I lose, and Valentine I lose:
 If I keep them, I needs must lose myself;
 If I lose them, thus find I by their loss,
 For Valentine, myself; for Julia, Silvia.
 I to myself am dearer than a friend;
 For love is still more precious in itself:
 And Silvia, witness heaven, that made her fair!
 Shows Julia but a swarthy Ethiop.
 I will forget that Julia is alive,
 Rememb'ring that my love to her is dead;
 And Valentine I'll hold an enemy,
 Aiming at Silvia as a sweeter friend.
 I cannot now prove constant to myself,
 Without some treachery used to Valentine:—
 This night, he meaneth with a corded ladder
 To climb celestial Silvia's chamber-window;
 Myself in counsel, his competitor⁷:
 Now presently I'll give her father notice
 Of their disguising, and pretended flight⁸;
 Who, all enrag'd, will banish Valentine;
 For Thurio, he intends, shall wed his daughter:
 But, Valentine being gone, I'll quickly cross,
 By some sly trick, blunt Thurio's dull proceeding.

⁷ — *in counsel; his competitor*:] *Myself, who am his competitor or rival, being admitted to his counsel.* JOHNSON.

Competitor is confederate, assistant, partner. So, in Antony and Cleopatra:

“It is not Cæsar's natural vice, to hate

“One great competitor.”

and he is speaking of Lepidus, one of the triumvirate. STEEVENS.

Perhaps Dr. Johnson's explanation of *competitor* is the true one, and “in counsel” here signifies, *in secret*; myself being secretly his rival. See a note on the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act I. sc. i. “It were better for you, if't were known in counsel.” I offer this rather as a possible, than a probable, interpretation. MALONE.

⁸ — *pretended flight*;] *Pretended flight is proposed or intended flight. So, in Macbeth:*

“—What good could they pretend?” STEEVENS.

Love,

Love, lend me wings to make my purpose swift,
As thou hast lent me wit to plot this drift⁹!

[Exit.

SCENE VII.

Verona. *A Room in Julia's House.*

Enter JULIA and LUCETTA.

Jul. Counsel, Lucetta: gentle girl, assist me!
And, even in kind love, I do conjure thee,—
Who art the table wherein all my thoughts
Are visibly charact'rd and engrav'd,—
To lesson me; and tell me some good mean,
How, with my honour, I may undertake
A journey to my loving Protheus.

Luc. Alas! the way is wearisome and long.

Jul. A true-devoted pilgrim is not weary
To measure kingdoms with his feeble steps;
Much less shall she, that hath love's wings to fly;
And when the flight is made to one so dear,
Of such divine perfection, as sir Protheus.

Luc. Better forbear, till Protheus make return.

Jul. O, know'st thou not, his looks are my soul's food?
Pity the dearth that I have pined in,
By longing for that food so long a time.
Didst thou but know the inly touch of love,
Thou would'st as soon go kindle fire with snow,
As seek to quench the fire of love with words.

Luc. I do not seek to quench your love's hot fire;
But qualify the fire's extreme rage,
Lest it should burn above the bounds of reason.

Jul. The more thou dam'st it up, the more it burns:
The current, that with gentle murmur glides,
Thou know'st, being stopp'd, impatiently doth rage;
But, when his fair course is not hindered,
He makes sweet musick with the enamel'd stones,
Giving a gentle kiss to every sedge

⁹ I suspect that the author concluded the act with this couplet, and that the next scene should begin the third act; but the change, as it will add nothing to the probability of the action, is of no great importance. JOHNSON.

He overtaketh in his pilgrimage ;
 And so by many winding nooks he strays,
 With willing sport, to the wild ocean.
 Then let me go, and hinder not my course :
 I'll be as patient as a gentle stream,
 And make a pastime of each weary step,
 Till the last step have brought me to my love ;
 And there I'll rest, as, after much turmoil,
 A blessed soul doth in Elysium.

Luc. But in what habit will you go along ?

Ful. Not like a woman ; for I would prevent
 The loose encounters of lascivious men :
 Gentle Lucetta, fit me with such weeds
 As may beseem some well-reputed page.

Luc. Why then your ladyship must cut your hair.

Ful. No, girl ; I'll knit it up in filken strings,
 With twenty odd-conceited true-love knots :
 To be fantastick, may become a youth
 Of greater time than I shall show to be.

Luc. What fashion, madam, shall I make your breeches ?

Ful. That fits as well, as—" tell me, good my lord,
 " What compass will you wear your farthingale ?"
 Why, even that fashion thou best lik'st, Lucetta.

Luc. You must needs have them with a cod-piece¹,
 madam.

Ful. Out, out, Lucetta² ! that will be ill-favour'd.

Luc. A round hose, madam, now's not worth a pin,
 Unless you have a cod-piece to stick pins on.

Ful. Lucetta, as thou lov'st me, let me have
 What thou think'st meet, and is most mannerly :

¹ — *with a cod-piece, &c.*] Whoever wishes to be acquainted with this particular, relative to dress, may consult Bulwer's *Artificial Change-ling*, in which such matters are very amply discussed. Ocular instruction may be had from the armour shewn as John of Gaunt's in the Tower of London. The same fashion appears to have been no less offensive in France. See Montaigne, chap. XXII. The custom of sticking pins in this ostentatious piece of indecency was continued by the liberal warders of the Tower, till forbidden by authority. STEEVENS.

² Out, out, *Lucetta* ! &c.] Dr. Percy observes, that this interjection is still used in the North. It seems to have the same meaning as *apage*, Lat. STEEVENS.

But tell me, wench, how will the world repute me,
For undertaking so unsta'd a journey?

I fear me, it will make me scandaliz'd.

Luc. If you think so, then stay at home, and go not.

Jul. Nay, that I will not.

Luc. Then never dream on infamy, but go.

If Protheus like your journey, when you come,
No matter who's displeas'd, when you are gone:
I fear me, he will scarce be pleas'd withal.

Jul. That is the least, Lucetta, of my fear:
A thousand oaths, an ocean of his tears,
And instances as infinite³ of love,
Warrant me welcome to my Protheus.

Luc. All these are servants to deceitful men.

Jul. Base men, that use them to so base effect!
But truer stars did govern Protheus' birth:
His words are bonds, his oaths are oracles;
His love sincere, his thoughts immaculate;
His tears, pure messengers sent from his heart;
His heart as far from fraud, as heaven from earth.

Luc. Pray heaven, he prove so, when you come to him!

Jul. Now, as thou lov'st me, do him not that wrong,
To bear a hard opinion of his truth:
Only deserve my love, by loving him;
And presently go with me to my chamber,
To take a note of what I stand in need of,
To furnish me upon my longing journey⁴.
All that is mine I leave at thy dispose,
My goods, my lands, my reputation;
Only, in lieu thereof, dispatch me hence.
Come, answer not, but to it presently;
I am impatient of my tarriance.

[*Exeunt.*

³ — as *infinite*] Old edit. of *infinite*. JOHNSON.

The emendation was made by the editor of the second folio. MALONE.

⁴ — *my longing journey.*] Dr. Grey observes, that *longing* is a participle active, with a passive signification; for *longed*, wished or desired. STEEVENS.

A C T III. S C E N E I.

Milan. *An Ante-room in the Duke's Palace.*

Enter Duke, THURIO, and PROTHEUS.

Duke. Sir Thurio, give us leave, I pray, awhile;
We have some secrets to confer about.— [*Exit THURIO.*
Now, tell me, Protheus, what's your will with me?

Pro. My gracious lord, that which I would discover,
The law of friendship bids me to conceal:
But, when I call to mind your gracious favours
Done to me, undeserving as I am,
My duty pricks me on to utter that
Which else no worldly good should draw from me.
Know, worthy prince, sir Valentine, my friend,
This night intends to steal away your daughter;
Myself am one made privy to the plot.
I know, you have determin'd to bestow her
On Thurio, whom your gentle daughter hates;
And should she thus be stolen away from you,
It would be much vexation to your age.
Thus, for my duty's sake, I rather chose
To cross my friend in his intended drift,
Than, by concealing it, heap on your head
A pack of sorrows, which would press you down,
Being unprevented, to your timeless grave.

Duke. Protheus, I thank thee for thine honest care;
Which to requite, command me while I live.
This love of theirs myself have often seen,
Haply, when they have judg'd me fast asleep;
And oftentimes have purpos'd to forbid
Sir Valentine her company, and my court:
But, fearing lest my jealous aim^s might err,
And so, unworthily, disgrace the man,
(A rashness that I ever yet have shunn'd,)
I gave him gentle looks; thereby to find

5 — *jealous aim*] *Aim* is *guess*. So, in *Romeo and Juliet*:

"I aim'd so near when I suppos'd you lov'd." STEEVENS.

That which thyself hast now disclos'd to me.
 And, that thou may'st perceive my fear of this,
 Knowing that tender youth is soon suggested,
 I nightly lodge her in an upper tower,
 The key whereof myself have ever kept;
 And thence she cannot be convey'd away.

Pro. Know, noble lord, they have devis'd a mean
 How he her chamber-window will ascend,
 And with a corded ladder fetch her down;
 For which the youthful lover now is gone,
 And this way comes he with it presently;
 Where, if it please you, you may intercept him.
 But, good my lord, do it so cunningly,
 That my discovery be not aimed at⁶;
 For love of you, not hate unto my friend,
 Hath made me publisher of this pretence⁷.

Duke. Upon mine honour, he shall never know
 That I had any light from thee of this.

Pro. Adieu, my lord; sir Valentine is coming. [*Exit.*]

Enter VALENTINE.

Duke. Sir Valentine, whither away so fast?

Val. Please it your grace, there is a messenger
 That stays to bear my letters to my friends,
 And I am going to deliver them.

Duke. Be they of much import?

Val. The tenor of them doth but signify
 My health, and happy being at your court.

Duke. Nay, then no matter; stay with me a while;
 I am to break with thee of some affairs,
 That touch me near, wherein thou must be secret.
 'Tis not unknown to thee, that I have sought
 To match my friend, sir Thurio, to my daughter.

Val. I know it well, my lord; and, sure, the match
 Were rich and honourable; besides, the gentleman
 Is full of virtue, bounty, worth, and qualities

⁶ — be not aimed at;] Be not guessed. JOHNSON.

⁷ — of this pretence.] Pretence is design. So, in *K. Lear*: "— to my affection to your honour, and no other pretence of danger." Again, in the same play: "—pretence and purpose of unkindness." STEEV.

Beseeming such a wife as your fair daughter :
Cannot your grace win her to fancy him ?

Duke. No, trust me ; she is peevish, fullen, froward,
Proud, disobedient, stubborn, lacking duty ;
Neither regarding that she is my child,
Nor fearing me as if I were her father :
And, may I say to thee, this pride of hers,
Upon advice, hath drawn my love from her ;
And, where * I thought the remnant of mine age
Should have been cherish'd by her child-like duty,
I now am full resolv'd to take a wife,
And turn her out to who will take her in :
Then let her beauty be her wedding-dower ;
For me and my possessions she esteems not.

Val. What would your grace have me to do in this ?

Duke. There is a lady, sir, in Milan, here⁸,
Whom I affect ; but she is nice, and coy,
And nought esteems my aged eloquence :
Now, therefore, would I have thee to my tutor,
(For long ago I have forgot to court ;
Besides, the fashion of the time⁹ is chang'd ;)
How, and which way, I may bestow myself,
To be regarded in her sun-bright eye.

Val. Win her with gifts, if she respect not words ;
Dumb jewels often, in their silent kind,
More than quick words, do move a woman's mind¹.

* *And where—*] *Where* for *whereas*. It is often so used by our old writers. MALONE.

⁸ — *sir, in Milan, here,*] It ought to be thus, instead of—in Verona, *here* ; for the scene apparently is in Milan, as is clear from several passages in the first act, and in the beginning of the first scene of the fourth act. A like mistake has crept into the eighth scene of act II. where Speed bids his fellow-servant Launce welcome to Padua. POPE.

⁹ — *the fashion of the time—*] The modes of courtship, the acts by which men recommended themselves to ladies. JOHNSON.

¹ *Win her with gifts, if she respect not words ;*

Dumb jewels often, in their silent kind,

More than quick words, do move a woman's mind.] An earlier writer than Shakspeare, speaking of women, has the same unfavourable (and, I hope, unfounded) sentiment :

“ 'Tis wisdom to give much ; a gift prevails,

“ When deep persuasive oratory fails.”

Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*. MALONE.

Duke.

Duke. But she did scorn a present that I sent her.

Val. A woman sometime scorns what best contents her :
Send her another ; never give her o'er ;
For scorn at first makes after-love the more.
If she do frown, 'tis not in hate of you,
But rather to beget more love in you :
If she do chide, 'tis not to have you gone ;
For why, the fools are mad, if left alone.
Take no repulse, whatever she doth say ;
For, *get you gone*, she doth not mean, *away* :
Flatter, and praise, commend, extol their graces ;
Though ne'er so black, say, they have angels' faces.
That man that hath a tongue, I say, is no man,
If with his tongue he cannot win a woman.

Duke. But she I mean, is promis'd by her friends
Unto a youthful gentleman of worth ;
And kept severely from resort of men,
That no man hath access by day to her.

Val. Why then I would resort to her by night.

Duke. Ay, but the doors be lock'd, and keys kept safe,
That no man hath recourse to her by night.

Val. What lets², but one may enter at her window ?

Duke. Her chamber is aloft, far from the ground ;
And built so shelving, that one cannot climb it
Without apparent hazard of his life.

Val. Why then, a ladder, quaintly made of cords,
To cast up, with a pair of anchoring hooks,
Would serve to scale another Hero's tower,
So bold Leander would adventure it.

Duke. Now, as thou art a gentleman of blood,
Advise me where I may have such a ladder.

Val. When would you use it ? pray, sir, tell me that.

Duke. This very night ; for love is like a child,
That longs for every thing that he can come by.

Val. By seven o'clock I'll get you such a ladder.

Duke. But hark thee ; I will go to her alone ;
How shall I best convey the ladder thither ?

Val. It will be light, my lord, that you may bear it
Under a cloak, that is of any length.

² *What lets,*] i. e. what hinders. STEEVENS.

Duke. A cloak as long as thine will serve the turn?

Val. Ay, my good lord.

Duke. Then let me see thy cloak;

I'll get me one of such another length.

Val. Why, any cloak will serve the turn, my lord.

Duke. How shall I fashion me to wear a cloak?—

I pray thee, let me feel thy cloak upon me.—

What letter is this same? What's here?—*To Silvia?*

And here an engine fit for my proceeding!

I'll be so bold to break the seal for once. [reads.]

My thoughts do harbour with my Silvia nightly;

And slaves they are to me, that send them flying:

O, could their master come and go as lightly,

Himself would lodge, where senseless they are lying.

My herald thoughts in thy pure bosom rest them;

While I, their king, thar tither them importune,

Do curse the grace that with such grace hath blest'd them,

Because myself do want my servants' fortune:

I curse myself, for they are sent by me;

That they should harbour where their lord should be.

What's here?

Silvia, this night I will enfranchise thee:

'Tis so; and here's the ladder for the purpose.—

Why, Phaëton, (for thou art Merops' son³),

Wilt thou aspire to guide the heavenly car,

And with thy daring folly burn the world?

Wilt thou reach stars, because they shine on thee?

Go, base intruder! over-weening slave!

Bestow thy fawning smiles on equal mates;

And think, my patience, more than thy desert,

³ *My herald thoughts in thy pure bosom &c.*] i. e. the thoughts contained in my letter. See p. 131, n. 9. MALONE.

⁴ — *for they are sent*—] *For* is the same as *for that, since*. JOHNSON.

⁵ — *Merops' son*] Thou art Phaëton in thy rashness, but without his pretensions; thou art not the son of a divinity, but a *terra filius*, a low-born wretch; Merops is thy true father, with whom Phaëton was falsely reproached. JOHNSON.

This scrap of mythology Shakspeare might have found in the spurious play of *K. John*, 1591:

“ — as sometime Phaëton,

“ Mistrusting fully Merops for his son.” STEEVENS.

Is privilege for thy departure hence :
 Thank me for this, more than for all the favours,
 Which, all too much, I have bestow'd on thee.
 But if thou linger in my territories,
 Longer than swiftest expedition
 Will give thee time to leave our royal court,
 By heaven, my wrath shall far exceed the love
 I ever bore my daughter, or thyself.
 Be gone, I will not hear thy vain excuse,
 But, as thou lov'st thy life, make speed from hence.
[Exit Duke.]

Val. And why not death, rather than living torment ?
 To die, is to be banish'd from myself ;
 And Silvia is myself : banish'd from her,
 Is self from self ; a deadly banishment !
 What light is light, if Silvia be not seen ?
 What joy is joy, if Silvia be not by ?
 Unless it be, to think that she is by,
 And feed upon the shadow of perfection⁶.
 Except I be by Silvia in the night,
 There is no musick in the nightingale ;
 Unless I look on Silvia in the day,
 There is no day for me to look upon :
 She is my essence ; and I leave to be,
 If I be not by her fair influence
 Foster'd, illumin'd, cherish'd, kept alive,
 I fly not death, to fly his deadly doom⁷ :
 Tarry I here, I but attend on death ;
 But, fly I hence, I fly away from life.

Enter PROTHEUS and LAUNCE.

Pro. Run, boy, run, run, and seek him out.

Launce. So-ho ! so-ho !

Pro. What see'st thou ?

⁶ *And feed upon the shadow of perfection.*]

Animum pictura pascit inani. *Virg.* HENLEY.

⁷ *I fly not death, to fly his deadly doom :*] *To fly his doom*, used for *by flying*, or *in flying*, is a gallicism. The sense is, By avoiding the execution of his sentence I shall not escape death. If I stay here, I suffer myself to be destroyed ; if I go away, I destroy myself. JOHNSON.

Launce. Him we go to find: there's not a hair * on's head, but 'tis a Valentine.

Pro. Valentine?

Val. No.

Pro. Who then? his spirit?

Val. Neither.

Pro. What then?

Val. Nothing.

Launce. Can nothing speak? master, shall I strike?

Pro. Whom^s would'st thou strike?

Launce. Nothing.

Pro. Villain, forbear.

Launce. Why, sir, I'll strike nothing: I pray you,—

Pro. Sirrah, I say, forbear: Friend Valentine, a word.

Val. My ears are stopp'd, and cannot hear good news, So much of bad already hath possess'd them.

Pro. Then in dumb silence will I bury mine, For they are harsh, untuneable, and bad.

Val. Is Silvia dead?

Pro. No, Valentine.

Val. No Valentine, indeed, for sacred Silvia!— Hath she forsworn me?

Pro. No, Valentine.

Val. No Valentine, if Silvia have forsworn me!— What is your news?

Launce. Sir, there's a proclamation that you are vanish'd.

Pro. That thou art banish'd, O, that is the news, From hence, from Silvia, and from me thy friend.

Val. O, I have fed upon this woe already, And now excess of it will make me surfeit. Doth Silvia know that I am banished?

Pro. Ay, ay; and she hath offer'd to the doom, (Which, unrevers'd, stands in effectual force,) A sea of melting pearl, which some call tears: Those at her father's churlish feet she tender'd; With them, upon her knees, her humble self; Wringing her hands, whose whiteness so became them,

* There's not a hair—] *Launce* is still quibbling. He is now running down the *bare* that he started when he entered. MALONE.

° Whom—] Old Copy—*Who*. Corrected in the second folio, MALONE.

As if but now they waxed pale for woe :
 But neither bended knees, pure hands held up,
 Sad sighs, deep groans, nor silver-shedding tears,
 Could penetrate her uncompassionate fire ;
 But Valentine, if he be ta'en, must die.
 Besides, her intercession chafed him so,
 When she for thy repeal was suppliant,
 That to close prison he commanded her,
 With many bitter threats of 'biding there.

Val. No more ; unless the next word, that thou speak'st,
 Have some malignant power upon my life :
 If so, I pray thee, breathe it in mine ear,
 As ending anthem of my endless dolour.

Pro. Cease to lament for that thou canst not help,
 And study help for that which thou lament'st.
 Time is the nurse and breeder of all good.
 Here if thou stay, thou canst not see thy love ;
 Besides, thy staying will abridge thy life.
 Hope is a lover's staff ; walk hence with that,
 And manage it against despairing thoughts.
 Thy letters may be here, though thou art hence ;
 Which, being writ to me, shall be deliver'd
 Even in the milk-white bosom of thy love⁹.
 The time now serves not to expostulate :
 Come, I'll convey thee through the city-gate ;
 And, ere I part with thee, confer at large
 Of all that may concern thy love-affairs :
 As thou lov'st Silvia, though not for thyself,
 Regard thy danger, and along with me.

Val. I pray thee, Launce, an if thou see'st my boy,

9 *Even in the milk-white bosom of thy love.*] So, in *Hamlet* :

“ *These to her excellent white bosom, &c.*”

Trifling as the remark may appear, before the meaning of this *address of letters to the bosom of a mistress* can be understood, it should be known that women anciently had a pocket in the fore part of their stays, in which they not only carried love-letters and love tokens, but even their money and materials for needle-work. In many parts of England the rustic damsels still observe the same practice ; and a very old lady informs me that she remembers when it was the fashion to wear very prominent stays, it was no less the custom for stratagem or gallantry to drop its literary favours within the front of them. STEEVENS.

Bid him make haste, and meet me at the north gate.

Pro. Go, sirrah, find him out. Come, Valentine.

Val. O my dear Silvia! hapless Valentine!

[*Exeunt VALENTINE and PROTHEUS.*]

Launce. I am but a fool, look you; and yet I have the wit to think, my master is a kind of a knave: but that's all one, if he be but one knave¹. He lives not now, that knows me to be in love: yet I am in love; but a team of horse shall not pluck² that from me; nor who 'tis I love, and yet 'tis a woman: but what woman, I will not tell myself; and yet 'tis a milk-maid: yet 'tis not a maid, for she hath had gossips³: yet 'tis a maid, for she is her master's maid, and serves for wages. She hath more qualities than a water-spaniel,—which is much in a bare christian⁴. Here is the cat-log [*pulling out a paper.*] of her conditions⁵. Imprimis, *She can fetch and*

¹ — *but that's all one, if he be but one knave.*] I know not whether, in Shakspeare's language, *one knave* may not signify *a knave on only one occasion, a single knave.* We still use *a double* villain for a villain beyond the common rate of guilt. JOHNSON.

I agree with Dr. Johnson, and will support his interpretation with indisputable authority. In the old play of *Damon and Pythias*, *Aristippus* declares of *Carisophus*, “you lose money by him if you sell him for *one knave*, for he serves for *two*.” This phraseology is often met with: *Arragon* says, in the *Merchant of Venice*:

“With *one* fool's head I came to woo,

“But I go away with *two*.”

And *Donne* begins one of his sonnets:

“I am *two* fools, I know,

“For loving, and for saying so, &c. FARMER.

² — *but a team of horse shall not pluck—*] I see how Valentine suffers for telling his love-secrets, therefore I will keep mine close. JOHNSON.

Perhaps Launce was not intended to shew so much sense; but here indulges himself in talking contradictory nonsense. STEEVENS.

³ — *for she hath had gossips:*] *Gossips* not only signify those who answer for a child in baptism, but the tattling women who attend lyings-in. The quibble between these is evident. STEEVENS.

⁴ — *a bare christian.*] Launce is quibbling on. *Bare* has two senses; *were* and *naked*. In *Coriolanus* it is used in the first:

“'Tis but a *bare* petition of the state.”

Launce uses it in both, and opposes the *naked* female to the water-spaniel *cover'd with hairs of remarkable thickness*. STEEVENS.

⁵ — *conditions.*] i. e. qualities. The old copy has *condition*. Corrected by Mr. Rowe. MALONE.

carry:

carry: Why, a horse can do no more: nay, a horse cannot fetch, but only carry; therefore, is she better than a jade. Item, *She can milk*; look you, a sweet virtue in a maid with clean hands.

Enter SPEED.

Speed. How now, signior Launce? what news with your mastership?

Launce. With my master's ship⁶? why, it is at sea.

Speed. Well, your old vice still; mistake the word: What news then in your paper?

Launce. The blackest news that ever thou heard'st.

Speed. Why, man, how black?

Launce. Why, as black as ink.

Speed. Let me read them.

Launce. Fie on thee, jolt-head; thou canst not read.

Speed. Thou liest, I can.

Launce. I will try thee: Tell me this: Who begot thee?

Speed. Marry, the son of my grandfather.

Launce. O illiterate loiterer! it was the son of thy grandmother⁷: this proves, that thou canst not read.

Speed. Come, fool, come: try me in thy paper.

Launce. There; and faint Nicholas be thy speed⁸!

Speed. Imprimis, *She can milk*.

Launce. Ay, that she can.

⁶ — *with my master's ship?*] The old copy reads—*mastership*. The emendation was made by Mr. Theobald. MALONE.

⁷ — *the son of thy grandmother:*] It is undoubtedly true that the mother only knows the legitimacy of the child. I suppose *Launce* infers, that if he could read, he must have read this well-known observation. STEEVENS.

⁸ — *saint Nicholas be thy speed!*] St. Nicholas presided over scholars, who were therefore called *St. Nicholas's clerks*. Hence, by a quibble between Nicholas and Old Nick, highwaymen, in *The First Part of Henry the Fourth*, are called *Nicholas's clerks*. WARBURTON.

That this saint presided over young scholars may be gathered from Knight's *Life of Dean Colet*, p. 362; for by the statutes of Paul's school there inserted, the children are required to attend divine service at the cathedral on his anniversary. The reason I take to be, that the legend of this saint makes him to have been a bishop, while he was a boy. SIR J. HAWKINS.

Speed.

Speed. Item, *She brews good ale.*

Launce. And therefore comes the proverb,—Blessing of your heart, you brew good ale.

Speed. Item, *She can sew.*

Launce. That's as much as to say, Can she so?

Speed. Item, *She can knit.*

Launce. What need a man care for a stock with a wench, when she can knit him a stock⁹?

Speed. Item, *She can wash and scour.*

Launce. A special virtue; for then she need not be wash'd and scour'd.

Speed. Item, *She can spin.*

Launce. Then may I set the world on wheels, when she can spin for her living.

Speed. Item, *She hath many nameless virtues.*

Launce. That's as much as to say, bastard virtues; that, indeed, know not their fathers, and therefore have no names.

Speed. Here follow her vices.

Launce. Close at the heels of her virtues.

Speed. Item, *She is not to be kiss'd fasting¹, in respect of her breath.*

Launce. Well, that fault may be mended with a breakfast: Read on.

Speed. Item, *She hath a sweet mouth².*

Launce. That makes amends for her sour breath.

Speed. Item, *She doth talk in her sleep.*

Launce. It's no matter for that, so she sleep not in her talk.

⁹ — knit him a stock?] i. e. a stocking. So, in *Twelfth Night*:

“—it does indifferent well in a flame-colour'd stock.” STEEV.

¹ — she is not to be kiss'd fasting,] The old copy reads,—she is not to be fasting, &c. The necessary word, *kiss'd*, was first added by Mr. Rowe. STEEVENS.

² — sweet mouth.] This I take to be the same with what is now vulgarly called a *sweet tooth*, a luxurious desire of dainties and sweetmeats. JOHNSON.

How a *luxurious desire of dainties* can make amends for *offensive breath*, I know not: I rather believe that by a *sweet mouth* is meant that she *sings sweetly*. In *Twelfth Night* we have heard of a *sweet breast* as the recommendation of a singer. It may however mean a *liquorish* mouth, in a wanton sense. So, in *Measure for Measure*:

“Their saucy *sweetness*, that do coin heaven's image &c.” STEEV.

Speed.

Speed. Item, *She is slow in words.*

Launce. O villainy, that set this down among her vices ! To be slow in words, is a woman's only virtue : I pray thee, out with't ; and place it for her chief virtue.

Speed. Item, *She is proud.*

Launce. Out with that too ; it was Eve's legacy, and cannot be ta'en from her.

Speed. Item, *She hath no teeth.*

Launce. I care not for that neither, because I love crusts.

Speed. Item, *She is curst.*

Launce. Well ; the best is, she hath no teeth to bite.

Speed. Item, *She will often praise her liquor* ³.

Launce. If her liquor be good, she shall : if she will not, I will ; for good things should be praised.

Speed. Item, *She is too liberal* ⁴.

Launce. Of her tongue she cannot ; for that's writ down she is slow of : of her purse she shall not ; for that I'll keep shut : now of another thing she may ; and that I cannot help. Well, proceed.

Speed. Item, *She hath more hair than wit, and more faults than hairs, and more wealth than faults.*

Launce. Stop there ; I'll have her : she was mine, and not mine, twice or thrice in that last article : Rehearse that once more.

Speed. Item, *She hath more hair than wit* ⁵,—

Launce. More hair than wit,—it may be ; I'll prove it : The cover of the salt hides the salt, and therefore it is more than the salt : the hair, that covers the wit, is more than the wit ; for the greater hides the less. What's next ?

Speed. —*And more faults than hairs,*—

Launce. That's monstrous : O, that that were out !

³ — *praise her liquor.*] That is, shew how well she likes it by drinking often. JOHNSON.

⁴ — *too liberal.*] *Liberal*, is licentious and gross in language. So, in *Otello* : “ Is he not a most profane and *liberal* counsellor ? ” JOHNSON.

⁵ — *She hath more hair than wit,*—] An old English proverb. See Ray's Collection : “ Bush natural, *more hair than wit.* ” STEEVENS.

Speed. — *And more wealth than faults.*

Launce. Why, that word makes the faults gracious⁶: Well, I'll have her: And if it be a match, as nothing is impossible, —

Speed. What then?

Launce. Why, then will I tell thee, — that thy master stays for thee at the north gate.

Speed. For me?

Launce. For thee? ay; who art thou? he hath staid for a better man than thee.

Speed. And must I go to him?

Launce. Thou must run to him, for thou hast staid so long, that going will scarce serve the turn.

Speed. Why did'st not tell me sooner? 'pox of your love-letters! [Exit.

Launce. Now will he be swing'd for reading my letter; An unmannerly slave, that will thrust himself into secrets! — I'll after, to rejoice in the boy's correction. [Exit.

SCENE II.

The same. A Room in the Duke's Palace.

Enter Duke and THURIO; PROTHEUS behind.

Duke. Sir Thurio, fear not, but that she will love you, Now Valentine is banish'd from her sight.

Thu. Since his exile she hath despis'd me most, Forsworn my company, and rail'd at me, That I am desperate of obtaining her.

Duke. This weak impress of love is as a figure Trenched in ice⁷; which with an hour's heat Dissolves to water, and doth lose his form. A little time will melt her frozen thoughts, And worthless Valentine shall be forgot. — How now, sir Protheus? Is your countryman, According to our proclamation, gone?

Pro. Gone, my good lord.

⁶ — *gracious* :] in old language, means *graceful*. So, in *K. John*:
“There was not such a *gracious* creature born.” STEEVENS.

⁷ *Trenched in ice* :] Cut, carved in ice, *Trancher*, to cut, Fr. JOHNS.
Duke.

Duke. My daughter takes his going grievously *.

Pro. A little time, my lord, will kill that grief.

Duke. So I believe; but Thurio thinks not so.—

Protheus, the good conceit I hold of thee,
(For thou hast shewn some sign of good desert,)
Makes me the better to confer with thee.

Pro. Longer than I prove loyal to your grace,
Let me not live to look upon your grace.

Duke. Thou know'st, how willingly I would effect
The match between sir Thurio and my daughter.

Pro. I do, my lord.

Duke. And also, I think, thou art not ignorant
How she opposes her against my will.

Pro. She did, my lord, when Valentine was here.

Duke. Ay, and perversely she persévers so.
What might we do to make the girl forget
The love of Valentine, and love sir Thurio?

Pro. The best way is, to slander Valentine
With falshood, cowardice, and poor descent;
Three things that women highly hold in hate.

Duke. Ay, but she'll think, that it is spoke in hate.

Pro. Ay, if his enemy deliver it:
Therefore it must, with circumstance ⁸, be spoken
By one, whom she esteemeth as his friend.

Duke. Then you must undertake to slander him.

Pro. And that, my lord, I shall be loth to do:
'Tis an ill office for a gentleman;
Especially, against his very friend ⁹.

Duke. Where your good word cannot advantage him,
Your slander never can endamage him;
Therefore the office is indifferent,
Being entreated to it by your friend.

Pro. You have prevail'd, my lord: if I can do it,

* — *grievously.*] So some copies of the first folio; others have, *beavily*. The word therefore must have been corrected, while the sheet was working off at the press. The word *last*, p. 155, l. 23, was inserted in some copies in the same manner. MALONE.

⁸ — *with circumstance,*] With the addition of such incidental particulars as may induce belief. JOHNSON.

⁹ — *his very friend.*] *Very* is *immediate*. So, in *Macbeth*:

“ And the *very* points they blow.” STEEVENS.

By aught that I can speak in his dispraise,
 She shall not long continue love to him.
 But say, this weed her love from Valentine,
 It follows not that she will love sir Thurio.

Thu. Therefore as you unwind her love¹ from him,
 Lest it should ravel, and be good to none,
 You must provide to bottom it on me :
 Which must be done, by praising me as much
 As you in worth dispraise sir Valentine.

Duke. And, Protheus, we dare trust you in this kind ;
 Because we know, on Valentine's report,
 You are already love's firm votary,
 And cannot soon revolt and change your mind.
 Upon this warrant shall you have access,
 Where you with Silvia may confer at large ;
 For she is lumpish, heavy, melancholy,
 And, for your friend's sake, will be glad of you ;
 Where you may temper her², by your persuasion,
 To hate young Valentine, and love my friend.

Pro. As much as I can do, I will effect : —
 But you, sir Thurio, are not sharp enough ;
 You must lay lime³, to tangle her desires,
 By wailful sonnets, whose composed rhimes
 Should be full fraught with serviceable vows.

Duke. Ay, Much is the force of heaven-bred poetry.

Pro. Say, that upon the altar of her beauty
 You sacrifice your tears, your sighs, your heart :
 Write, till your ink be dry ; and with your tears
 Moist it again ; and frame some feeling line,
 That may discover such integrity⁴ : —

¹ — *as you unwind her love—*] As you wind off her love from him, make me the *bottom* on which you wind it. The housewife's term for a ball of thread wound upon a central body, is a *bottom of thread*. JOHNSON.

² — *you may temper her—*] Mould her, like wax, to whatever shape you please. So, in *King Henry IV.* P. II : “ I have him already *tempering* between my finger and my thumb ; and shortly will I seal with him.” MALONE.

³ — *lime*] That is, *birdlime*. JOHNSON.

⁴ — *such integrity :—*] I suspect that a line following this has been lost ; the import of which perhaps was

As her obdurate heart may penetrate. MALONE.

For Orpheus' lute was strung with poets' sinews;
 Whose golden touch could soften steel and stones,
 Make tygers tame, and huge leviathans
 Forsake unfounded deeps to dance on sands.
 After your dire-lamenting elegies,
 Visit by night your lady's chamber-window
 With some sweet concert⁵: to their instruments
 Tune a deploring dump⁶; the night's dead silence
 Will well become such sweet-complaining grievance.
 This, or else nothing, will inherit her⁷.

Duke. This discipline shews thou hast been in love.

Thu. And thy advice this night I'll put in practice:
 Therefore, sweet Protheus, my direction-giver,
 Let us into the city presently
 To fort⁸ some gentlemen well skill'd in musick:
 I have a sonnet, that will serve the turn,
 To give the onset to thy good advice.

Duke. About it, gentlemen.

Pro. We'll wait upon your grace, till after supper;
 And afterward determine our proceedings.

Duke. Even now about it; I will pardon you⁹.

[*Exeunt.*

5 — *with some sweet concert*:] The old copy has *consort*, which I once thought might have meant in our author's time a band or company of musicians. So, in *Romeo and Juliet*:

"Tyb. Mercutio, thou *consort'st* with Romeo.

"Mer. *Consort*! what, dost thou make us *minstrels*?"

The subsequent words, "*To their instruments—*," seem to favour this interpretation; but other instances, that I have since met with, in books of our author's age, have convinced me that *consort* was only the old spelling of *concert*, and I have accordingly printed the latter word in the text. The epithet *sweet*, annexed to it, seems better adapted to the musick itself than to the band. *Consort*, when accented on the first syllable, (as here) had, I believe, the former meaning; when on the second, it signified a company. So, in the next scene:

"What say'st thou? Wilt thou be of our *consort*?" MALONE.

6 *Tune a deploring dump*;] A *dump* was the ancient term for a mournful elegy. STEEVENS.

7 — *will inherit her.*] To *inherit*, is by our author, sometimes used, as in this instance, for to obtain possession of, without any idea of acquiring by inheritance. STEEVENS.

8 *To fort—*] i. e. to choose out. So, in *K. Richard III*:

"Yet I will fort a pitchy hour for thee." STEEVENS.

9 — *I will pardon you.*] I will excuse you from waiting. JOHNSON.

A C T

ACT IV. SCENE I.

*A Forest near Mantua.**Enter certain Out-laws.***1 Out.** Fellows; stand fast; I see a passenger.**2 Out.** If there be ten, shrink not, but down with 'em.*Enter VALENTINE and SPEED.***3 Out.** Stand, fir, and throw us that you have about you; If not, we'll make you fit, and rifle you.*Speed.* Sir, we are undone! these are the villains That all the travellers do fear so much.*Val.* My friends,—**1 Out.** That's not so, fir; we are your enemies.**2 Out.** Peace; we'll hear him.**3 Out.** Ay, by my beard, will we; For he's a proper man¹.*Val.* Then know, that I have little wealth to lose; A man I am, cross'd with adversity: My riches are these poor habiliments, Of which if you should here disfurnish me, You take the sum and substance that I have.**2 Out.** Whither travel you?*Val.* To Verona.**1 Out.** Whence came you?*Val.* From Milan.**3 Out.** Have you long sojourn'd there?*Val.* Some sixteen months; and longer might have staid, If crooked fortune had not thwarted me.**2 Out.** What, were you banish'd thence?*Val.* I was.**2 Out.** For what offence?*Val.* For that which now torments me to rehearse: I kill'd a man, whose death I much repent;

¹ — a proper man.] i. e. a well-looking man; he has the appearance of a gentleman. So, afterwards:

“ And partly, seeing you are beautified

“ With goodly shape”—

Again, in another play, “thou wast the properest man in Italy.” MALONE.

But

But yet I slew him manfully in fight,
Without false vantage, or base treachery.

1 *Out.* Why ne'er repent it, if it were done so:
But were you banish'd for so small a fault?

Val. I was, and held me glad of such a doom.

1 *Out.* Have you the tongues?

Val. My youthful travel therein made me happy;
Or else I often had been miserable.

3 *Out.* By the bare scalp of Robin Hood's fat friar²,
This fellow were a king for our wild faction.

1 *Out.* We'll have him: sirs, a word.

Speed. Master, be one of them;
It is an honourable kind of thievery.

Val. Peace, villain!

2 *Out.* Tell us this; Have you any thing to take to?

Val. Nothing, but my fortune.

3 *Out.* Know then, that some of us are gentlemen,
Such as the fury of ungovern'd youth
Thrust from the company of awful men³:

2 — *Robin Hood's fat friar,*] *Robin Hood* was captain of a band of robbers, and was much inclined to rob churchmen. JOHNSON.

By *Robin Hood's fat friar*, I believe, Shakspeare means *Friar Tuck*, who was confessor and companion to this noted outlaw. See figure III. in the plate at the end of the first part of *K. Henry IV.* with Mr. Tollet's observations on it. STEEVENS.

Dr. Johnson seems to have misunderstood this passage. The speaker does not swear by the scalp of some churchman who had been plundered, but by the shaven crown of *Robin Hood's* chaplain.—“We will live and die together, (says a personage in Peckle's *Edward I.* 1593,) like *Robin Hood*, little *John*, *friar Tuck*, and *Maide Marian*.” MALONE.

3 — *awful men*:] Reverend, worshipful, such as magistrates, and other principal members of civil communities. JOHNSON.

Awful is used by Shakspeare, in another place, in the sense of *lawful*. Second part of *Henry IV.* Act IV. sc. ii.

“We come within our *awful* banks again.” TYRWHITT.

So, in *K. Henry V.* 1600:

“— creatures that by *awe* ordain

“An *act* of order to a peopled kingdom.” MALONE.

I think we should read *lawful* in opposition to *lawless* men. In judicial proceedings the word has this sense. SIR J. HAWKINS.

I believe we should read *lawful* men; i. e. *legales homines*. So, in the *Newe Booke of Justices*, 1560:—“commandinge him to the same to make an inquest and pannel of *lawful* men of his countie.” For this remark I am indebted to Dr. Farmer. STEEVENS.

Myself was from Verona banished,
For practising to steal away a lady,
An heir, and near ally'd unto the duke⁴.

2 *Out.* And I from Mantua, for a gentleman,
Who, in my mood⁵, I stabb'd unto the heart.

1 *Out.* And I, for such like petty crimes as these.
But to the purpose,—(for we cite our faults,
That they may hold excus'd our lawless lives,)
And, partly, seeing you are beautify'd
With goodly shape; and by your own report
A linguist; and a man of such perfection,
As we do in our quality⁶ much want;—

2 *Out.* Indeed, because you are a banish'd man,
Therefore, above the rest, we parley to you:
Are you content to be our general?
To make a virtue of necessity,
And live, as we do, in this wilderness?

3 *Out.* What say'st thou? wilt thou be of our consort?
Say, ay, and be the captain of us all:
We'll do thee homage, and be rul'd by thee,
Love thee as our commander, and our king.

1 *Out.* But if thou scorn our courtesy, thou diest.

2 *Out.* Thou shalt not live to brag what we have
offer'd.

Val. I take your offer, and will live with you;
Provided, that you do no outrages⁷
On silly women, or poor passengers.

3 *Out.* No, we detest such vile base practices.
Come, go with us, we'll bring thee to our crews,

4 *An heir, and near ally'd unto the duke.*] *Heir* in our author's time (as it sometimes is now) was applied to females, as well as males. The old copy reads—and *neece*. The change, which is very slight, (*near* being formerly spelt *neere*) was made by Mr. Theobald. It likewise reads—*And heir*. The correction was made in the third folio. MALONE.

5 *Who, in my mood,*] *Mood* is anger or resentment. MALONE.

6 — *in our quality*—] i. e. in our profession. So, in *the Tempest*:

“ ———— talk

“ Ariel, and all his *quality*.” See p. 16. n. 3. MALONE.

7 ———— *no outrages*

On silly women, or poor passengers.] This was one of the rules of Robin Hood's government. STEEVENS.

And shew thee all the treasure we have got ;
Which, with ourselves, all rest at thy dispose. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II.

Milan. *Court of the Palace.*

Enter PROTHERUS.

Pro. Already have I been false to Valentine,
And now I must be as unjust to Thurio.
Under the colour of commending him,
I have access my own love to prefer ;
But Silvia is too fair, too true, too holy,
To be corrupted with my worthless gifts.
When I protest true loyalty to her,
She twits me with my falsehood to my friend ;
When to her beauty I commend my vows,
She bids me think, how I have been forsworn
In breaking faith with Julia whom I lov'd :
And, notwithstanding all her sudden quips⁸,
The least whereof would quell a lover's hope,
Yet, spaniel-like, the more she spurns my love,
The more it grows, and fawneth on her still.
But here comes Thurio : now must we to her window,
And give some evening musick to her ear.

Enter THURIO, and Musicians.

Thu. How now, sir Protheus ? are you crept before us ?

Pro. Ay, gentle Thurio ; for, you know, that love
Will creep in service where it cannot go.

Thu. Ay, but, I hope, sir, that you love not here.

Pro. Sir, but I do ; or else I would be hence.

Thu. Whom ? Silvia ?

Pro. Ay, Silvia,—for your sake.

Thu. I thank you for your own. Now, gentlemen,
Let's tune, and to it lustily a while.

⁸ — *sudden quips,*] That is, hasty passionate reproaches and scoffs.
So Macbeth is in a kindred sense said to be *sudden* ; that is, irascible
and impetuous. JOHNSON.

Enter Host, at a distance ; and JULIA in boy's clothes.

Host. Now, my young guest! methinks you're ally-cholly; I pray you, why is it?

Jul. Marry, mine host, because I cannot be merry.

Host. Come, we'll have you merry: I'll bring you where you shall hear musick, and see the gentleman that you ask'd for.

Jul. But shall I hear him speak?

Host. Ay, that you shall.

Jul. That will be musick.

[*Musick plays.*]

Host. Hark! hark!

Jul. Is he among these?

Host. Ay: but peace, let's hear 'em.

S O N G.

Who is Silvia? what is she,

That all our swains commend her?

Holy, fair, and wise is she;

The heavens such grace did lend her,

That she might admired be.

Is she kind, as she is fair?

For beauty lives with kindness⁹:

Love doth to her eyes repair,

To help him of his blindness;

And, being help'd, inhabits there.

Then to Silvia let us sing,

That Silvia is excelling;

She excells each mortal thing,

Upon the dull earth dwelling:

To her let us garlands bring.

Host. How now? are you sadder than you were before?
How do you, man? the musick likes you not.

Jul. You mistake; the musician likes me not.

Host. Why, my pretty youth?

9 — *beauty lives with kindness:*] Beauty without kindness dies un-
enjoyed, and undelighting. JOHNSON.

Jul.

Jul. He plays false, father.

Hof. How? out of tune on the strings?

Jul. Not so; but yet so false, that he grieves my very heart-strings.

Hof. You have a quick ear.

Jul. Ay, I would I were deaf! it makes me have a slow heart.

Hof. I perceive, you delight not in musick.

Jul. Not a whit, when it jars so.

Hof. Hark, what fine change is in the musick!

Jul. Ay; that change is the spite.

Hof. You would have them always play but one thing?

Jul. I would always have one play but one thing. But, host, doth this sir Protheus, that we talk on, often resort unto this gentlewoman?

Hof. I tell you what Launce, his man, told me, he loved her out of all nick¹.

Jul. Where is Launce?

Hof. Gone to seek his dog; which, to-morrow, by his master's command, he must carry for a present to his lady.

Jul. Peace! stand aside; the company parts.

Pro. Sir Thurio, fear not you; I will so plead, That you shall say, my cunning drift excels.

Thu. Where meet we?

Pro. At saint Gregory's well.

Thu. Farewell. [*Exeunt Thurio and Musicians,*

SILVIA appears above, at her window.

Pro. Madam, good even to your ladyship.

Sil. I thank you for your musick, gentlemen:

Who is that, that spake?

Pro. One, lady, if you knew his pure heart's truth, You'd quickly learn to know him by his voice.

Sil. Sir Protheus, as I take it.

Pro. Sir Protheus, gentle lady, and your servant.

Sil. What is your will?

¹ — out of all nick.] Beyond all reckoning or count. Reckonings are kept upon nicked or notched sticks or tallies. *WARBURTON.*

As it is an inn-keeper who employs the allusion, it is much in character. *STEEVENS.*

Pro. That I may compass yours.

Sil. You have your wish ; my will is even this ²,—
That presently you hie you home to bed.
Thou subtle, perjur'd, false, disloyal man !
Think'st thou, I am so shallow, so conceitless,
To be seduced by thy flattery,
That hast deceiv'd so many with thy vows ?
Return, return, and make thy love amends.
For me,—by this pale queen of night I swear,
I am so far from granting thy request,
That I despise thee for thy wrongful suit ;
And by and by intend to chide myself,
Even for this time I spend in talking to thee.

Pro. I grant, sweet love, that I did love a lady ;
But she is dead.

Jul. 'Twere false, if I should speak it ;
For, I am sure, she is not buried. [*Aside.*]

Sil. Say, that she be ; yet Valentine, thy friend,
Survives ; to whom, thyself art witness,
I am betroth'd ; And art thou not ashamed
To wrong him with thy importunacy ?

Pro. I likewise hear, that Valentine is dead.

Sil. And so, suppose, am I ; for in his grave ³,
Assure thyself, my love is buried.

Pro. Sweet lady, let me rake it from the earth.

Sil. Go to thy lady's grave, and call her's thence ;
Or, at the least, in her's sepulcher thine.

Jul. He heard not that. [*Aside.*]

Pro. Madam, if your heart be so obdurate,
Vouchsafe me yet your picture for my love,
The picture that is hanging in your chamber ;
To that I'll speak, to that I'll sigh and weep :
For, since the substance of your perfect self

² *You have your wish ; my will is even this,—* The word *will* is here ambiguous. He wishes to gain her *will* : she tells him, if he wants her *will*, he has it. JOHNSON.

³ — *in his grave,*] The old copy has—*her* grave. The emendation was made by the editor of the second folio. MALONE.

Is else devoted, I am but a shadow ;
And to your shadow will I make true love.

Ful. If 'twere a substance, you would, sure, deceive it,
And make it but a shadow, as I am. [*Aside.*]

Sil. I am very loath to be your idol, sir ;
But, since your falshood shall become you well ⁴
To worship shadows, and adore false shapes,
Send to me in the morning, and I'll send it :
And so, good rest.

Pro. As wretches have o'er night,
That wait for execution in the morn.

[*Exeunt* PROTHERUS ; and SILVIA, from above.

Ful. Host, will you go ?

Host. By my hallidom, I was fast asleep.

Ful. Pray you, where lies sir Protheus ?

Host. Marry, at my house : Trust me, I think, tis almost day.

Ful. Not so ; but it hath been the longest night
That e'er I watch'd, and the most heaviest. [*Exeunt.*]

⁴ *But, since your falshood shall become you well*] I once had a better opinion of an alteration proposed by Dr. Johnson [*But since you're false, it shall &c.*] than I have at present. I now believe the text is right, and that our author means, however licentious the expression,—But, since your falshood well becomes, or is well suited to, the worshipping of shadows, and the adoring of false shapes, send to me in the morning for my picture, &c. Or, in other words, But, since the worshipping of shadows and the adoring of false shapes shall well become you, false as you are, send &c. *To worship shadows &c.* I consider as the objective case, as well as you. There are other instances in these plays of a double accusative depending on the same verb. I have therefore followed the punctuation of the old copy, and not placed a comma after *falshood*, as in the modern editions. *Since* is, I think, here an adverb, not a preposition. MALONE.

There is no occasion for any alteration, if we only suppose that *it* is understood here, as in several other places.

But, since your falshood, shall become you well

To worship shadows and adore false shapes,—

i. e. But, since your falshood, *it* shall become you well, &c. Or indeed, in this place, *To worship shadows &c.* may be considered as the nominative case to *shall become*. TYRWHITT.

SCENE III.

*The same.**Enter EGLAMOUR.*

Egl. This is the hour that madam Silvia
Entreated me to call, and know her mind;
There's some great matter she'd employ me in.—
Madam, madam!

SILVIA appears above, at her window.

Sil. Who calls?

Egl. Your servant, and your friend;
One that attends your ladyship's command.

Sil. Sir Eglamour, a thousand times good morrow.

Egl. As many, worthy lady, to yourself.
According to your ladyship's impose⁵,
I am thus early come, to know what service
It is your pleasure to command me in.

Sil. O Eglamour, thou art a gentleman,
(Think not, I flatter, for, I swear, I do not,)
Valiant, wise, remorseful⁶, well accomplish'd.
Thou art not ignorant, what dear good will
I bear unto the banish'd Valentine;
Nor how my father would enforce me marry
Vain Thurio, whom my very soul abhorr'd:
Thyself hast lov'd; and I have heard thee say,
No grief did ever come so near thy heart,
As when thy lady and thy true love died,
Upon whose grave thou vow'dst pure chastity⁷:

4

Sir

⁵ — *your ladyship's impose,*] *Impose* is *injunction, command*. A task set at college, in consequence of a fault, is still called an *imposition*.

STEEVENS.

⁶ *Remorseful* is pitiful. STEEVENS.

⁷ *Upon whose grave thou vow'dst pure chastity :*] It was common in former ages for widowers and widows to make vows of chastity in honour of their deceased wives or husbands. In Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, page 1013, there is the form of a commission by the bishop of the diocese for taking a vow of chastity made by a widow. It seems that, besides observing the vow, the widow was, for life, to wear

Sir Eglamour, I would to Valentine,
 'To Mantua, where, I hear, he makes abode;
 And, for the ways are dangerous to pass,
 I do desire thy worthy company,
 Upon whose faith and honour I repose.
 Urge not my father's anger, Eglamour,
 But think upon my grief, a lady's grief;
 And on the justice of my flying hence,
 To keep me from a most unholy match,
 Which heaven and fortune still reward with plagues.
 I do desire thee, even from a heart
 As full of sorrows as the sea of sands,
 To bear me company, and go with me:
 If not, to hide what I have said to thee,
 That I may venture to depart alone.

Egl. Madam, I pity much your grievances⁸;
 Which since I know they virtuously are plac'd,
 I give consent to go along with you;
 Recking as little⁹ what betideth me,
 As much I wish all good befortune you.
 When will you go?

Sil. This evening coming.

Egl. Where shall I meet you?

Sil. At friar Patrick's cell,
 Where I intend holy confession.

Egl. I will not fail your ladyship:
 Good morrow, gentle lady.

Sil. Good morrow, kind sir Eglamour.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE IV.

The same.

Enter LAUNCE, with his dog.

When a man's servant shall play the cur with him, look
 you,

wear a veil, and a mourning habit. The same distinction we may suppose to have been made in respect of male votarists; and therefore this circumstance might inform the players how sir Eglamour should be dress'd; and will account for Silvia's having chosen him as a person in whom she could confide without injury to her own character. STEEVENS.

⁸ ——— *grievances*;] Sorrows, sorrowful affections. JOHNSON.

⁹ *Recking as little*—] To *reck* is to care for. STEEVENS.

you, it goes hard: one that I brought up of a puppy; one that I saved from drowning, when three or four of his blind brothers and sisters went to it! I have taught him—even as one would say precisely, Thus I would teach a dog. I was sent to deliver him, as a present to mistress Silvia, from my master; and I came no sooner into the dining-chamber, but he steps me to her trencher*, and steals her capon's leg. O, 'tis a foul thing, when a cur cannot keep himself¹ in all companies! I would have, as one should say, one that takes upon him to be a dog² indeed, to be, as it were, a dog at all things. If I had not had more wit than he, to take a fault upon me that he did, I think verily he had been hang'd for't; sure as I live, he had suffer'd for't: you shall judge. He thrusts me himself into the company of three or four gentlemen-like dogs, under the duke's table: he had not been there (bleis the mark) a pissing while³, but all the chamber smelt him. *Out with the dog*, says one; *What cur is that?* says another; *Whip him out*, says the third; *Hang him up*, says the duke: I, having been acquainted with the smell before, knew it was Crab; and goes me to the fellow that whips the dogs⁴: *Friend*, quoth I, *you mean to whip the dog?* *Ay, marry, do I*, quoth he. *You do him the more wrong*, quoth I; *'twas I did the thing you wot of*. He makes me no more ado, but whips me out of the chamber. How many masters would do this for their servant⁵? Nay, I'll be sworn, I have sat in the stocks for puddings he hath stolen, otherwise he had been executed: I have stood on the pillory for geese he hath kill'd, otherwise he had suffer'd for't: thou think'st not of this now!—Nay, I re-

* —to her trencher,] See p. 54. n. 3. MALONE.

¹ —keep himself] i. e. restrain himself. STEEVENS.

² —to be a dog—] I believe we should read, *I would have, &c. one that takes upon him to be a dog, to be a dog indeed, to be, &c.* JOHNSON.

³ —a pissing while,] It appears from Ray's Collection, that this expression is proverbial. STEEVENS.

⁴ —the fellow that whips the dogs:] This appears to have been part of the office of an usher of the table. STEEVENS.

⁵ —their servant?] The old copy reads—his servant? STEEVENS. Corrected by Mr. Pope. MALONE.

member the trick you served me, when I took my leave of madam Silvia ⁶; did not I bid thee still mark me, and do as I do? When didst thou see me heave up my leg, and make water against a gentlewoman's farthingale? Didst thou ever see me do such a trick?

Enter PROTHEUS *and* JULIA.

Pro. Sebastian is thy name? I like thee well, And will employ thee in some service presently.

Jul. In what you please;—I will do what I can.

Pro. I hope thou wilt.—How, now, you whoreson peasant?

Where have you been these two days loitering?

Launce. Marry, sir, I carry'd mistress Silvia the dog you bade me.

Pro. And what says she to my little jewel?

Launce. Marry, she says, your dog was a cur; and tells you, currish thanks is good enough for such a present.

Pro. But she receiv'd my dog?

Launce. No, indeed, did she not: here have I brought him back again.

Pro. What, didst thou offer her this from me?

Launce. Ay, sir; the other squirrel ⁷ was stolen from me by the hangman's boys in the market-place: and then I offer'd her mine own; who is a dog as big as ten of yours, and therefore the gift the greater.

Pro. Go, get thee hence, and find my dog again, Or ne'er return again into my sight.

⁶ *Madam Silvia*;] Dr. Warburton, without any necessity I think, reads—Julia; “alluding to the leave his master and he took when they left Verona.” But it appears from a former scene, (as Mr. Heath has observed,) that Launce was not present when Protheus and Julia parted. Launce on the other hand has just taken leave of, i. e. parted from, (for that is all that is meant) Madam Silvia. MALONE.

⁷ — *the other squirrel* &c.] Sir T. Harmer reads,—the other, *Squirrel*, &c. and consequently makes *Squirrel* the proper name of the beast. Perhaps Launce only speaks of it as a diminutive animal, more resembling a *squirrel* in size, than a dog. STEEVENS.

The subsequent words,—“who is a dog as big as ten of yours,” shew that Mr. Steevens's interpretation is the true one. MALONE.

Away,

Away, I say ; Stay'st thou to vex me here ?
 A slave, that, still an end⁸, turns me to shame. [*Ex. LAU.*
 Sebastian, I have entertained thee,
 Partly, that I have need of such a youth,
 That can with some discretion do my business,
 For 'tis no trusting to yon foolish lowt ;
 But, chiefly, for thy face, and thy behaviour ;
 Which (if my augury deceive me not,)
 Witness good bringing up, fortune, and truth :
 Therefore know thou⁹, for this I entertain thee.
 Go presently, and take this ring with thee,
 Deliver it to Madam Silvia :

She lov'd me well, deliver'd it to me¹.

Jul. It seems, you lov'd her not, to leave her token² :
 She's dead, belike.

Pro. Not so ; I think, she lives.

Jul. Alas !

Pro. Why dost thou cry, alas ?

Jul. I cannot choose but pity her.

Pro. Wherefore should'st thou pity her ?

Jul. Because, methinks, that she lov'd you as well

As you do love your lady Silvia :

She dreams on him, that has forgot her love ;

You dote on her, that cares not for your love.

'Tis pity, love should be so contrary ;

And thinking on it makes me cry, alas !

Pro. Well, give her that ring, and therewithal

⁸ — *an end,*] i. e. *in the end*, at the conclusion of every business he undertakes. STEEVENS.

⁹ — *know* thou,] The old copy has—*thee*. The emendation was made by the editor of the second folio. MALONE.

¹ *She lov'd me well, deliver'd it to me.*] i. e. She, *who* delivered it to me, lov'd me well. MALONE.

² *It seems, you lov'd her not, to leave her token :*] *To leave* seems to be used here for *to part with*. It is used with equal licence in a former scene, for *to cease*. "I leave to be, &c."—In the first copy *not* is inadvertently repeated by the carelessness of the printer :

It seems you lov'd her not, *not* leave her token.

The emendation was made in the second folio. Dr. Johnson would read :

It seems you lov'd her not, *nor* leave her token. MALONE.

This letter ;—that's her chamber.—Tell my lady,
I claim the promise for her heavenly picture.
Your message done, hie home unto my chamber,
Where thou shalt find me sad and solitary.

[Exit PROTHEUS.]

Jul. How many women would do such a message?

Alas, poor Protheus! thou hast entertain'd

A fox, to be the shepherd of thy lambs:

Alas, poor fool! why do I pity him

That with his very heart despiseth me?

Because he loves her, he despiseth me;

Because I love him, I must pity him.

This ring I gave him, when he parted from me;

To bind him to remember my good will:

And now am I (unhappy messenger)

To plead for that, which I would not obtain;

To carry that, which I would have refus'd³;

To praise his faith, which I would have disprais'd.

I am my master's true confirmed love;

But cannot be true servant to my master,

Unless I prove false traitor to myself.

Yet will I woo for him; but yet so coldly,

As, heaven it knows, I would not have him speed.

Enter SILVIA, attended.

Gentlewoman, good day! I pray you, be my mean

To bring me where to speak with Madam Silvia.

Sil. What would you with her, if that I be she?

Jul. If you be she, I do entreat your patience
To hear me speak the message I am sent on.

Sil. From whom?

Jul. From my master, sir Protheus, madam.

Sil. O,—he sends you for a picture?

Jul. Ay, madam.

Sil. Ursula, bring my picture there. [*Picture brought.*]

Go, give your master this: tell him from me,

One Julia, that his changing thoughts forget,

. 3 To carry that, which I would have refus'd; &c.] The sense is, To go and present that which I wish to be not accepted, to praise him whom I wish to be dispraised. JOHNSON.

Would better fit his chamber, than this shadow.

Jul. Madam, please you peruse this letter.—

Pardon me, madam; I have unadvis'd

Deliver'd you a paper that I should not;

This is the letter to your ladyship.

Sil. I pray thee, let me look on that again.

Jul. It may not be; good madam, pardon me.

Sil. There, hold.

I will not look upon your master's lines:

I know, they are stuff'd with protestations,

And full of new-found oaths; which he will break,

As easily as I do tear this paper.

Jul. Madam, he sends your ladyship this ring.

Sil. The more shame for him that he sends it me;

For, I have heard him say a thousand times,

His Julia gave it him at his departure:

Though his false finger have profan'd the ring,

Mine shall not do his Julia so much wrong.

Jul. She thanks you.

Sil. What say'st thou?

Jul. I thank you, madam, that you tender her:

Poor gentlewoman! my master wrongs her much.

Sil. Dost thou know her?

Jul. Almost as well as I do know myself:

To think upon her woes, I do protest,

That I have wept an hundred several times.

Sil. Belike, she thinks, that Protheus hath forsook her.

Jul. I think she doth; and that's her cause of sorrow.

Sil. Is she not passing fair?

Jul. She hath been fairer, madam, than she is:

When she did think my master lov'd her well,

She, in my judgement, was as fair as you;

But since she did neglect her looking-glass,

And threw her sun-expelling mask away,

The air hath starv'd the roses in her cheeks,

And pinch'd the lily-tincture of her face,

That now she is become as black as I⁴.

Sil.

⁴ *And pinch'd the lily-tincture of her face,*

That now she is become as black as I.] The colour of a part pinched,

Sil. How tall was she ?

Jul. About my stature: for, at pentecost,
When all our pageants of delight were play'd,
Our youth got me to play the woman's part,
And I was trimm'd in madam Julia's gown ;
Which served me as fit, by all men's judgment,
As if the garment had been made for me :
Therefore, I know she is about my height.
And, at that time I made her weep a-good⁵,
For I did play a lamentable part:
Madam, 'twas Ariadne, passioning⁶
For Theseus' perjury, and unjust flight ;
Which I so lively acted with my tears,
That my poor mistress, moved therewithal,
Wept bitterly ; and, would I might be dead,
If I in thought felt not her very sorrow !

Sil. She is beholden to thee, gentle youth !—

Alas, poor lady ! desolate and left !—

I weep myself, to think upon thy words.

Here, youth, there is my purse ; I give thee this
For thy sweet mistress' sake, because thou lov'st her.

Farewell. [Exit SILVIA.]

Jul. And she shall thank you for't, if e'er you know
her.—

A virtuous gentlewoman, mild, and beautiful.

I hope, my master's suit will be but cold,
Since she respects my mistress' love so much⁷.

Alas,

is livid, as it is commonly termed, *black and blue*. The weather may therefore be justly said to *pinch*, when it produces the same visible effect. I believe this is the reason why the cold is said to *pinch*.

JOHNSON.

Cleopatra says of herself,—“ Think on me,

“ That am with Phæbus' amorous *pinches* black.” STEEVENS.

⁵ — *weep a-good ;*] i. e. in good earnest. *Tout de bon*. Fr. STEEV.

⁶ — *'twas Ariadne, passioning—*] On her being deserted by Theseus in the night, and left on the Island of Naxos. MALONE.

To *passion* is used as a verb by writers contemporary with Shakspeare.

STEEVENS.

⁷ — *my mistress' love so much.*] She had in her preceding speech called Julia *her mistress* ; but it is odd enough that she should thus describe

Alas, how love can trifle with itself !
 Here is her picture : Let me see ; I think,
 If I had such a tire, this face of mine
 Were full as lovely as is this of hers :
 And yet the painter flatter'd her a little,
 Unless I flatter with myself too much.
 Her hair is auburn, mine is perfect yellow :
 If that be all the difference in his love,
 I'll get me such a colour'd periwig⁸.
 Her eyes are grey as glafs⁹; and so are mine :
 Ay, but her forehead's low¹, and mine's as high.
 What should it be, that he respects in her,
 But I can make respective² in myself,
 If this fond love were not a blinded god ?
 Come, shadow, come, and take this shadow up,
 For 'tis thy rival. O thou senseless form,
 Thou shalt be worshipp'd, kiss'd, lov'd, and ador'd ;
 And, were there sense in his idolatry,
 My substance should be statue in thy stead³.

I'll

scribe herself, when she is *alone*. Sir T. Hanmer reads—" *his mistress* ;" but without necessity. Our author knew that his audience considered the disguised Julia in the present scene as a page to Proteus, and this, I believe, and the love of antithesis, produced the expression. MALONE.

⁸ *I'll get me such a colour'd periwig.*] It should be remembered, that false hair was worn by the ladies, long before *wigs* were in fashion. These false coverings, however, were called *periwigs*. STEEVENS.

See *Much Ado about Nothing*, Act II. sc. iii.—"and her hair shall be of what colour it please God."—and the *Merchant of Venice*, Act. III. sc. ii.

"So are those crisped snaky golden locks, &c." MALONE.

⁹ *Her eyes are grey as glafs;*] So Chaucer, in the character of his Priorefs:

"Ful semely hire wimple y-pinched was ;

"Hire nose tretis ; hire eyen grey as glaz." THEOBALD:

¹ — *her forehead's low,*] A high forehead was in our author's time accounted a feature eminently beautiful. So, in *The History of Guy of Warwick*, "Felice his lady" is said to have "*the same high forehead as Venus*." JOHNSON.

² — *respective*—] i. e. *respectful*, or *respectable*. STEEVENS.

³ *My substance should be statue in thy stead.*] It would be easy to read with no more roughness than is to be found in many lines of Shakspeare:

———should be a statue in thy stead.

The

I'll use thee kindly for thy mistress' sake,
That us'd me so; or else, by Jove I vow,
I should have scratch'd out your unseeing eyes,
To make my master out of love with thee.

[Exit.

ACT V. SCENE I.

The same. An Abbey.

Enter EGLAMOUR.

Egl. The sun begins to gild the western sky;
And now it is about the very hour
That Silvia, at friar Patrick's cell, should meet me.
She will not fail; for lovers break not hours,
Unless it be to come before their time;
So much they spur their expedition.

Enter SILVIA.

See, where she comes: Lady, a happy evening!

Sil. Amen, amen! go on, good Eglamour,
Out at the postern by the abbey-wall;
I fear, I am attended by some spies.

Egl. Fear not: the forest is not three leagues off;
If we recover that, we are sure enough¹. [Exeunt.

SCENE II.

The same. A Room in the Duke's Palace.

Enter THURIO, PROTHEUS, and JULIA.

Thu. Sir Protheus, what says Silvia to my suit?

Pro. O, sir, I find her milder than she was;
And yet she takes exceptions at your person.

The sense, as Mr. Edwards observes, is, "He should have my substance as a statue, instead of thee [the picture], who art a senseless form." This word, however, is used without the article *a* in Massinger's *Great Duke of Florence*, and in Lord Surrey's translation of the fourth *Æneid*. STEEVENS.

¹ — sure enough.] *Sure* is safe, out of danger. JOHNSON.

VOL. I.

N

Thu.

Thu. What, that my leg is too long?

Pro. No; that it is too little.

Thu. I'll wear a boot, to make it somewhat rounder.

Pro. But love will not be spurr'd to what it loaths.

Thu. What says she to my face?

Pro. She says, it is a fair one.

Thu. Nay, then the wanton lies; my face is black.

Pro. But pearls are fair; and the old saying is,
Black men are pearls in beauteous ladies' eyes².

Jul. 'Tis true³, such pearls as put out ladies' eyes;
For I had rather wink than look on them. [*Aside.*]

Thu. How likes she my discourse?

Pro. Ill, when you talk of war.

Thu. But well, when I discourse of love, and peace?

Jul. But better, indeed, when you hold your peace. [*Aside.*]

Thu. What says she to my valour?

Pro. O, sir, she makes no doubt of that.

Jul. She needs not, when she knows it cowardice.

[*Aside.*]

Thu. What says she to my birth?

Pro. That you are well deriv'd.

Jul. True; from a gentleman to a fool. [*Aside.*]

Thu. Considers she my possessions?

Pro. O, ay; and pities them.

Thu. Wherefore?

Jul. That such an ass should owe them. [*Aside.*]

Pro. That they are out by lease⁴.

Jul. Here comes the duke.

Enter Duke.

Duke. How now, sir Protheus? how now, Thurio?
Which of you saw sir Eglamour*, of late?

² *Black men are pearls &c.*] "A black man is a jewel in a fair woman's eye,"—is one of Ray's proverbial sentences. MALONE.

³ *Jul: 'Tis true, &c.*] This speech, which certainly belongs to Julia, is given in the old copy to Thurio. Mr. Rowe restored it to its proper owner. STEEVENS..

⁴ *That they are out by lease.*] I suppose he means, because Thurio's folly has let them on disadvantageous terms. STEEVENS.

* —sir Eglamour—] Sir, which is not in the old copy, was inserted by the editor of the second folio. MALONE.

Thu.

Thu. Not I.

Pro. Nor I.

Duke. Saw you my daughter?

Pro. Neither.

Duke. Why, then she's fled unto that peasant Valentine;
And Eglamour is in her company.

'Tis true; for friar Laurence met them both,
As he in penance wander'd through the forest:
Him he knew well, and guess'd that it was she;
But, being mask'd, he was not sure of it:
Besides, she did intend confession
At Patrick's cell this even; and there she was not:
These likelihoods confirm her flight from hence.
Therefore, I pray you, stand not to discourse,
But mount you presently; and meet with me
Upon the rising of the mountain-foot
That leads toward Mantua, whither they are fled:
Dispatch, sweet gentlemen, and follow me. [Exit.

Thu. Why, this it is to be a peevish girl,
That flies her fortune when it follows her:
I'll after; more to be reveng'd on Eglamour,
Than for the love of reckless Silvia. [Exit.

Pro. And I will follow, more for Silvia's love,
Than hate of Eglamour that goes with her. [Exit.

Jul. And I will follow, more to cross that love,
Than hate for Silvia, that is gone for love. [Exit.

SCENE III.

Frontiers of Mantua. The Forest.

Enter SILVIA and Out-laws.

1 Out. Come, come;

Be patient, we must bring you to our captain.

Sil. A thousand more mischances than this one
Have learn'd me how to brook this patiently.

2 Out. Come, bring her away.

1 Out. Where is the gentleman that was with her?

3 Out. Being nimble-footed, he hath out-run us,
But Moyſes, and Valerius, follow him.

Go thou with her to the west end of the wood,
There is our captain : we'll follow him that's fled ;
The thicket is beset, he cannot 'scape.

1 *Out.* Come, I must bring you to our captain's cave :
Fear not ; he bears an honourable mind,
And will not use a woman lawlessly.

Sil. O Valentine, this I endure for thee ! [*Exeunt.*

S C E N E IV.

Another part of the forest.

Enter VALENTINE.

Val. How use doth breed a habit in a man !
This shadowy desert, unfrequented woods,
I better brook than flourishing peopled towns :
Here can I sit alone, unseen of any,
And, to the nightingale's complaining notes,
Tune my distresses, and record my woes⁵.
O thou that dost inhabit in my breast,
Leave not the mansion so long tenantless ;
Lest, growing ruinous, the building fall,
And leave no memory of what it was⁶ !
Repair me with thy presence, Silvia ;
Thou gentle nymph, cherish thy forlorn swain !—
What halloing, and what stir, is this to-day ?
These are my mates, that make their wills their law,
Have some unhappy passenger in chace :
They love me well ; yet I have much to do,
To keep them from uncivil outrages.
Withdraw thee, Valentine ; who's this comes here ?

[Steps aside.]

5 — record my woes.] To record anciently signified to sing. Sir John Hawkins informs me, that to record is a term still used by bird-fanciers, to express the first essays of a bird in singing. STEEVENS.

6 O thou, that dost inhabit in my breast,
Leave not the mansion so long tenantless ;
Lest, growing ruinous, the building fall,
And leave no memory of what it was !]

It is hardly possible to point out four lines in any of the plays of Shakspeare, more remarkable for ease and elegance. STEEVENS.

Enter

Enter PROTHEUS, SILVIA, and JULIA.

Pro. Madam, this service I have done for you,
(Though you respect not aught your servant doth,)
To hazard life, and rescue you from him,
That would have forc'd your honour and your love.
Vouchsafe me, for my meed⁷, but one fair look;
A smaller boon than this I cannot beg,
And less than this, I am sure, you cannot give.

Val. How like a dream is this, I see, and hear!
Love, lend me patience to forbear a while. [*Aside.*]

Sil. O miserable, unhappy that I am!

Pro. Unhappy were you, madam, ere I came;
But, by my coming, I have made you happy.

Sil. By thy approach thou mak'st me most unhappy.

Jul. And me, when he approacheth to your presence.
[*Aside.*]

Sil. Had I been seized by a hungry lion,
I would have been a breakfast to the beast,
Rather than have false Protheus rescue me.
O, heaven be judge, how I love Valentine,
Whose life's as tender to me as my soul;
And full as much (for more there cannot be,)
I do detest false perjur'd Protheus:
Therefore be gone, solicit me no more.

Pro. What dangerous action, stood it next to death,
Would I not undergo for one calm look?
O, 'tis the curse in love, and still approv'd⁸,
When women cannot love, where they're belov'd.

Sil. When Protheus cannot love, where he's belov'd.
Read over Julia's heart, thy first best love,
For whose dear sake thou didst then rend thy faith
Into a thousand oaths; and all those oaths
Descended into perjury, to love me.
Thou hast no faith left now, unless thou had'st two,
And that's far worse than none; better have none
Than plural faith, which is too much by one:

7 — my meed,] i. e. reward. STEEVENS.

8 — and still approv'd,] *Approv'd* is felt, experienced. MALONE.

Thou counterfeited to thy true friend !

Pro. In love,
Who respects friend ?

Sil. All men but Protheus.

Pro. Nay, if the gentle spirit of moving words
Can no way change you to a milder form,
I'll woo you like a soldier, at arms' end ;
And love you 'gainst the nature of love, force you.

Sil. O heaven !

Pro. I'll force thee yield to my desire.

Val. Ruffian, let go that rude uncivil touch ;
Thou friend of an ill fashion !

Pro. Valentine !

Val. Thou common friend, that's without faith or love⁹ ;
(For such is a friend now,) treacherous man !
Thou hast beguil'd my hopes ; nought but mine eye
Could have persuaded me : Now I dare not say,
I have one friend alive ; thou would'st disprove me.
Who should be trusted, when one's own right hand¹
Is perjur'd to the bosom ? Protheus,
I am sorry, I must never trust thee more,
But count the world a stranger for thy sake.
The private wound is deepest : O time most accurst² !
'Mongst all foes, that a friend should be the worst !

Pro. My shame and guilt confounds me.—
Forgive me, Valentine : if hearty sorrow
Be a sufficient ransom for offence,
I tender it here ; I do as truly suffer,
As e'er I did commit.

⁹ — that's *without faith or love* ;] *That's* is perhaps here used, not for *who is*, but for *id est, that is to say*. MALONE.

¹ *Who shall be trusted, when one's own right hand*] The old copy has not *own* ; which was introduced into the text by Sir T. Hanmer. The second folio, to complete the metre, reads :

Who shall be trusted *now*, when one's right hand—.

The addition, like all those made in that copy, appears to have been merely arbitrary ; and the modern word is, in my opinion, more likely to have been the author's than the other. MALONE.

² *The private wound is deepest, O time most accurst !*] *Deepest, bighest*, and other similar words, were sometimes used by the poets of Shakspeare's age as monosyllables. See p. 76. n. 2. MALONE.

Val. Then I am paid;
 And once again I do receive thee honest:—
 Who by repentance is not satisfy'd,
 Is nor of heaven, nor earth; for these are pleas'd;
 By penitence the Eternal's wrath's appeas'd:—
 And, that my love may appear plain and free,
 All, that was mine in Silvia, I give thee³.

Jul. O me unhappy! [faints.]

Pro. Look to the boy.

Val. Why, boy! why wag! how now? what is the matter?

Look up; speak.

Jul. O good sir, my master charg'd me
 To deliver a ring to madam Silvia;
 Which, out of my neglect, was never done.

Pro. Where is that ring, boy?

Jul. Here 'tis: this is it. [gives a ring.]

Pro. How! let me see:

Why this is the ring I gave to Julia.

³ *All, that was mine in Silvia, I give thee.*] It is, I think, very odd, to give up his mistress thus at once, without any reason alledged. But our author probably followed the stories just as he found them in his novels as well as histories. POPE.

This passage either hath been much sophisticated, or is one great proof that the main parts of this play did not proceed from Shakspeare; for it is impossible he could make Valentine act and speak so much out of character, or give to Silvia so unnatural a behaviour, as to take no notice of this strange concession, if it had been made. HANMER.

Valentine, from seeing *Silvia* in the company of *Protheus*, might conceive she had escaped with him, from her father's court, for the purposes of love, though she could not foresee the violence which his villainy might offer, after he had seduced her under the pretence of an honest passion. If Valentine, however, be supposed to hear all that passed between them in this scene, I am afraid I have only to subscribe to the opinion of my predecessors. STEEVENS.

And, that my love &c.] Transfer these two lines to the end of *Thurio's* speech in page 185, and all is right: Why then should Julia faint? It is only an artifice, seeing *Silvia* given up to Valentine, to discover herself to *Protheus*, by a pretended mistake of the rings. One great fault of this play is the hastening too abruptly, and without due preparation, to the denouement, which shews that, if it be Shakspeare's, (which I cannot doubt) it was one of his very early performances. BLACKSTONE.

Jul. O, cry your mercy, sir, I have mistook;
This is the ring you sent to Silvia. [*Shows another ring.*]

Pro. But, how cam'st thou by this ring? at my depart
I gave this unto Julia.

Jul. And Julia herself did give it me;
And Julia herself hath brought it hither.

Pro. How! Julia!

Jul. Behold her that gave aim to all thy oaths,
And entertain'd them deeply in her heart:
How oft hast thou with perjury cleft the root⁴?
O Protheus, let this habit make thee blush!
Be thou asham'd, that I have took upon me
Such an immodest raiment; if shame live
In a disguise of love⁵:

It is the lesser blot, modesty finds,
Women to change their shapes, than men their minds.

Pro. Than men their minds! 'tis true: O heaven!
were man

But constant, he were perfect: that one error
Fills him with faults; makes him run through all the sins:
Inconstancy falls off, ere it begins:

What is in Silvia's face, but I may spy
More fresh in Julia's with a constant eye?

Val. Come, come, a hand from either:
Let me be blest to make this happy close;
'Twere pity two such friends should be long foes,

Pro. Bear witness, heaven,
I have my wish for ever.

Jul. And I mine.

Enter Out-laws, with Duke and THURIO.

Out. A prize, a prize, a prize!

Val. Forbear, forbear, I say; it is my lord the duke,
Your grace is welcome to a man disgrac'd,
Banish'd Valentine?

Duke. Sir Valentine!

⁴ How oft hast thou with perjury cleft the root?] i. e. of her heart.

MALONE,

⁵ — if shame live &c.] That is, if it be any shame to wear a disguise
for the purposes of love. JOHNSON.

Thu. Yonder is Silvia; and Silvia's mine.

Val. Thurio, give back, or else embrace thy death;
Come not within the measure of my wrath⁶:
Do not name Silvia thine; if once again,
Milan shall not behold thee⁷. Here she stands,
'Take but possession of her with a touch;—
I dare thee but to breathe upon my love.

Thu. Sir Valentine, I care not for her, I;
I hold him but a fool, that will endanger
His body for a girl that loves him not:
I claim her not, and therefore she is thine.

Duke. The more degenerate and base art thou,
To make such means for her as thou hast done,
And leave her on such slight conditions.—
Now, by the honour of my ancestry,
I do appeal thy spirit, Valentine,
And think thee worthy of an empress' love.
Know then, I here forget all former griefs⁸,
Cancel all grudge, repeal thee home again.—
Plead a new state in thy unrival'd merit,
To which I thus subscribe,—sir Valentine,
Thou art a gentleman, and well deriv'd;
Take thou thy Silvia, for thou hast deserv'd her.

Val. I thank your grace; the gift hath made me happy.
I now beseech you, for your daughter's sake,
To grant one boon that I shall ask of you.

Duke. I grant it, for thine own, whate'er it be.

Val. These banish'd men, that I have kept withal,
Are men endued with worthy qualities;
Forgive them what they have committed here,

⁶ — *the measure of my wrath*:] The length of my sword, the reach of my anger. JOHNSON.

⁷ *Milan shall not behold thee.*] The old copy reads—*Verona* shall not *bold* thee. The correction was made by Mr. Theobald, who observes, that Thurio was a *Milanese*, and therefore the threat must be, "*Milan*, i. e. thy country, shall never see thee again; thou shalt not live to go back thither."—This emendation having been adopted by all the subsequent editors, I have not displaced it; yet, I suspect, the mistake was our author's own. MALONE.

⁸ — *all former griefs*,] *Griefs* in old language frequently signified *grievances, wrongs*. MALONE.

And let them be recall'd from their exile:

They are reformed, civil, full of good,

And fit for great employment, worthy lord.

Duke. Thou hast prevail'd: I pardon them, and thee;
Dispose of them, as thou know'st their deserts.

Come, let us go; we will include all jars⁹

With triumphs, mirth, and rare solemnity.

Val. And, as we walk along, I dare be bold
With our discourse to make your grace to smile:

What think you of this page, my lord?

Duke. I think the boy hath grace in him; he blushes.

Val. I warrant you, my lord; more grace than boy.

Duke. What mean you by that saying?

Val. Please you, I'll tell you as we pass along,
That you will wonder, what hath fortun'd.—
Come, Protheus; 'tis your penance, but to hear
The story of your loves discovered:
That done, our day of marriage shall be yours;
One feast, one house, one mutual happiness¹. [Exeunt.

9 — include *all jars*—] To include is to *shut up*. So, in *Macbeth*:
“ ———— and *shut up*

“ In measureless content.” STEEVENS.

¹ In this play there is a strange mixture of knowledge and ignorance, of care and negligence. The versification is often excellent, the allusions are learned and just; but the author conveys his heroes by sea from one inland town to another in the same country; he places the emperor at Milan, and sends his young men to attend him, but never mentions him more; he makes Protheus, after an interview with Silvia, say he has only seen her picture*; and, if we may credit the old copies, he has, by mistaking places, left his scenery inextricable. The reason of all this confusion seems to be, that he took his story from a novel, which he sometimes followed, and sometimes forsook, sometimes remembered, and sometimes forgot.

That this play is rightly attributed to Shakspeare, I have little doubt. If it be taken from him, to whom shall it be given? This question may be asked of all the disputed plays, except *Titus Andronicus*; and it will be found more credible, that Shakspeare might sometimes sink below his highest flights, than that any other should rise up to his lowest.

JOHNSON.

* This is a slight mistake of this most judicious critick, founded on a misapprehension of a passage in Act II. See p. 137. MALONE.

MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR.

Persons Represented.

Sir John Falstaff.

Fenton.

Shallow, *a country Justice.*

Slender, *cousin to Shallow.*

Mr. Ford, } *two gentlemen dwelling at Windsor.*

Mr. Page, }

William Page, *a boy, son to Mr. Page.*

Sir Hugh Evans, *a Welch parson.*

Dr. Caius, *a French physician.*

Host of the Garter Inn.

Bardolph, }

Pistol, } *followers of Falstaff.*

Nym, }

Robin, *page to Falstaff.*

Simple, *servant to Slender.*

Rugby, *servant to Dr. Caius.*

Mrs. Ford.

Mrs. Page.

Mrs. Anne Page, *her daughter, in love with Fenton.*

Mrs. Quickly, *servant to Dr. Caius.*

Servants to Page, Ford, &c.

SCENE, Windsor; and the parts adjacent.

MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR¹

ACT I. SCENE I.

Windfor. *Before Page's House.*

Enter Justice SHALLOW, SLENDER, and Sir Hugh EVANS.

Shal. Sir Hugh², persuade me not; I will make a Star-chamber matter of it³: if he were twenty sir John Falstuffs, he shall not abuse Robert Shallow, esquire.

Slen.

¹ A few of the incidents in this comedy might have been taken from some old translation of *Il Pecorone* by Giovanni Fiorentino. I have lately met with the same story in a very contemptible performance, intitled, *The fortunate, the deceived, and the unfortunate Lovers*. Of this book, as I am told, there are several impressions; but that in which I read it, was published in 1632, quarto. A something similar story occurs in *Piacevoli Notti di Straparola*. Nott. 4^a. Fav. 4^a.

This comedy was first entered at Stationers' Hall, Jan. 18, 1601, by John Busby. STEEVENS.

This play should be read between *K. Henry IV.* and *K. Henry V.* JOHNSON.

A passage in the first sketch of the *Merry Wives of Windsor* shews, I think, that it ought rather to be read between *the First* and *the Second Part of King Henry IV.* in the latter of which young Henry becomes king. In the last act, Falstaff says:

"Herne the hunter, quoth you? am I a ghost?"

"'Sblood, the fairies hath made a ghost of me."

"What, hunting at this time of night!"

"I'll lay my life the mad *prince of Wales*

"Is stealing his father's deare."

and in this play, as it now appears, Mr. Page discountenances the addresses of Fenton to his daughter, because "he keeps company with the wild *prince*, and with Poin."

The Fishwife's Tale of Brainford in *WESTWARD FOR SMELTS*, a book which Shakspeare appears to have read, (having borrowed from it part of the fable of *Cymbeline*,) probably led him to lay the scene of Falstaff's love-adventures at *Windfor*. It begins thus: "In *Winfor* not long agoe dwelt a sumpterman, who had to wife a very faire but wanton creature, over whom, not without cause, he was something *jealous*; yet had he never any proof of her inconstancy."

The

Slen. In the county of Gloster, justice of peace, and *coram.*

The reader who is curious in such matters, may find the story of the *Lovers of Pisa*, mentioned by Dr. Farmer in the following note, at the end of this play. MALONE.

The adventures of *Falstaff* in this play seem to have been taken from the story of the *Lovers of Pisa*, in an old piece, called "*Tarleton's Newes out of Purgatorie.*" A late editor pretended to much knowledge of this sort; and I am sorry that it proved to be only pretension.

In the first edition of the imperfect play, quarto, 1602, *sir Hugh Evans* is called on the title-page, the *Welch Knight*; and yet there are some persons who still affect to believe, that all our author's plays were originally published by *himself*. FARMER.

Queen Elizabeth was so well pleased with the admirable character of *Falstaff* in *The Two Parts of Henry IV.* that, as Mr. Rowe informs us, she commanded Shakspeare to continue it for one play more, and to shew him in love. To this command we owe *The Merry Wives of Windsor*; which, Mr. Gildon says, [*Remarks on Shakspeare's plays*, 8vo. 1710,] he was very well assured our author finished in a fortnight. But this must be meant only of the first imperfect sketch of this comedy. An old quarto edition which I have seen, printed in 1602, says, in the title-page,—*As it hath been divers times acted before her majesty, and elsewhere.* This which we have here, was altered and improved by the author almost in every speech. POPE. THEOBALD.

Mr. Gildon has likewise told us, "that our author's house at Stratford bordered on the Church-yard, and that he wrote the scene of the Ghost in *Hamlet* there." But neither for this, or the assertion that the play before us was written in a fortnight, does he quote any authority. The latter circumstance was first mentioned by Mr. Dennis. "This comedy," says he, in his *Epistle Dedicatory to the Comical Gallant*, (an alteration of the present play,) 1702, "was written at her [Queen Elizabeth's] command, and by her direction, and she was so eager to see it acted, that she commanded it to be finished in *fourteen days*; and was afterwards, as tradition tells us, very well pleased at the representation." The information, it is probable, came originally from Dryden, who from his intimacy with Sir William Davenant had an opportunity of learning many particulars concerning our author.

At what period Shakspeare new-modelled the *Merry Wives of Windsor* is unknown. I believe it was enlarged in 1603. See some conjectures on the subject in the *Attempt to ascertain the order of his plays*, ante. MALONE.

It is not generally known, that the first edition of the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, in its present state, is in the valuable folio, printed 1623, from whence the quarto of the same play, dated 1630, was evidently copied. The two earlier quartos, 1602, and 1619, only exhibit this comedy as it was originally written, and are so far curious, as they contain Shakspeare's first conceptions in forming a drama, which is the most complete specimen of his comick powers. T. WARTON.

Shal. Ay, cousin Slender, and *Cust-alorum* ⁴.

Slen. Ay, and *ratolorum* too; and a gentleman born, master

² *Sir Hugh*,] *Sir* is the designation of a Bachelor of Arts in the Universities; but is there always annexed to the surname;—*Sir Evans*, &c. In consequence, however, of this, all the inferior Clergy in England were distinguished by this title affixed to their christian name for many centuries. Hence our author's *Sir Hugh* in the present play,—*Sir Topaz* in *Twelfth Night*, *Sir Oliver* in *As you like it*, &c. So lately as in the time of King William and Queen Mary, (as *Sir John Hawkins* has observed,) in a deposition in the Exchequer in a case of tithes, the witness, speaking of the Curate, styles him *Sir Gyles*. MALONE.

Sir seems to have been a title formerly appropriated to such of the inferior clergy as were only *Readers* of the service, and not admitted to be preachers, and therefore were held in the lowest estimation; as appears from a remarkable passage in *Machell's Ms. Collections for the history of Westmoreland and Cumberland*, in six volumes, folio, preserved in the Dean and Chapter's library at Carlisle. The reverend Thomas Machell, author of the *Collections*, lived temp. Car. II. Speaking of the little chapel of Martindale in the mountains of Westmoreland and Cumberland, the writer says, "There is little remarkable in or about it, but a neat chapel-yard, which by the peculiar care of the old Reader, *Sir Richard**, is kept clean, and as neat as a bowling-green."—

* *Richard Berket*,
Reader, *Æt.* 74.
Ms. note.

"Within the limits of myne own memory all *Readers* in chapels were called *Sirs* †, and of old have been writ so; whence, I suppose, such of the laity as received the noble order of knighthood being called *Sirs* too, for distinction sake had *Knight* writ after them; which had been superfluous, if the title of *Sir* had been peculiar to them. But now this *Sir Richard* is the only *Knight Templar* (if I may so call him) that retains the old style, which in other places is much laid aside, and grown out of use." PERCY.

³ — a *Star-chamber* matter of it:] See p. 193,—“The Council shall hear it; it is a riot;” and the note there. MALONE.

⁴ — *Cust-alorum*.] This is, I suppose, intended for a corruption of *Custos Rotulorum*. The mistake was hardly designed by the author, who, though he gives *Shallow* folly enough, makes him rather pedantick than illiterate. If we read:

Shal. Ay, cousin *Slender*, and *Custos Rotulorum*.

it follows naturally:

Slen. Ay, and *Ratolorum* too. JOHNSON.

I think with Dr. Johnson, that this blunder could scarcely be intended. *Shallow*, we know, had been bred to the law at *Clement's Inn*.—But I would rather read *custos* only; then *Slender* adds naturally, “Ay, and

† In the margin is a *Ms. note* seemingly in the hand-writing of Bp. Nicholson, who gave these volumes to the library:

“Since I can remember there was not a *reader* in any chapel but was called *Sir*.”

master parson; who writes himself *armigero*; in any bill, warrant, quittance, or obligation, *armigero*.

Shal. Ay, that I do; and have done⁵ any time these three hundred years.

Slen. All his successors, gone before him, have done't; and all his ancestors, that come after him, may: they may give the dozen white luses in their coat.

Shal. It is an old coat.

Evans. The dozen white louses do become an old coat well; it agrees well, passant: it is a familiar beast to man, and signifies—love.

Shal. The luce is the fresh fish; the salt fish is an old coat⁶.

Slen.

and *rotulorum* too." He had heard the words *custos rotulorum*, and supposes them to mean different offices. FARMER.

Perhaps Shakspeare might have intended to ridicule the abbreviations sometimes used in writs and other legal instruments, with which his Justice might have been acquainted. In the old copy the word is printed *Cust-alorum*, as it is now exhibited in the text. If, however, this was intended, it should be *Cust-ulorum*; and, it must be owned, abbreviation by cutting off the beginning of a word is not authorized by any precedent, except what we may suppose to have existed in Shallow's imagination.

MALONE.

5 — and have done—] i. e. all the Shallows have done. Shakspeare has many expressions equally licentious. MALONE.

6 *The luce is the fresh fish; the salt fish is an old coat.*] Our author here alludes to the arms of Sir Thomas Lucy, who is said to have prosecuted him in the younger part of his life for a misdemeanour, and who is supposed to be pointed at under the character of Justice Shallow. The text however, by some carelessness of the printer or transcriber, has been so corrupted, that the passage, as it stands at present, seems inexplicable. Dr. Farmer's regulation appears to me highly probable; and in further support of it, it may be observed, that some other speeches, beside those he has mentioned, are misplaced in a subsequent part of this scene, as exhibited in the first folio. See p. 194. Mr. Smith's note is not, I think, worth insertion. MALONE.

I am not satisfied with any thing that has been offered on this difficult passage. All that Mr. Smith tells us, is a mere *gratis dictum*. I cannot find that *salt fish* were ever really borne in heraldry. I fancy the latter part of the speech should be given to sir *Hugb*, who is at cross purposes with the *Justice*. *Shallow* had said just before, the coat is an old one, and now, that it is the luce, the fresh fish.—No, replies the parson, it cannot be *old* and *fresh* too;—"the *salt fish* is an *old coat*." I give this with rather the more confidence, as a similar mistake has happened

Slender. I may quarter, coz.

Shal. You may, by marrying.

Evans. It is marring, indeed, if he quarter it.

Shal. Not a whit.

Evans. Yes, py'r-lady; if he has a quarter of your coat, there is but three skirts for yourself, in my simple conjectures: but that is all one: If sir John Falstaff have committed disparagements unto you, I am of the church, and will be glad to do my benevolence, to make atonements and compromises between you.

Shal. The Council shall hear it; it is a riot⁷.

Evans. It is not meet the Council hear a riot; there is no fear of God in a riot: the Council, look you, shall desire to hear the fear of God, and not to hear a riot; take your vizaments in that⁸.

happened a little lower in the scene.—“*Slice*, I say!” cries out Corporal Nym, “*Pauca, pauca: Slice*, that’s my humour.” There can be no doubt, but *pauca, pauca* should be spoken by *Evans*.

Again, a little before this, the copies give us:

Slender. You’ll not confes, you’ll not confes.

Shallow. That he will not—’tis your fault, ’tis your fault:—’t’s a good dog.

Surely it should be thus:

Shallow. You’ll not confes, you’ll not confes.

Slender. That he will not.

Shallow. ’Tis your fault, ’tis your fault &c. FARMER.

This fugitive scrap of latin, *pauca* &c. is used in several old pieces, by characters who have no more of literature about them than *Nym*: In *Every Man in his Humour* it is called the *benchers phrase*.

The *luc* is a pike or jack. In Ferne’s *Blazon of Gentry*, 1586, quarto, the arms of the Lucy family are represented as an instance, that “signs of the coat should something agree with the name. It is the coat of Geffray Lord Lucy. He did bear gules, three *lucies* hariant, argent.” STEEVENS.

7 *The Council shall hear it; it is a riot.*] By *the Council* is only meant the court of star-chamber, composed chiefly of the king’s council sitting in *Camera stellata*, which took cognizance of atrocious riots. In the old quarto, “the council shall know it,” follows immediately after “I’ll make a star-chamber matter of it.” BLACKSTONE.

So, in Sir John Harrington’s *Epigrams*, 1618:

“No marvel, men of such a sumptuous dyet

“Were brought into the *Star-chamber* for a riot.” MALONE.

See Stat. 13. Henry IV. c. 7. GREY.

8 —your vizaments in that.] i. e. *Advisement*; now an obsolete word.

STEEVENS.

Shal. Ha! o' my life, if I were young again, the sword should end it.

Evans. It is petter that friends is the sword, and end it: and there is also another device in my prain, which, peradventure, prings goot discretions with it: There is Anne Page, which is daughter to master George Page⁹, which is pretty virginity.

Slen. Mistrefs Anne Page? She has brown hair, and speaks small like a woman¹.

Evans. It is that fery person for all the 'orld, as just as you will desire; and seven hundred pounds of monies, and gold, and silver, is her grandfire, upon his death's-bed, (Got deliver to a joyful resurrections!) give, when she is able to overtake seventeen years old: it were a goot motion, if we leave our pribbles and prabbles, and desire a marriage between master Abraham, and mistrefs Anne Page.

Shal. Did her grandfire leave her seven hundred pound²?

Evans.

9 — *master George Page,*] The old copy has—*Thomas Page*. The emendation is Mr. Theobald's. MALONE.

1 — *speaks small like a woman.*] Dr. Warburton has found more pleasantry here than I believe was intended. *Small* was, I think, not used, as he supposes, in an ambiguous sense, for "*little*, as well as *low*," but simply for *weak*, *slender*, *feminine*; and the only pleasantry of the passage seems to be, that poor Slender should characterise his mistress by a general quality belonging to her whole sex. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Quince tells Flute, who objects to playing a woman's part, "You shall play it in a mask, and you may speak as *small* as you will." MALONE.

2 *Shal. Did her grandfire leave her seven hundred pound?*—*I know the young gentlewoman;* &c.] These two speeches are by mistake given to Slender in the first folio, the only authentick copy of this play. From the foregoing words it appears that *Shallow* is the person here addressed; and on a marriage being proposed for his kinsman, he very naturally inquires concerning the lady's fortune. Slender should seem not to know what they are talking about; (except that he just hears the name of Anne Page, and breaks out into a foolish elogium on her;) for in p. 202, Shallow says to him,—"*Coz*, there is, as it were, a tender, a kind of tender, made a far off by Sir Hugh here; do you understand me?" to which Slender replies—"if it be so," &c. The tender, therefore, we see, had been made to Shallow, and not to Slender, the former of which names should be prefixed to the two speeches before us.

In

Evans. Ay, and her father is make her a petter penny.

Shal. I know the young gentlewoman; she has good gifts.

Evans. Seven hundred pounds, and possibilities, is good gifts.

Shal. Well, let us see honest master Page: Is Falstaff there?

Evans. Shall I tell you a lie? I do despise a liar, as I do despise one that is false; or, as I despise one that is not true. The knight, sir John, is there; and, I beseech you, be ruled by your well-willers. I will peat the door [*knocks.*] for master Page. What, ho! Got pless your house here!

Enter PAGE.

Page. Who's there?

Evans. Here is Got's plessing, and your friend, and justice Shallow: and here young master Slender; that, peradventures, shall tell you another tale, if matters grow to your likings.

Page. I am glad to see your worships well: I thank you for my venison, master Shallow.

Shal. Master Page, I am glad to see you; Much good do it your good heart! I wish'd your venison better; it was ill kill'd:—How doth good mistress Page?—and I thank you always with my heart, la; with my heart.

Page. Sir, I thank you.

Shal. Sir, I thank you; by yea and no, I do.

Page. I am glad to see you, good master Slender.

Slen. How does your fallow greyhound, sir? I heard say, he was out-run on Cotfale³.

Page.

In this play, as exhibited in the first folio, many of the speeches are given to characters to whom they do not belong. Printers, to save trouble, keep the names of the speakers in each scene ready composed, and are very liable to mistakes, when two names begin (as in the present instance,) with the same letter, and are nearly of the same length.—The present regulation was suggested by Mr. Capell. MALONE.

³ *How does your fallow greyhound, sir? I heard say, he was out-run on Cotfale.*] He means *Cotswold*, in *Gloucestershire*. In the beginning of the reign of James the First, by permission of the king, one Dover, a public-spirited attorney of Barton on the Heath, in Warwickshire, instituted on the hills of *Cotswold* an annual celebration of games, consisting of rural sports and exercises. These he constantly conducted in person, well mounted, and accounted in a suit of his majesty's old
O 2
cloaths;

Page. It cōuld not be judg'd, fir.

Slen. You'll not confess, you'll not confess.

Shal. That he will not ;—'tis your fault, 'tis your fault :—'Tis a good dog.

Page. A cur, fir.

Shal. Sir, he's a good dog, and a fair dog ; Can there be more said ? he is good, and fair.—Is fir John Falstaff here ?

Page. Sir, he is within ; and I would I could do a good office between you.

Evans. It is spoke as a christians ought to speak.

Shal. He hath wrong'd me, master Page.

Page. Sir, he doth in some fort confess it.

Shal. If it be confess'd, it is not redress'd ; is not that so, master Page ? He hath wrong'd me ;—indeed, he hath ;—at a word, he hath ;—believe me ;—Robert Shallow, Esquire, saith, he is wrong'd.

Page. Here comes fir John.

Enter Sir John FALSTAFF, BARDOLPH, NYM, and PISTOL.

Fal. Now, master Shallow ; you'll complain of me to the king ?

cloaths ; and they were frequented above forty years by the nobility and gentry for sixty miles round, till the grand rebellion abolished every liberal establishment. I have seen a very scarce book, entitled, *Annalia Dubrensis. Upon the yearly celebration of Mr. Robert Dover's Olympick games upon Cotswold hills, &c. Lond. 1636, quarto.* There are recommendatory verses prefixed, written by Drayton, Jonson, Randolph, and many others, the most eminent wits of the times. The games, as appears by a curious frontispiece, were chiefly, wrestling, leaping, pitching the bar, handling the pike, dancing of women, various kinds of hunting, and particularly coursing the hare with greyhounds. T. WARTON.

The Cotswold hills in Gloucestershire are a large tract of downs, famous for their fine turf, and therefore excellent for coursing. I believe there is no village of that name. BLACKSTONE.

4 — 'tis your fault, 'tis your fault :] Of these words, which are addressed to Page, the sense is not very clear. Perhaps Shallow means to say, that it is a known failing of Page's not to confess that his dog has been out-run. Or, the meaning may be,—'tis your misfortune that he was out-run on Cotswold ; he is, however, a good dog. So perhaps the word is used afterwards by Ford, speaking of his jealousy :

“ 'Tis my fault, master Page ; I suffer for it.” MALONE.

Shal. Knight, you have beaten my men, kill'd my deer, and broke open my lodge⁵.

Fal. But not kiss'd your keeper's daughter?

Shal. Tut, a pin! this shall be answer'd.

Fal. I will answer it straight;—I have done all this:—That is now answer'd.

Shal. The Council shall know this.

Fal. 'Twere better for you, if 'twere known in counsel⁶: you'll be laugh'd at.

Evans. *Pauca verba*, fir John; good worts.

Fal. Good worts! good cabbage⁷.—Slender, I broke your head; What matter have you against me?

Slen. Marry, fir, I have matter in my head against you; and against your coney-catching rascals⁸, Bardolph, Nym, and Pistol. They carried me to the

5 — and broke open my lodge.] This probably alludes to some real incident, at that time well known. JOHNSON.

So probably Falstaff's answer. FARMER.

6 'Twere better for you, if 'twere known in counsel:] Falstaff quibbles between *council* and *counsel*. The latter signifies *secrecy*. So, in *Hamlet*: "The players cannot keep *counsel*, they'll tell all."

Falstaff's meaning seems to be—'twere better for you if it were known only in *secrecy*, i. e. among your friends. A more publick complaint would subject you to ridicule.

Thus, in Chaucer's prologue to the *Squieres Tale*, v. 10305, late edit:

"But wete ye what? in *conseil* be it seyde,

"Me reweth fore I am unto hire teyde." STEEVENS.

The spelling of the old quarto (*counsel*), as well as the general purport of the passage, fully confirms Mr. Steevens's interpretation.—
"Shal. Well, the *Council* shall know it. Fal. 'Twere better for you 'twere known in *counsell*. You'll be laugh'd at."

In an office-book of Sir Heneage Finch, Treasurer of the Chambers to Queen Elizabeth, (a Ms. in the British Museum,) I observe that whenever the Privy Council is mentioned, the word is always spelt *Counsell*; so that the equivoque was less strained then than it appears now.

"Mum is *Counsell*, viz. *silence*," is among Howel's Proverbial Sentences. See his *DICT.* folio, 1660. MALONE.

7 Good worts! good cabbage:] *Worts* was the ancient name of all the cabbage kind. STEEVENS.

8 — coney-catching rascals,] A coney-catcher was, in the time of Elizabeth, a common name for a cheat or sharper. Green, one of the first among us who made a trade of writing pamphlets, published *A Detection of the Frauds and Tricks of Coney-catchers and Couzeners*.

JOHNSON.

tavern, and made me drunk, and afterward pick'd my pocket⁹.

Bar. You Banbury cheefe¹!

Slen. Ay, it is no matter.

Pist. How now, Mephostophilus²?

Slen. Ay, it is no matter.

Nym. Slice, I say! *pauca, pauca*³; slice! that's my humour.

Slen. Where's Simple, my man?—can you tell, cousin?

Evans. Peace: I pray you! Now let us understand: There is three umpires in this matter, as I understand: that is—master Page, *fidelicet*, master Page; and there is myself, *fidelicet*, myself; and the three party is, lastly and finally, mine host of the Garter.

Page. We three, to hear it, and end it between them.

Evans. Fery goot: I will make a prief of it in my note-book; and we will afterwards 'ork upon the cause, with as great discreetly as we can.

Fal. Pistol,—

Pist. He hears with ears.

Evans. The tevil and his tam! what phraze is this, *He hears with ear*? Why, it is affectations.

Fal. Pistol, did you pick master Slender's purse?

Slen. Ay, by these gloves, did he, (or I would I might never come in mine own great chamber again else,) of

⁹ *They carried me &c.*] These words, which are necessary to introduce what Falstaff says afterwards, [“Pistol, did you pick master Slender's purse?”] I have restored from the early quarto. Of this circumstance, as the play is exhibited in the folio, Sir John could have no knowledge. MALONE.

¹ *You Banbury cheefe!*] This is said in allusion to the thin carcase of Slender. STEEVENS.

² *How now, Mephostophilus?*] This is the name of a spirit or familiar, in the old story book of *Sir John Faustus*, or *John Faustus*: to whom our author afterwards alludes. It was a cant phrase of abuse.

T. WARTON.

³ *Slice, I say; pauca, pauca!*] Dr. Farmer (see a former note, p. 193, n. 6.) would transfer the Latin words to Evans. But the old copy, I think, is right. Pistol, in *K. Henry V.* uses the same language:

“—I will hold the *quondam* Quickly

For the only *she*; and *pauca*, there's enough.”

In the same scene Nym twice uses the word *plus*. MALONE.

seven groats in mill-sixpences ⁴, and two Edward shovel-boards ⁵, that cost me two shilling and two pence a-piece of Yead Miller, by these gloves.

Fal.

4 — *mill-sixpences*,] It appears from a passage in Sir W. Davenant's *News from Plimouth*, that these *mill'd-sixpences* were used by way of counters to cast up money :

“ — A few *mill'd sixpences*, with which

“ My purser casts accompt.” STEEVENS.

5 — *Edward Shovel-boards*,] He means the broad *shillings* of one of our kings, as appears from comparing these words with the corresponding passage in the old quarto : “ Ay by this handkerchief did he ; — two faire shovel-board *shillings*, besides seven groats in mill sixpences.”

How twenty *eight* pence could be lost in *mill-sixpences*, Slender, however, has not explained to us. MALONE.

Edward Shovel-boards are the broad shillings of Edward VI. Taylor, the water poet, makes him complain :

“ ————— the unthrift every day

“ With my face downwards do at *shoave-board* play ;

“ That had I had a beard, you may suppose,

“ They had worn it off, as they have done my nose.”

And in a note he tells us : “ Edw. shillings for the most part are used at *shoave-board*.” FARMER.

Dr. Farmer's note, and the authority he quotes, might, I think, pass uncensured, unless better proofs could be produced in opposition to them. They have, however, been objected to ; and we are positively told that Master Slender's “ Edward Shovel-boards have *undoubtedly* been broad *shillings* of Edward the Third.” I believe the broad shillings of that monarch were never before heard of, as he *undoubtedly* did not coin any shillings whatever. The following extract, for the notice of which I am indebted to Dr. Farmer, will probably shew the species of coin mentioned in the text. “ I must here take notice before I entirely quit the subject of these last-mentioned shillings [of Edward VI.] that I have also seen some other pieces of good silver, greatly resembling the same, and of the same date, 1547, that have been so much thicker as to weigh about *half an ounce*, together with some others that have weighed an ounce.” Folkes's *Table of English silver coins*, p. 32. The former of these were probably what cost Master Slender two shillings and two pence a-piece. As to the point of chronology (to use the objector's own words on another occasion) *it is not worth consideration*. REED.

That Shakspeare should here (as in all his other plays) have attributed the customs and manners of his own age to a preceding century, without any regard to chronology, cannot be a matter of surprise to any reader who is conversant with his compositions ; nor is it to be wondered at, that the present *unfounded* objection should have been made by one, whose arguments in general, like those of our author's Gratiano, “ are

Fal. Is this true, Pistol?

Evans. No; it is false, if it is a pick-purse.

Pist. Ha, thou mountain-foreigner!—Sir John, and master mine,

I combat challenge of this latten bilboe⁶:

Word of denial in thy labras here⁷;

Word of denial: froth and scum, thou liest.

Slen. By these gloves, then 'twas he.

Nym. Be avis'd, Sir, and pass good humours: I will say, *marry trap*⁸, with you, if you run the nuthook's humour⁹ on me; that is the very note of it.

Slen. By this hat, then he in the red face had it: for though I cannot remember what I did when you made me drunk, yet I am not altogether an ass.

two grains of wheat hid in two bushels of chaff; you shall seek all day ere you find them, and, when you have them, they are not worth the search." MALONE.

⁶ *I combat challenge of this latten bilboe:*] Pistol, seeing Slender such a slim, puny weight, would intimate, that he is as thin as a plate of that compound metal, which is called *latten*: and which was, as we are told, the old *orichalc*. THEOBALD.

Latten is a mixed metal, made of copper and calamine. MALONE.

The sarcasm intended is, that Slender had neither courage nor strength, as a latten sword hath neither edge nor substance. HEATH.

I believe Theobald has given the true sense of *latten*, though he is wrong in supposing, that the allusion is to Slender's *thinness*. It is rather to his *softness* or *weakness*. TYRWHITT.

⁷ — *in thy labras here;*] I suppose it should rather be read:

Word of denial in my labras hear;
that is, *hear* the word of denial in *my lips*. *Thou ly'st*. JOHNSON.

We often talk of giving the lie in a man's *teeth*, or in his *throat*. Pistol chooses to throw the word of denial in the *lips* of his adversary, and is supposed to point to them as he speaks. STEEVENS.

There are few words in the old copies more frequently misprinted than the word *hear*. "*Thy lips*," however, is certainly right, as appears from the old quarto: "I do retort the lie even in *thy* gorge, thy gorge, thy gorge." MALONE.

⁸ — *marry trap,*—] When a man was caught in his own stratagem, I suppose the exclamation of insult was *marry, trap!* JOHNSON.

⁹ — *nuthook's humour*—] *If you run the nuthook's humour on me*, is in plain English, *If you say I am a thief*. Enough is said on the subject of *booking moveables out of windows*, in a note on *K. Henry IV.*

STEEVENS.

Fal.

Fal. What say you, Scarlet and John¹?

Bard. Why, fir, for my part, I say, the gentleman had drunk himself out of his five senses.

Evans. It is his five senses: fye, what the ignorance is!

Bard. And being *fap*², fir, was, as they say, cashier'd; and so conclusions pass'd the careires³.

Slen. Ay, you spake in Latin then too; but 'tis no matter: I'll ne'er be drunk whilst I live again, but in honest, civil, godly company, for this trick: if I be drunk, I'll be drunk with those that have the fear of God, and not with drunken knaves.

Evans. So Got 'udge me, that is a virtuous mind.

Fal. You hear all these matters deny'd, gentlemen; you hear it.

Enter Mistress Anne Page with wine; Mistress Ford and Mistress Page following.

Page. Nay, daughter, carry the wine in; we'll drink within. [Exit Anne Page.]

Slen. O heaven! this is mistress Anne Page.

Page. How now, mistress Ford?

Fal. Mistress Ford, by my troth, you are very well met: by your leave, good mistress. [kissing her.]

Page. Wife, bid these gentlemen welcome:—Come,

¹ — *Scarlet and John?*] The names of two of Robin Hood's companions; but the humour consists in the allusion to Bardolph's *red face*; concerning which, see *Henry IV.* Part II. WARBURTON.

² *And being fap,*—] I know not the exact meaning of this cant word, neither have I met with it in any of our old dramatick pieces, which have often proved the best comments on Shakspeare's vulgarisms. —Dr. Farmer, indeed, observes, that to *fib* is to be beat; so that *fap* may mean being *beaten*, and *cashier'd*, *turned out of company*. STEEV.

The word *fap* is probably made from *vappa*, a drunken fellow, or a good for nothing fellow, whose virtues are all exhaled. Slender in his answer seems to understand that Bardolph had made use of a Latin word. S.W.

³ — *careiras.*] I believe this strange word is nothing but the French *carriere*; and the expression means, that *the common bounds of good behaviour were overpassed*. JOHNSON.

Carriere is a term of the *manège*. It is, I believe, properly the ring or circle wherein managed horses move. MALONE.

we have a hot venison pasty to dinner ; come, gentlemen, I hope we shall drink down all unkindness.

[*Exeunt all but SHAL. SLENDER, and EVANS.*]

Slen. I had rather than forty shillings, I had my book of Songs and Sonnets here⁴ :—

Enter SIMPLE.

How now, Simple ; where have you been ; I must wait on myself, must I ? You have not *The Book of Riddles*⁵ about you, have you ?

Sim. *Book of Riddles* ! why, did you not lend it to Alice Shortcake upon Allhallowmas last, a fortnight afore Michaelmas⁶ ?

Shal. Come, coz ; come, coz ; we stay for you. A word with you, coz : marry, this, coz ; There is, as 'twere, a tender, a kind of tender, made afar off by fir Hugh here ;—Do you understand me ?

Slen. Ay, fir, you shall find me reasonable ; if it be so, I shall do that that is reason.

Shal. Nay, but understand me.

Slen. So I do, fir.

Evans. Give ear to his motions, master Slender : I will description the matter to you, if you be capacity of it.

Slen. Nay, I will do as my cousin Shallow says : I pray you, pardon me ; he's a justice of peace in his country, simple though I stand here.

4 — *my book of Songs and Sonnets here :*] It cannot be supposed that poor Slender was himself a poet. He probably means the Poems of Lord Surrey and others, which were very popular in the age of Queen Elizabeth. They were printed in 1567, with this title : "*Songes and Sonnettes*, written by the right honorable Lord Henry Howard, late Earle of Surrey, and others."

Slender laments that he has not this fashionable book about him, supposing it might have assisted him in paying his addresses to Anne Page. MALONE.

5 *You have not The Book of Riddles—*] This appears to have been a popular book, and is enumerated with others in *The English Courtier and Country Gentleman*, Bl. l. quarto, 1586. Sig. H. 4. REED.

6 — *upon Allhallowmas last, a fortnight afore Michaelmas ?*] Allhallowmas being almost five weeks *after* Michaelmas, Mr. Theobald reads *Martlemas* ; but Shakspeare (as Dr. Johnson has observed) probably intended a blunder. MALONE.

Evans.

Evans. But that is not the question; the question is concerning your marriage.

Shal. Ay, there's the point, fir.

Evans. Marry, is it; the very point of it; to mistress Anne Page.

Slen. Why, if it be so, I will marry her, upon any reasonable demands.

Evans. But can you affection the 'oman? Let us command to know that of your mouth, or of your lips; for divers philosophers hold, that the lips is parcel of the mouth⁷;—Therefore, precisely, can you carry your goodwill to the maid?

Shal. Cousin Abraham Slender, can you love her?

Slen. I hope, fir,—I will do, as it shall become one that would do reason.

Evans. Nay, Got's lords and his ladies, you must speak possitable, if you can carry her your desires towards her.

Shal. That you must: Will you, upon good dowry, marry her?

Slen. I will do a greater thing than that, upon your request, cousin, in any reason.

Shal. Nay, conceive me, conceive me, sweet coz; what I do, is to pleasure you, coz: Can you love the maid?

Slen. I will marry her, fir, at your request; but if there be no great love in the beginning, yet heaven may decrease it upon better acquaintance, when we are marry'd, and have more occasion to know one another: I hope, upon familiarity will grow more contempt⁸: but if you say, *marry her*, I will marry her, that I am freely dissolved, and dissolutely.

Evans. It is a fery discretion answer; save, the fault

⁷ — *the lips is parcel of the mouth*;] *Parcel* in our author's time signified *part*. It is yet used by lawyers in that sense. Mr. Reed, I find, has made the same observation. MALONE.

⁸ *I hope, upon familiarity will grow more contempt*:] The old copy reads—*content*. The emendation is Mr. Theobald's. MALONE.

Theobald's conjecture may be supported by the same intentional blunder in *Love's Labour's Lost*:

“Sir, the *contempts* thereof are as touching me.” STEEVENS.

is in the 'ort dissolutely: the 'ort is, according to our meaning, resolutely;—his meaning is good.

Shal. Ay, I think my cousin meant well.

Slen. Ay, or else I would I might be hang'd, la.

Re-enter Anne Page.

Shal. Here comes fair mistress Anne:—Would I were young, for your sake, mistress Anne!

Anne. The dinner is on the table; my father desires your worships' company.

Shal. I will wait on him, fair mistress Anne.

Evans. Od's plessed will! I will not be absence at the grace. [*Exeunt SHALLOW and Sir H. EVANS.*]

Anne. Will't please your worship to come in, sir?

Slen. No, I thank you, forsooth, heartily; I am very well.

Anne. The dinner attends you, sir.

Slen. I am not a-hungry, I thank you, forsooth:—Go, firrah, for all you are my man, go, wait upon my cousin Shallow: [*Exit SIMPLE.*] A justice of peace sometime may be beholden to his friend for a man:—I keep but three men and a boy yet, till my mother be dead: But what though? yet I live like a poor gentleman born.

Anne. I may not go in without your worship: they will not sit, till you come.

Slen. I'faith, I'll eat nothing; I thank you as much as though I did.

Anne. I pray you, sir, walk in.

Slen. I had rather walk here, I thank you: I bruis'd my shin the other day with playing at sword and dagger with a master of fence⁹, three veneys for a dish of

9 — a master of fence,] *Master of defence*, on this occasion, does not simply mean a professor of the art of fencing, but a person who had taken his *master's degree* in it. I learn from one of the Slonian Mss. (now in the British Museum, N^o 2530. XXVI D.) which seems to be the fragment of a register formerly belonging to some of our schools where the "Noble Science of Defence" was taught from the year 1568 to 1583, that in this Art there were three degrees, viz. a *Master's*, a *Provoost's*, and a *Scholar's*. For each of these a prize was play'd, as exercises are kept in Universities for similar purposes. STEEVENS.

stew'd prunes¹; and, by my troth, I cannot abide the smell of hot meat since. Why do your dogs bark so? be there bears i' the town?

Anne. I think, there are, sir; I heard them talk'd of.

Slen. I love the sport well; but I shall as soon quarrel at it, as any man in England:—You are afraid, if you see the bear loose, are you not?

Anne. Ay, indeed, sir.

Slen. That's meat and drink to me now: I have seen Sackerson loose², twenty times; and have taken him by the chain³: but, I warrant you, the women have so cry'd and shriek'd at it, that it pass'd⁴:—but women, indeed, cannot abide 'em; they are very ill-favour'd rough things.

Re-ënter PAGE.

Page. Come, gentle master Slender, come; we stay for you.

Slen. I'll eat nothing, I thank you, sir.

Page. By cock and pye⁵, you shall not choose, sir: come, come.

¹ — *three veneyes for a dish of stew'd prunes*;] i. e. three *venues*, French. Three different set-to's, *bouts*, a technical term. So, in our author's *Lowe's Labour's Lost*:

“ — a quick *venew* of wit.” STEEVENS.

² — *I have seen Sackerson loose*,] *Sackerson*, or *Sacarson*, was the name of a bear that was exhibited in our author's time at Paris-Garden in Southwark. See an old collection of *Epigrams* [by Sir John Davies] printed at Middlebourg (without date, but in or before 1598):

“ *Publius*, a student of the common law,

“ To *Paris-garden* doth himself withdraw;—

“ Leaving old *Ployden*, *Dyer*, and *Broke*, alone,

“ To see old *Harry Hunkes* and *Sacarson*.”

Sacarson probably had his name from his keeper. So, in the *Puritan*, a comedy, 1607: “How many dogs do you think I had upon me?—Almost as many as *George Stone*, the bear; three at once.”

MALONE.

³ — *and have taken him by the chain*:] You dare as well take a bear by the tooth—is one of Ray's Proverbial Sentences. MALONE.

⁴ — *that it pass'd*:] *It pass'd*, or *this passès*, was a way of speaking customary heretofore, to signify the excess; or extraordinary degree of any thing. The sentence completed would be, *This passès all expression*, or perhaps, *This passès all things*. We still use *passing* well, *passing* strange. WARBURTON.

⁵ *By cock and pye*,] See a note on Act V. sc. i. *K. Henry IV.* P. II. STEEVENS.

Slen.

Slen. Nay, pray you, lead the way.

Page. Come on, fir.

Slen. Mistress Anne, yourself shall go first.

Anne. Not I, fir; pray you, keep on.

Slen. Truly, I will not go first; truly, la: I will not do you that wrong.

Anne. I pray you, fir.

Slen. I'll rather be unmannerly, than troublesome: you do yourself wrong, indeed, la. [Exeunt.]

SCENE II.

The same.

Enter Sir Hugh EVANS and SIMPLE.

Evans. Go your ways, and ask of Doctor Caius' house, which is the way: and there dwells one mistress Quickly, which is in the manner of his nurse, or his dry nurse, or his cook, or his laundry, his washer, and his wringer.

Simp. Well, fir.

Evans. Nay, it is petter yet:—give her this letter; for it is a 'oman that altogether's acquaintance ⁶ with mistress Anne Page; and the letter is, to desire and require her to solicit your master's desires to mistress Anne Page: I pray you, be gone; I will make an end of my dinner; there's pippins and cheese to come. [Exeunt.]

SCENE III.

A Room in the Garter Inn.

Enter FALSTAFF, Host, BARDOLPH, NYM, PISTOL, and Robin.

Fal. Mine host of the Garter,—

Host. What says my bully-rook ⁷? Speak scholarly, and wisely.

Fal. Truly, mine host, I must turn away some of my followers.

Host. Discard, bully Hercules; cashier: let them wag; trot, trot.

Fal. I sit at ten pounds a week.

⁶ — *that altogether's acquaintance*] The old copy has—*altogethers* acquaintance. The emendation was made by Mr. Tyrwhitt. MALONE.

⁷ — *my bully-rook?*] The latter part of this compound title is taken from the *rooks* at the game of chess. STEEVENS.

Host.

Host. Thou'rt an emperor, Cæsar, Keifar^s, and Pheezar. I will entertain Bardolph; he shall draw, he shall tap: said I well*, bully Hector?

Fal. Do so, good mine host.

Host. I have spoke; let him follow: Let me see thee froth, and lime⁹: I am at a word; follow. [*Exit Host.*]

Fal. Bardolph, follow him; a tapster is a good trade: An old cloak makes a new jerkin; a withered serving-man, a fresh tapster¹: Go; adieu.

Bard. It is a life that I have desired: I will thrive.

[*Exit BARDOLPH.*]

Pist. O base Gongarian wight? wilt thou the spigot wield²?

⁸ — Keifar,] The preface to Stowe's Chronicle observes, that the Germans use the K for C, pronouncing *Keysar* for *Cæsar*, their general word for an emperor. TOLLET.

* — *said I well*—?] Mr. Tyrwhitt observes, that a similar phrase is given to the *host* in the *Pardoners Prologue*, CANT. TALES, v. 12246, edit. 1775; and supposes from this, and other circumstances of general resemblance, that Shakspeare, when he drew his *host of the Garter*, had not forgotten his Chaucer. But the passage (as he remarked to Mr. Steevens) not being in any of the ancient printed editions, I imagine this phrase must have reached our author in some other way; for I suspect he did not devote much time to the perusal of old Mss. MALONE.

⁹ — *and lime*:] Thus the quarto. The folio has—and *live*. MALONE.

The reading of the old quarto of 1602 and 1619, *Let me see thee froth, and lime*, I take to be the true one. The Host calls for an immediate specimen of Bardolph's abilities as a tapster; and *frothing* beer and *liming* sack were tricks practised in the time of Shakspeare. The first was done by putting soap into the bottom of the tankard when they drew the beer; the other, by mixing *lime* with the sack (i. e. sherry) to make it sparkle in the glass. Falstaff himself complains of *limed* sack. STEEVENS.

¹ — *a wither'd servingman, a fresh tapster*:] This is not improbably a parody on the old proverb—"A broken apothecary, a new doctor." See Ray's Proverbs, 3d edit. p. 2. STEEVENS.

² *O base Gongarian wight! &c.*] This is a parody on a line taken from one of the old bombast plays, beginning:

"O base Gongarian, wilt thou the distaff wield?"

I had marked the passage down, but forgot to note the play.—The folio reads *Hungarian*, which is likewise a cant term. In the *Merry Devil of Edmonton*, 1626, the merry Host says, "I have Knights and Colonels in my house, and must tend the *Hungarians*." STEEVENS.

The word is *Gongarian* in the first edition, and should be continued, the better to fix the allusion. FARMER.

Nym.

Nym. He was gotten in drink: Is not the humour conceited? His mind is not heroick, and there's the humour of it³.

Fal. I am glad, I am so acquit of this tinderbox; his thefts were too open: his filching was like an unskilful finger, he kept not time.

Nym. The good humour is, to steal at a minute's rest⁴.

Pist. Convey, the wife it call: Steal! foh; a fico for the phrase!

Fal. Well, firs, I am almost out at heels.

Pist. Why then, let kibes ensue.

Fal. There is no remedy; I must coney-catch, I must shift.

Pist. Young ravens must have food⁵.

Fal. Which of you know Ford of this town?

Pist. I ken the wight; he is of substance good.

Fal. My honest lads, I will tell you what I am about.

Pist. Two yards, and more.

Fal. No quips now, Pistol; Indeed I am in the waist two yards about: but I am now about no waste⁶; I am about thrift. Briefly, I do mean to make love to Ford's wife; I spy entertainment in her; she discourses, she

3 — *humour of it.*] This speech is partly taken from the corrected copy, and partly from the slight sketch in 1602. I mention it, that those who do not find it in either of the common old editions, may not suspect it to be spurious. STEEVENS.

4 *The good humour is, to steal at a minute's rest.*] 'Tis true, (says *Nym*) Bardolph did not keep time; did not steal at the critical and exact season, when he would probably be least observed. The true method is, to steal just at the instant when watchfulness is off its guard, and *reposes* but for a *moment*.—Mr. Langton would read—*minim's* rest, which certainly corresponds more exactly with the preceding speech; but Shakspeare scarcely ever pursues his metaphors far. MALONE.

5 *Young ravens must have food.*] An adage. See Ray's *Proverbs*.

STEEVENS.

6 — *about no waste;*] I find the same play on words in Heywood's *Epigrams*, 1562:

"Where am I least, husband? quoth he, in the *waist*;

"Which cometh of this, thou art vengeance strait lac'd.

"Where am I biggest, wife? in the waste, quoth she,

"For all is waste in you, as far as I see." STEEVENS.

caryes,

carves⁷, she gives the leer of invitation: I can construe the action of her familiar style; and the hardest voice of her behaviour, to be English'd rightly, is, *I am Sir John Falstaff's*.

Pist. He hath study'd her well, and translated her well⁸; out of honesty into English.

Nym. The anchor is deep⁹: Will that humour pass?

Fal. Now, the report goes, she has all the rule of her husband's purse; she hath legions of angels.

Pist. As many devils entertain¹; and, *To her, boy, say I.*

Nym. The humour rises; it is good: humour me the angels.

⁷ —*she carves,*] It should be remembered, that anciently the young of both sexes were instructed in *carving*, as a necessary accomplishment. In 1508, Wynkyn de Worde published "*A Booke of Kerwinge.*" So in *Love's Labour's Lost*, Biron says of Boyet, the French courtier, "He can *carve* too, and lisp." STEEVENS.

⁸ *He hath studied her well, and translated her well;*] The first folio has—*will* in both places. *Well* is the reading of the early quarto. MALONE.

Translation is not used in its common acceptation, but means to *explain*, as one language is explained by another. So, in *Hamlet*:

"———these profound heavens

"You must *translate*; 'tis fit we understand them." STEEVENS.

⁹ *The anchor is deep:*] Dr. *Johnson* very acutely proposes "the *author* is deep." He reads with the first copy, "he hath study'd her *well*;" and from this equivocal word, *Nym* catches the idea of *deepness*. But it is almost impossible to ascertain the diction of this whimsical character; and I meet with a phrase in *Fenner's Comptor's Commonwealth*, 1617, which perhaps may support the old reading: "Master *Decker's Bellman of London* hath set forth the vices of the time so lively, that it is impossible the *anchor* of any other man's braine could sound the sea of a more deepe and dreadful mischeefe." FARMER.

Nym, I believe, only means to say, the scheme for debauching *Ford's* wife is deep;—well laid. MALONE.

"The anchor is deep," may mean his hopes are well founded. In the year 1558, a ballad intituled "*Hold the ancer fast,*" is entered on the books of the Stationers' Company. STEEVENS.

¹ *As many devils entertain;*] i. e. do you retain in your service as many devils as she has angels. So, in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*:

"Sweet lady, *entertain* him for your servant."

This is the reading of the folio. MALONE.

The old quarto reads,—As many devils attend her. STEEVENS.

Fal. I have writ me here a letter to her: and here another to Page's wife; who even now gave me good eyes too, examined my parts with most judicious eyliads²: sometimes the beam of her view gilded my foot, sometimes my portly belly³.

Pist. Then did the sun on dung-hill shine⁴.

Nym. I thank thee for that humour⁵.

Fal. O, she did so course o'er my exteriors with such a greedy intention⁶, that the appetite of her eye did seem to scorch me up like a burning-glass! Here's another letter to her: she bears the purse too; she is a region in Guiana, all gold and bounty⁷. I will be cheater to them both, and they shall be exchequers to me⁸; they shall be my East and West Indies, and I will trade to them both. Go, bear thou this letter to mistress Page; and

² — *eyliads*:] This word is differently spelt in all the copies. I suppose we should write *œillades*, French. STEEVENS.

³ — *sometimes the beam of her view gilded my foot, sometimes my portly belly.*] So, in our authour's 20th Sonnet:

"An eye more bright than their's, less false in rolling,

"Gilding the object whereupon it gazeth." MALONE.

⁴ *Then did the sun on dungbill shine.*] So, in Lilly's *Euphues*, 1581:

"The sun shineth upon the dunghill." T. H. W.

⁵ — *that humour.*] What distinguishes the language of Nym from that of the other attendants on Falstaff, is the constant repetition of this phrase. In the time of Shakspeare such an affectation seems to have been sufficient to mark a character. In *Sir Giles Goosecap*, a play of which I have no earlier edition than that of 1606, the same peculiarity is mentioned in the hero of the piece: "——his only reason for every thing is, that *we are all mortal*; then hath he another pretty phrase too, and that is, he will tickle the vanity of every thing."

STEEVENS.

⁶ — *intention,*] i. e. eagerness of desire. STEEVENS.

⁷ — *she is a region in Guiana, all gold and bounty.*] After Sir Walter Raleigh's return from Guiana in 1596, a very few years before this play was written, very pompous accounts were published of the wealth of South America, and extraordinary hopes entertained about its produce. MALONE.

⁸ *I will be cheater to them both, and they shall be exchequers to me;*] The same joke is intended here, as in *The Second Part of Henry the Fourth*, act II: "—I will bar no honest man my house, nor no cheater."—By which is meant *Escheateur*, an officer in the Exchequer, in no good repute with the common people. WARBURTON.

thou

thou this to mistress Ford: we will thrive, lads, we will thrive.

Pist. Shall I sir Pandarus of Troy become,
And by my side wear steel? then, Lucifer take all!

Nym. I will run no base humour: here, take the humour letter; I will keep the 'haviour of reputation.

Fal. Hold, firrah, [*to Rob.*] bear you these letters tightly⁹;

Sail like my pinnace¹ to these golden shores.—

Rogues, hence, avaunt! vanish like hail-stones, go;

Trudge, plod, away, o' the hoof; seek shelter, pack!

Falstaff will learn the humour of this age,

French thrift, you rogues; myself, and skirted page.

[*Exeunt FALSTAFF and Robin.*]

Pist. Let vultures gripe thy guts²! for gourd, and fullam holds,

And high and low beguile the rich and poor³;

Tester I'll have in pouch, when thou shalt lack,

9 — tightly;] i. e. cleverly, adroitly. So, in *Antony and Cleopatra*, Antony putting on his armour, says,

“ — my queen's a squire

“ More tight at this, than thou.” MALONE.

1 — my pinnace] A small vessel with a square stern, having sails and oars, and carrying three masts; chiefly used (says Rolt, in his *Dictionary of Commerce*,) as a scout for intelligence, and for landing of men. It likewise signifies (as Mr. Steevens has observed) a man of war's boat.

MALONE.

2 Let vultures gripe thy guts!] This hemistich is a burlesque on a passage in *Tamburlaine*, or *The Scythian Shepherd*, 1591, of which play a more particular account is given in one of the notes to *Henry IV.*

P. II. Act II. sc. iv. STEEVENS.

I suppose the following is the passage intended to be ridiculed:

“ — and now doth ghastly death

“ With greedy tallents [talons] gripe my bleeding heart,

“ And like a harper [harpy] tyers on my life.”

Again, *ibid*:

“ Griping our bowels with retorted thoughts.” MALONE.

3 — for gourd, and fullam holds,

And high and low beguile the rich and poor:] Cant terms for false dice.—*Gourds* were probably dice in which a secret cavity had been made; *fullams*, those which had been loaded with a small bit of lead. *High men* and *low men*, which were likewise cant terms, explain themselves. *High* numbers on the dice, at hazard, are from five to twelve, inclusive; *low*, from ace to four. MALONE.

Base Phrygian Turk!

Nym. I have operations in my head⁴, which be humours of revenge.

Pist. Wilt thou revenge?

Nym. By welkin, and her star!

Pist. With wit, or steel?

Nym. With both the humours, I:

I will discuss the humour of this love to Page⁵.

Pist. And I to Ford shall eke unfold,

How Falstaff, varlet vile,

His dove will prove, his gold will hold,

And his soft couch defile.

Nym. My humour shall not cool: I will incense Page to deal with poison; I will possess him with yellowness⁶, for the revolt of mien⁷ is dangerous: that is my true humour.

Pist. Thou art the Mars of malecontents: I second thee; troop on. [*Exeunt.*]

S C E N E IV.

A Room in Dr. Caius's House.

Enter Mrs. QUICKLY, SIMPLE, and RUGBY.

Quick. What; John Rugby!—I pray thee, go to the casement, and see if you can see my master, master Doctor

4 — *in my head,*] These words, which are omitted in the folio, were recovered by Mr. Pope from the early quarto. MALONE.

5 *I will discuss the humour of this love to Page.*] The folio reads—to Ford; and in the next line—and I to Page, &c. But the reverse of this (as Mr. Steevens has observed) happens in Act. II. where Nym makes the discovery to Page, and Pistol to Ford. I have therefore corrected the text from the old quarto, where Nym declares he will make the discovery to Page; and Pistol says, “And I to Ford will likewise tell—.” MALONE.

6 — *yellowness,*] *Yellowness* is jealousy. JOHNSON.

7 — *the revolt of mien*—] is change of countenance; one of the effects he has been just ascribing to jealousy. STEEVENS.

Nym means, I think, to say, *that kind of change in the complexion, which is caused by jealousy, renders the person possessed by such a passion dangerous*; consequently Ford will be likely to revenge himself on Falstaff, and I shall be gratified. I believe our author wrote—*bat revolt &c.* though I have not disturbed the text. *y^e* and *yⁱ* in the Mss. of his time were easily confounded. MALONE.

Caius, coming: if he do, i'faith, and find any body in the house, here will be an old abusing of God's patience, and the king's English.

Rug. I'll go watch.

[*Exit RUGBY.*]

Quick. Go; and we'll have a posset for't soon at night, in faith, at the latter end of a sea-coal fire⁸. An honest, willing, kind fellow, as ever servant shall come in house withal; and, I warrant you, no tell-tale, nor no breed-bate⁹: his worst fault is, that he is given to prayer; he is something peevish¹ that way: but nobody but has his fault;—but let that pass. Peter Simple, you say your name is?

Sim. Ay, for fault of a better.

Quick. And master Slender's your master?

Sim. Ay, forsooth.

Quick. Does he not wear a great round beard, like a glover's paring knife*?

Sim. No, forsooth: he hath but a little wee face², with a little yellow beard; a Cain-colour'd beard³.

Quick. A softly-sprighted man, is he not?

⁸ — at the latter end of a sea-coal fire.] That is, when my master is in bed. JOHNSON.

⁹ — no breed-bate:] *Bate* is an obsolete word, signifying strife, contention. STEEVENS.

¹ — peevish—] *Peevish* is foolish. So in *Cymbeline*, Act II:

“—he's strange and peevish.” STEEVENS.

I believe, this is one of dame Quickly's blunders, and that she means *precise*. MALONE.

* — a great round beard, &c.] See a note on *K. Henry V.* Act. III. sc. vi: “And what a beard of the general's cut, &c.” MALONE.

² — a little wee face,] *Wee*, in the northern dialect, signifies very little. COLLINS.

On the authority of the quarto, 1619, we might be led to read—*weby*-face: “—somewhat of a weakly man, and has as it were a *weby* coloured beard.” Macbeth calls one of the messengers *weby*-face. STEEV.

³ — a Cain-colour'd beard.] Cain and Judas, in the tapestries and pictures of old, were represented with yellow beards. THEOBALD.

In an age, when but a small part of the nation could read, ideas were frequently borrowed from representations in painting or tapestry. A *cane*-colour'd beard however, [the reading of the quarto,] might signify a beard of the colour of *cane*, i. e. a sickly yellow; for *straw*-coloured beards are mentioned in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*. STEEVENS.

The words of the quarto,—a *weby*-colour'd beard, strongly favour this reading; for *weby* and *cane* are nearly of the same colour. MALONE.

Sim. Ay, forsooth: but he is as tall a man of his hands⁴, as any is between this and his head; he hath fought with a warrener.

Quick. How say you?—O, I should remember him; Does he not hold up his head, as it were? and strut in his gait?

Sim. Yes, indeed, does he.

Quick. Well, heaven send Anne Page no worse fortune! Tell master parson Evans, I will do what I can for your master: Anne is a good girl, and I wish—

Re-enter RUGBY.

Rug. Out, alas! here comes my master.

Quick. We shall all be shent⁵: Run in here, good young man; go into this closet. [*Shuts Simple in the closet.*] He will not stay long.—What, John Rugby! John, what, John, I say! —Go, John, go enquire for my master; I doubt, he be not well, that he comes not home:—and down, down, adown-a⁶, &c. [*Sings.*

*Enter Doctor CAIUS*⁷.

Caius. Vat is you sing? I do not like dese toys; Pray you,

⁴ — as tall a man of his hands,] Perhaps this is an allusion to the jocky measure, *so many bands high*, used by grooms when speaking of horses. *Tall*, in our author's time, signified not only height of stature, but stoutness of body. The ambiguity of the phrase seems intended.

PERCY.

Whatever may be the origin of this phrase, it is very ancient, being used by Gower. *De Confessione Amantis*, lib. v. fol. 118. b.

“A worthie knight was of his bonde,

“There was none such in all the londe.” STEEVENS.

Dr. Percy's account of the origin of this phrase can hardly be just; for “a proper man of his hands” was likewise a phrase of our author's age; and that cannot allude to the measure of horses. MALONE.

⁵ — we shall all be shent:] i. e. scolded, roughly treated. STEEVENS.

⁶ — and down, down, adown-a, &c.] To deceive her master, she sings as if at her work. SIR J. HAWKINS.

This appears to have been the burden of some song then well known. In *Every woman in her Humour*, 1609, sign. E. 1. one of the characters says, “Hey, good boyes i'faith; now a threemans song, or the oid downe adowne; well, things must be as they may; &c.” REED.

⁷ Enter Doctor Caius.] Dr. John Caius was a celebrated physician in

you, go and vetch me in my closet *un boitier verd*⁸; a box, a green-a box; Do intend vat I speak? a green-a box.

Quick. Ay, forsooth, I'll fetch it you. I am glad he went not in himself: if he had found the young man, he would have been horn-mad. [*Aside.*]

Caius. *Fe, fe, fe, fe! ma foi, il fait fort chaud. Je m'en vais à la Cour,—la grande affaire.*

Quick. Is it this, Sir.

Caius. *Ouy; mette le au mon pocket; Depeche, quickly:—Vere is dat knave Rugby?*

Quick. What, John Rugby! John!

Rug. Here, Sir.

Caius. You are John Rugby, and you are Jack Rugby: Come, take-a your rapier, and come after my heel to de court.

Rug. 'Tis ready, Sir, here in the porch.

Caius. By my trot, I tarry too long:—Od's me! *Qu'ai j'oublié?* dere is some simples in my closet, dat I vill not for the varld I shall leave behind.

Quick. Ah me! he'll find the young man there, and be mad.

Caius. *O diable, diable!* vat is in my closet?—Villainy! *laron!* [*pulling Simple out.*] Rugby, my rapier.

in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and founder of Caius college, in Cambridge. He was born in 1510, and died in 1567: He is said to have written a great part of Grafton's Chronicle. MALONE.

It has been thought strange, that our author should take the name of *Caius* for his Frenchman in this comedy; but Shakspeare was little acquainted with literary history; and without doubt, from his unusual name, supposed him to have been a foreign quack. Add to this, that the doctor was handed down as a kind of Rosicrucian: Mr. Ames had in Ms. one of the "*secret Writings of Dr. Caius.*" FARMER.

This character of Dr. Caius might have been drawn from the life; as in *Jacke of Dover's Quest of Enquirie*, 1604, (perhaps a republication) a story called the *Foole of Winsor* begins thus: "Upon a time there was in *Winsor* a certaine simple outlandishe doctor of *physicke*, belonging to the deane, &c." STEEVENS.

⁸ — *un boitier verd*;] *Boitier* in French signifies a case of surgeons instruments. GREY.

I believe it rather means a box of *salve*, or case to hold *simples*, for which Caius professes to seek. STEEVENS.

Quick. Good master, be content.

Caius. Verefore shall I be content-a?

Quick. The young man is an honest man.

Caius. Vat shall de honest man do in my closet? dere is no honest man dat shall come in my closet.

Quick. I beseech you, be not so flegmatick; hear the truth of it: He came of an errand to me from parson Hugh.

Caius. Vell.

Sim. Ay, forsooth, to desire her to—

Quick. Peace, I pray you.

Caius. Peace-a your tongue:—Speak-a your tale.

Sim. To desire this honest gentlewoman, your maid, to speak a good word to mistress Anne Page for my master in the way of marriage.

Quick. This is all, indeed, la; but I'll ne'er put my finger in the fire, and need not.

Caius. Sir Hugh send-a you?—Rugby, *baillez* me some paper: Tarry you a little-a while. [*writes.*]

Quick. I am glad he is so quiet: if he had been thoroughly moved, you should have heard him so loud, and so melancholy;—But notwithstanding, man, I'll do your master what good I can: and the very yea and the no is, the French Doctor, my master,—I may call him my master, look you, for I keep his house; and I wash, wring, brew, bake, scour, dress meat and drink⁹, make the beds, and do all myself;—

Sim. 'Tis a great charge, to come under one body's hand.

Quick. Are you avis'd o' that? you shall find it a great charge: and to be up early, and down late;—but notwithstanding, (to tell you in your ear; I would have no words of it;) my master himself is in love with mistress Anne Page: but notwithstanding that,—I know Anne's mind,—that's neither here nor there.

Caius. You jack'nape; give-a dis letter to Sir Hugh;

⁹ — *dress meat and drink,*] Dr. Warburton thought the word *drink* ought to be expunged; but by *drink* Dame Quickly might have intended potage and soup, of which her master may be supposed to have been as fond as the rest of his countrymen. MALONE.

by gar, it is a shallenge: I vill cut his troat in de park; and I vill teach a scurvy jack-a-nape priest to meddle or make:—you may be gone; it is not good you tarry here: by gar, I vill cut all his two stones; by gar, he shall not have a stone to throw at his dog. [Exit SIMPLE.

Quick. Alas, he speaks but for his friend.

Caius. It is no matter-a for dat:—do not you tell-a me dat I shall have Anne Page for myself?—by gar, I vill kill de Jack priest*; and I have appointed mine host of *de Jarterre* to measure our weapon:—by gar I vill myself have Anne Page.

Quick. Sir, the maid loves you, and all shall be well: we must give folks leave to prate: What, the good-ger¹!

Caius. Rugby, come to the court vit me;—By gar, if I have not Anne Page, I shall turn your head out of my door:—Follow my heels, Rugby.

[Exeunt CAIUS and RUGBY.

Quick. You shall have Ann fool's-head² of your own. No, I know Anne's mind for that: never a woman in Windfor knows more of Anne's mind than I do; nor can do more than I do with her, I thank heaven.

Fent. [within.] Who's within there, ho?

Quick. Who's there, I trow? Come near the house, I pray you.

Enter FENTON.

Fen. How now, good woman; how dost thou?

* — *de Jack priest*;] *Jack* in our author's time was a term of contempt: So, saucy *Jack*, &c. See *K. Henry IV.* P. I. Act. III. sc. iii. "The prince is a *Jack*, a sneak-cup;" and *Much Ado about Nothing*, Act I. sc. i. "—do you play the flouting *Jack*?" MALONE.

¹ *What, the good jer!*] Mrs. Quickly scarcely ever pronounces a hard word rightly. *Good-ger* and *Good-year* were in our author's time common corruptions of *goujere*; i. e. *morbus Gallicus*; and in the books of that age the word is as often written one way as the other.

MALONE.

² You shall have *Ann* fool's-head—] Mrs. Quickly, I believe, intends a quibble between *ann*, sounded broad, and *one*, which was formerly sometimes pronounced *on*, or with nearly the same sound. In the Scottish dialect *one* is written, and I suppose pronounced, *ane*.—In 1603, was published "*Ane* verie excellent and delectable Treatise, intitult *Pbilotus*," &c. MALONE.

Quick. The better that it pleases your good worship to ask.

Fent. What news? how does pretty mistress Anne?

Quick. In truth, sir, and she is pretty, and honest, and gentle; and one that is your friend, I can tell you that by the way, I praise heaven for it.

Fent. Shall I do any good, thinkest thou? Shall I not lose my suit?

Quick. Troth, sir, all is in hands above: but notwithstanding, master Fenton, I'll be sworn on a book, she loves you:—Have not your worship a wart above your eye?

Fent. Yes, marry, have I; what of that?

Quick. Well, thereby hangs a tale;—good faith, it is such another Nan;—but, I detest³, an honest maid as ever broke bread:—We had an hour's talk of that wart;—I shall never laugh but in that maid's company!—But, indeed, she is given too much to allicholly and musing: But, for you—Well, go to.

Fent. Well, I shall see her to-day: Hold, there's money for thee; let me have thy voice in my behalf: if thou see'st her before me, commend me—

Quick. Will I? i'faith, that we will: and I will tell your worship more of the wart, the next time we have confidence; and of other wooers.

Fent. Well, farewell; I am in great haste now. [*Exit.*]

Quick. Farewell to your worship,—Truly, an honest gentleman; but Anne loves him not; for I know Anne's mind as well as another does:—Out upon't, what have I forgot? [*Exit.*]

ACT II. SCENE I.

Before Page's House.

Enter Mistress PAGE, with a letter.

Mrs. Page. What, have I 'scaped love-letters in the holy-day time of my beauty, and am I now a subject for them? Let me see: [*reads.*]

Ask me no reason why I love you; for though love use rea-

³ — but I detest,] She means—I protest. MALONE.

son for his precisian, he admits him not for his counsellor¹: You are not young, no more am I; go to then, there's sympathy: you are merry, so am I; Ha! ha! then there's more sympathy: you love sack, and so do I; Would you desire better sympathy? Let it suffice thee, mistress Page, (at the least, if the love of a soldier can suffice,) that I love thee. I will not say, pity me, 'tis not a soldier-like phrase; but I say, love me. By me,

Thine own true knight,
By day or night²,
Or any kind of light,
With all his might,
For thee to fight,

John Falstaff.

What a Herod of Jewry is this?—O wicked, wicked world!—one that is well-nigh worn to pieces with age, to show himself a young gallant! What an unweigh'd behaviour³ hath this Flemish drunkard pick'd (with the devil's name) out of my conversation, that he dares in this manner assay me? Why, he hath not been thrice in my company!—What should I say to him?—I was then frugal of my mirth:—heaven forgive me!—Why I'll exhibit a bill in the parliament for the putting down of fat

¹ — *though love use reason for his precisian, he admits him not for his counsellor*:] By *precisian*, is meant one who pretends to a more than ordinary degree of virtue and sanctity. On which account they gave this name to the puritans of that time. WARBURTON.

Of this word I do not see any meaning that is very apposite to the present intention. Perhaps Falstaff said, *Though love use reason for his physician, he admits him not for his counsellor*. This will be plain sense. Ask not the *reason* of my love; the business of *reason* is not to assist love, but to *cure* it. There may however be this meaning in the present reading. *Though love*, when he would submit to regulation, may *use reason as his precisian*, or director in nice cases, yet when he is only eager to attain his end, he takes not reason for *his counsellor*. JOHNSON.

Dr. Johnson wishes to read *physician*; and this conjecture becomes almost a certainty from a line in our author's 147th sonnet:

"My reason the *physician* to my love, &c." FARMER.

² *Thine own true knight,*

By day or night] This expression, which is ludicrously employed by Falstaff, anciently meant, *at all times*. STEEVENS.

³ *What an unweigh'd behaviour—*] It has been suggested to me that we should read—*one*. STEEVENS.

men⁴. How shall I be revenged on him? for revenged I will be, as sure as his guts are made of puddings.

Enter Mistress FORD.

Mrs. Ford. Mistress Page! trust me, I was going to your house.

Mrs. Page. And, trust me, I was coming to you. You look very ill.

Mrs. Ford. Nay, I'll ne'er believe that; I have to show to the contrary.

Mrs. Page. 'Faith, but you do, in my mind.

Mrs. Ford. Well, I do then; yet, I say, I could show you to the contrary: O, mistress Page give me some counsel!

Mrs. Page. What's the matter, woman?

Mrs. Ford. O woman, if it were not for one trifling respect, I could come to such honour!

Mrs. Page. Hang the trifle, woman; take the honour: What is it?—dispende with trifles;—what is it?

Mrs. Ford. If I would but go to hell for an eternal moment, or so, I could be knighted.

4 —for the putting down of fat men.] The word *fat*, which seems to have been inadvertently omitted in the folio, was restored by Mr. Theobald from the quarto, where the corresponding speech runs thus: "Well, I shall trust *fat* men the worse, while I live, for his sake. O God; that I knew how to be revenged of him!"—Dr. Johnson, however, thinks that the insertion is unnecessary, as "Mrs. Page might naturally enough, in the first heat of her anger, rail at the sex for the fault of one." But the authority of the original sketch in quarto, and Mrs. Page's frequent mention of the size of her lover in the play as it now stands, in my opinion fully warrant the correction that has been made. Our author well knew that bills are brought into parliament for some purpose that at least appears *practicable*. Mrs. Page therefore in her passion might exhibit a bill for the putting down or destroying men of a particular description; but Shakspeare would never have made her threaten to introduce a bill to effect an *impossibility*; viz. the extermination of the whole species.

There is no error more frequent at the press than the omission of words. In a sheet of this work now before me, there was an *out*, (as it is termed in the printing-house,) that is, a passage omitted, of no less than ten lines. In every sheet some words are at first omitted.

The expression, *putting down*, is a common phrase of our municipal law. MALONE.

Mrs.

Mrs. Page. What?—thou liest!—Sir Alice Ford!—These knights will hack; and so thou should'st not alter the article of thy gentry⁵.

Mrs. Ford. We burn day-light⁶:—here, read, read;—perceive how I might be knighted.—I shall think the worse of fat men, as long as I have an eye to make difference of men's liking: And yet he would not swear; prais'd women's modesty: and gave such orderly and well-behaved reproof to all uncomeliness, that I would have sworn his disposition would have gone to the truth of his words: but they do no more adhere, and keep place together, than the hundredth psalm to the tune of *Green*

⁵ *What?—thou liest! Sir Alice Ford!—These knights, will hack; and so thou shouldst not alter the article of thy gentry.*] It is not impossible that Shakspeare meant by—*these knight will hack*—these knights will soon become *hackney'd* characters.—So many knights were made about the time this play was amplified (for the passage is neither in the copy 1602, nor 1619,) that such a stroke of satire might not have been unjustly thrown in. STEEVENS.

These knights will *hack*, (that is, become cheap and vulgar,) and therefore she advises her friend not to sully her gentry by becoming one. The whole of this discourse about knighthood is added since the first edition of this play [in 1602]; and therefore I suspect this is an oblique reflection on the prodigality of James I. in bestowing these honours. BLACKSTONE.

Sir W. Blackstone supposes that the order of Baronets (created in 1611) was likewise alluded to. I have omitted that part of his note, because it appears to me highly probable that our author amplified the play before us at an earlier period. See *An Attempt to ascertain the order of Shakspeare's plays*, ante, Article, *Merry Wives of Windsor*.

Between the time of King James's arrival at Berwick in April 1603, and the 2d of May, he made two hundred and thirty-seven knights; and in the July following between three and four hundred. It is probable that the play before us was enlarged in that or the subsequent year, when this stroke of satire must have been highly relished by the audience.

By "these knights will hack" may have been meant,—These unworthy knights of the present day will be degraded by having their spurs *hack'd* off; the punishment (as Dr. Johnson has observed) of a recreant or undeserving knight. MALONE.

⁶ *We burn day-light:*] i. e. we are wasting time in idle talk, when we ought to read the letter; resembling those, who waste candles by burning them in the day-time. So, in *Romeo and Juliet* (the quotation is Mr. Steevens's):

"We waste our lights in vain, like lamps by day." MALONE.

Sleeves.

Sleeves ⁷. What tempest, I trow, threw this whale, with so many tuns of oil in his belly, ashore at Windsor? How shall I be revenged on him? I think, the best way were to entertain him with hope, till the wicked fire of lust have melted him in his own greafe.—Did you ever hear the like?

Mrs. Page. Letter for letter; but that the name of Page and Ford differs!—To thy great comfort in this mystery of ill opinions, here's the twin-brother of thy letter: but let thine inherit first; for, I protest, mine never shall. I warrant, he hath a thousand of these letters, writ with blank space for different names, (sure more,) and these are of the second edition: He will print them out of doubt; for he cares not what he puts into the press ⁸, when he would put us two. I had rather be a giantess, and lie under mount Pelion. Well, I will find you twenty lascivious turtles, ere one chaste man.

Mrs. Ford. Why, this is the very same; the very hand, the very words: What doth he think of us?

Mrs. Page. Nay, I know not: It makes me almost ready to wrangle with mine own honesty. I'll entertain myself like one that I am not acquainted withal; for, sure, unless he know some strain in me ⁹, that I know not myself, he would never have boarded me in this fury.

Mrs. Ford. Boarding, call you it; I'll be sure to keep him above deck.

Mrs. Page. So will I; if he come under my hatches, I'll never to sea again. Let's be revenged on him: let's

⁷ — *Green Sleeves*.] A popular old ballad, that had appeared about twenty years before this play was written. MALONE.

From a passage in the *Loyal Subject*, by B. and Fletcher, it should seem that this old ballad was a wanton ditty: STEEVENS.

⁸ — *press*,] *Press* is used ambiguously, for a *press* to print, and a *press* to squeeze. JOHNSON.

⁹ — *some strain in me*,] Thus the old copies. The modern editors read, "some stain in me," but, I think, unnecessarily. A similar expression occurs in the *The Winter's Tale*:

"With what encounter so uncurrent have I

"*Strain'd*, to appear thus?"

And again, in *Timon*:

"—— a noble nature

"May catch a *wrench*." STEEVENS.

appoint

appoint him a meeting ; give him a show of comfort in his suit ; and lead him on with a fine-baited delay, till he hath pawn'd his horses to mine Host of the Garter.

Mrs. Ford. Nay, I will consent to act any villainy against him, that may not sully the chariness of our honesty¹. O, that my husband saw this letter²! it would give eternal food to his jealousy.

Mrs. Page. Why, look, where he comes ; and my good man too : he's as far from jealousy, as I am from giving him cause ; and that, I hope, is an unmeasurable distance.

Mrs. Ford. You are the happier woman.

Mrs. Page. Let's consult together against this greasy knight : Come hither. [*they retire.*]

Enter FORD, PISTOL, PAGE, and NYM.

Ford. Well, I hope, it be not so.

Pist. Hope is a curtail dog³ in some affairs : Sir John affects thy wife.

Ford. Why, Sir, my wife is not young.

Pist. He wooes both high and low, both rich and poor*, Both young and old, one with another, Ford ; He loves thy gally-mawfry⁴ ; Ford, perpend⁵.

Ford. Love my wife ?

Pist.

¹ — *the chariness of our honesty.*] i. e. the caution which ought to attend on it. STEEVENS.

² O, that my husband saw this letter !] Surely Mrs. Ford does not wish to excite the jealousy, of which she complains. I think we should read—O, if my husband &c. and thus the copy, 1619 :

“ Oh lord, if my husband should see the letter ! i'faith, this would even give edge to his jealousy.” STEEVENS.

³ — *curtail-dog*—] That is, a dog of small value ;—what we now call a cur. MALONE.

* — *both high and low, both rich and poor,*] See Psalm 49. v. 2. GREY.

⁴ — *gally-mawfry* ;] i. e. a medley. So, in the *Winter's Tale* :

“ They have a dance, which the wenches say is a gallimawfry of gambols.” Thus, in *A Woman never vex'd*, 1632 :

“ Let us show ourselves gallants or galli-mawfries.” STEEVENS.

The first folio has—*the gallymaufry*. *Thy* was introduced by the editor of the second. *The gallymawfry* may be right : He loves a medley ; all sorts of women, high and low &c. Ford's reply, “ Love my wife !” may refer to what Pistol had said before : “ Sir John affects thy wife.” *Thy gallymawfry* sounds however more like Pistol's language than

Pist. With liver burning hot : Prevent, or go thou,
Like Sir Actæon he, with Ring-wood at thy heels :—
O, odious is the name !

Ford. What name, Sir ?

Pist. The horn, I say : Farewel.
Take heed ; have open eye ; for thieves do foot by night :
Take heed, ere summer comes, or cuckoo-birds do sing.—
Away, fir corporal Nym.—

Believe it, Page ; he speaks sense⁷. [*Exit* PISTOL.

Ford. I will be patient ; I will find out this.

Nym. And this is true ; [*to* Page.] I like not the humour of lying. He hath wrong'd me in some humours : I should have borne the humour'd letter to her ; but I have a sword, and it shall bite upon my necessity⁸. He loves your wife ; there's the short and the long. My name is corporal Nym ; I speak, and I avouch. 'Tis true :—my name is Nym, and Falstaff loves your wife.—Adieu ! I love not the humour of bread and cheese ; and there's the humour of it. Adieu. [*Exit* NYM.

than the other ; and therefore I have followed the modern editors in preferring it. MALONE.

⁵ Ford, *perpend*.] This is perhaps a ridicule on a passage in the old comedy of *Cambyfes* :

“ My sapient words, I say, *perpend*.”

Again : “ My queen, *perpend* what I pronounce.”

Shakspeare has put the same word into the mouth of Polonius. STEEV.

⁷ Believe it, Page ; he speaks sense.] Dr. Johnson thought that the preceding word, “ Nym”, was only a designation of the speaker, and that these words belonged to him. Mr. Steevens's note shews that he was mistaken. Dr. Farmer would read—Believe it Page, he speaks ; i. e. Page, believes what he says. MALONE.

Ford and Pistol, Page and Nym, enter in pairs, each pair in separate conversation ; and while Pistol is informing Ford of Falstaff's design upon his wife, Nym is, during that time, talking *aside* to Page, and giving information of the like plot against *him*.—When Pistol has finished, he calls out to Nym to come *away* ; but seeing that he and Page are still in close debate, he goes off alone, first assuring Page, he may depend on the truth of Nym's story. Believe it, Page. Nym then proceeds to tell the remainder of his tale out aloud. And this is true &c. STEEV.

⁸ I have a sword, and it shall bite upon my necessity.] Nym, to gain credit, says, that he is above the mean office of carrying love-letters ; he has nobler means of living ; he has a sword, and upon his necessity, that is, when his need drives him to unlawful expedients, his sword shall bite. JOHNSON.

Page.

Page. *The humour of it*⁹, quoth 'a! here's a fellow frights humour out of his wits.

Ford. I will seek out Falstaff.

Page. I never heard such a drawling, affecting rogue.

Ford. If I do find it, well.

Page. I will not believe such a Cataian¹, though the priest o' the town commended him for a true man.

9 *The humour of it*,] The following epigram, taken from an old collection without date, but apparently printed before the year 1600, will best account for Nym's frequent repetition of the word *humour*. Epig. 27.

Aske HUMORS what a feather he doth weare,
It is his *humour* (by the Lord) he'll sweare;
Or what he doth with such a horse-taile locke,
Or why upon a whore he spends his stocke,—
He hath a *humour* doth determine so:
Why in the stop-throte fashion he doth goe,
With scarfe about his necke, hat without band,—
It is his *humour*. Sweet sir, understand,
What cause his purse is so extreame distrest
That oftentimes is scarcely penny-blest;
Only a *humour*. If you question, why
His tongue is ne'er unfurnish'd with a lye,—
It is his *humour* too he doth protest:
Or why with serjeants he is so opprest,
That like to ghosts they haunt him ev'rie day;
A rascal *humour* doth not love to pay.
Object why bootes and spurres are still in season,
His *humour* answers, *humour* is his reason.
If you perceive his wits in wetting shrunke,
It cometh of a *humour* to be drunke.
When you behold his lookes pale, thin, and poore,
The occasion is, his *humour* and a whoore:
And every thing that he doth undertake,
It is a veine, for fenceless *humour*'s sake. STEEVENS.

¹ *I will not believe such a Cataian*,] A *Cataian* (from *Cataia* or *Cathay*, the ancient name of China) seems to have been a cant term of reproach in our author's time, denoting a *sharpener*. Mr. Theobald thinks it meant a boaster; Dr. Warburton a liar, "from those who told incredible wonders of this new-discovered empire:" Dr. Johnson's explanation is,—“This fellow hath such an odd appearance, is so unlike a man civilized and taught the duties of life, that I cannot credit him on any testimony of his veracity.—To be a foreigner (he adds) was always in England, and I suppose every where else, a reason of dislike.”—Mr. Steevens, with more probability, supposes it to mean a thief; “the Chinese, (anciently called *Cataians*) being said to be the most dextrous of all the nimble-fingered tribe.” MALONE.

Ford. 'Twas a good sensible fellow²: Well.

Page. How now, Meg?

Mrs. Page. Whither go you, George?—Hark you.

Mrs. Ford. How now, sweet Frank? why art thou melancholy?

Ford. I melancholy! I am not melancholy.—Get you home, go.

Mrs. Ford. 'Faith, thou hast some crotchets in thy head now.—Will you go, mistress Page?

Mrs. Page. Have with you.—You'll come to dinner, George?—Look, who comes yonder: she shall be our messenger to this paltry knight. [*Aside to Mrs. Ford.*

Enter Mistress QUICKLY.

Mrs. Ford. Trust me, I thought on her: she'll fit it.

Mrs. Page. You are come to see my daughter Anne?

Quick. Ay, forsooth; And, I pray, how does good mistress Anne?

Mrs. Page. Go in with us, and see; we have an hour's talk with you.

[*Exeunt Mrs. Page, Mrs. Ford, and Mrs. Quickly.*

Page. How now, master Ford?

Ford. You heard what this knave told me; did you not?

Page. Yes; And you heard what the other told me?

Ford. Do you think there is truth in them?

Page. Hang 'em, slaves! I do not think the knight would offer it: but these that accuse him in his intent towards our wives, are a yoke of his discarded men; very rogues, now they be out of service³.

Ford. Were they his men?

Page. Marry, were they.

Ford. I like it never the better for that. Does he lie at the Garter?

² 'Twas a good sensible fellow:] This, and the two preceding speeches of Ford, are spoken to himself, and have no connection with the sentiments of Page, who is likewise making his comment on what had passed, without attention to Ford. STEEVENS.

³ Very rogues, now they be out of service.] A rogue is a wanderer or vagabond, and, in its consequential signification, a cheat. JOHNSON.

Page. Ay, marry, does he. If he should intend this voyage toward my wife, I would turn her loose to him; and what he gets more of her than sharp words, let it lie on my head.

Ford. I do not misdoubt my wife; but I would be loth to turn them together: A man may be too confident: I would have nothing lie on my head⁴: I cannot be thus satisfied.

Page. Look, where my ranting host of the Garter comes: there is either liquor in his pate, or money in his purse, when he looks so merrily.—How, now, mine host?

Enter Host, and SHALLOW.

Host. How, now, bully-rook? thou'rt a gentleman: cavalero-justice, I say.

Shal. I follow, mine host, I follow.—Good even, and twenty, good master Page! Master Page, will you go with us? we have sport in hand.

Host. Tell him, cavalero-justice; tell him, bully-rook?

Shal. Sir, there is a fray to be fought, between sir Hugh the Welch priest, and Caius the French doctor.

Ford. Good mine host o' the Garter, a word with you.

Host. What say'st thou, bully-rook? [*They go aside.*]

Shal. Will you [*to Page*] go with us to behold it? My merry host hath had the measuring of their weapons; and, I think, hath appointed them contrary places: for, believe me, I hear, the parson is no jester. Hark, I will tell you what our sport shall be.

Host. Hast thou no suit against my knight, my guest-cavalier?

Ford. None, I protest: but I'll give you a pottle of burnt sack to give me recourse to him, and tell him, my name is Brook⁵; only for a jest.

Host. My hand, bully: thou shalt have egress and re-

⁴ *I would have nothing lie on my head:]* Here seems to be an allusion to Shakspere's favourite topick, the cuckold's horns. MALONE.

⁵ — and tell him, my name is Brook;] The folio reads—*Broom*. The true name was recovered from the quarto by Mr. Theobald. MALONE.

grefs; said I well? and thy name shall be Brook: It is a merry knight.—Will you go an-heirs⁶?

Shal. Have with you, mine host.

Page. I have heard, the Frenchman hath good skill in his rapier⁷.

Shal. Tut, fir, I could have told you more: In these times you stand on distance, your passes, stoccados, and I know not what: 'tis the heart, master Page; 'tis here, 'tis here. I have seen the time, with my long sword⁸, I would

⁶ *Will you go an-heirs?*] There can be no doubt that this passage is corrupt. Perhaps we should read,—Will you go *and bear us*? So, in the next page—"I had rather *bear them* scold than fight." MALONE.

The merry Host has already saluted them separately by titles of distinction; he therefore probably now addresses them collectively by a general one—*Will you go on*, heroes? or, as probably—*Will you go on*, hearts? He calls Dr. Caius *Heart of Elder*; and adds, in a subsequent scene of this play, *Farewell, my hearts*. STEEVENS.

⁷ —*in his rapier.*] In the old quarto here follow these words:

Shal. I tell you what, master Page; I believe the doctor is no jester; he'll lay it one [on]; for though we be justices and doctors and churchmen, yet we are the sons of women, master Page.

Page. True, master Shallow.

Shal. It will be found so, master Page.

Page. Master Shallow, you yourself have been a great fighter, though now a man of peace.

Part of this dialogue is found afterwards in the third scene of the present act; but it seems more proper here, to introduce what Shallow says of the prowess of his youth. MALONE.

⁸ —*my long sword,*] Before the introduction of rapiers, the swords in use were of an enormous length, and sometimes raised with both hands. Shallow, with an old man's vanity, censures the innovation by which lighter weapons were introduced, tells what he could once have done with his *long sword*, and ridicules the terms and rules of the rapier. JOHNSON.

Dr. Johnson's explanation of the *long sword* is certainly right; for the early quarto reads—*my two-hand sword*; so that they appear to have been synonymous.

Carleton, in his *Thankful Remembrance of God's Mercy*, 1625, speaking of the treachery of one Rowland York, in betraying the town of Deventer to the Spaniards in 1587, says; "he was a Londoner, famous among the *Cutters* in his time, for bringing in a new kind of fight,—to run the point of a *rapier* into a man's body. This manner of fight he brought *first* into *England*, with great admiration of his audaciousness: when

would have made you four tall fellows ⁹ skip like rats.

Hof. Here, boys, here, here ! shall we wag ?

Page. Have with you :—I had rather hear them scold than fight. [*Exeunt Hof, SHALLOW, and PAGE.*]

Ford. Though Page be a secure fool, and stands so firmly on his wife's frailty¹, yet I cannot put off my opinion so easily : She was in his company at Page's house ; and, what they made there², I know not. Well, I will look further into't : and I have a disguise to sound Falstaff : If I find her honest, I lose not my labour ; if she be otherwise, 'tis labour well bestow'd. [*Exit.*]

SCENE II.

A Room in the Garter Inn.

Enter FALSTAFF and PISTOL.

Fal. I will not lend thee a penny.

Pist. Why, then the world's mine oyster³, which I
with

when in England before that time, the use was, with little bucklers, and with *broad swords*, to strike, and not to thrust ; and it was accounted unmanly to strike under the girdle."

The Continuator of Stowe's Annals, p. 1024, edit. 1631, supposes the rapier to have been introduced somewhat sooner, viz. about the 20th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, [1578] at which time, he says, Sword and Bucklers began to be disused. Shakspeare has here been guilty of a great anachronism in making Shallow ridicule the terms of the rapier in the time of Henry IV. an hundred and seventy years before it was used in England. MALONE.

9 — tall fellows—] A tall fellow, in the time of our author, meant a stout, bold, or courageous person. The elder quarto reads—*tall fencers*. STEEVENS.

¹ — and stands so firmly on his wife's frailty,] i. e. has such perfect confidence in his unchaste wife. His wife's frailty is the same as—his frail wife. So, in *Antony and Cleopatra*, we meet with death and honour, for an honourable death. MALONE.

To stand on any thing, signifies to insist on it. Ford supposes Page to insist on that virtue as steady, which he supposes to be without foundation. STEEVENS.

² — and what they made there,] An obsolete phrase signifying—what they did there. MALONE.

³ — the world's mine oyster, &c.] Dr. Grey supposes Shakspeare to
Q3 allude

with sword will open.—I will retort the sum in equipage⁴.

Fal. Not a penny. I have been content, fir, you should lay my countenance to pawn: I have grated upon my good friends for three reprieves for you and your coach-fellow, Nym⁵; or else you had look'd through the grate, like a geminy of baboons. I am damn'd in hell, for swearing to gentlemen my friends, you were good soldiers, and tall fellows⁶: and when mistress Bridget lost the handle of her fan⁷, I took't upon mine honour, thou hadst it not.

Pist. Didst not thou share? hadst thou not fifteen pence?

Fal. Reason, you rogue, reason: Think'st thou, I'll endanger

allude to an old proverb, "The mayor of Northampton opens oysters with his dagger." i. e. to keep them at a sufficient distance from his nose, that town being fourscore miles from the sea. STEEVENS.

4 — *I will retort the sum in equipage.*] This is added from the old quarto of 1619, and means, I will pay you again in stolen goods. WARB. I rather believe he means, that he will pay him by waiting on him for nothing. That equipage ever meant *stolen goods*, I am yet to learn.

STEEVENS.

Dr. Warburton may be right; for I find *equipage* was one of the cant words of the time. In *Davies' Papers Complaint*, (a poem which has erroneously been ascribed to *Donne*) we have several of them:

"Embellish, blandishment, and *equipage*." Which words, he tells us in the margin, *overmuch savour of witleffe affectation*. FARMER.

5 — *your coach-fellow, Nym*;] i. e. he, who *draws* along with you; who is joined with you in all your knavery. So before, Page, speaking of Nym and Pistol, calls them a "yoke of Falstaff's discarded men." The word (as Mr. Steevens has observed) is used by Chapman in his Translation of the Iliad. MALONE.

6 — *and tall fellows*:] See p. 229, n. 9; and p. 214, n. 4. MALONE.

7 — *lost the handle of her fan*,] It should be remembered, that *fans*, in our author's time, were more costly than they are at present, as well as of a different construction. They consisted of ostrich feathers, (or others of equal length and flexibility,) which were stuck into handles. The richer sort of these were composed of gold, silver, or ivory of curious workmanship. In the frontispiece to a play, called *Englishmen for my Money*, or *A pleasant Comedy of a Woman will have her Will*, 1616, is a portrait of a lady with one of these fans, which, after all, may prove the best commentary on the passage. The three other specimens are taken from the *Habiti Antichi et Moderni di tutto il Mondo*, published at

endanger my soul *gratis*? At a word, hang no more about me, I am no gibbet for you:—go.—A short knife and a throng^s;—to your manor of Pickt-hatch⁹, go.—
You'll

at Venice, 1598, from the drawings of *Titian*, and *Cesare Vecelli*, his brother. This fashion was perhaps imported from Italy, together with many others, in the reign of king *Henry VIII.* if not in that of king *Richard II.*



STEEVENS.

It appears from *Marston's Satires*, that the sum of 40l. was sometimes given for a fan in the time of queen Elizabeth. MALONE.

In the Sidney papers, published by *Collins*, a fan is presented to queen Elizabeth for a new year's gift, the handle of which was studded with diamonds. T. WARTON.

^s *A short knife and a throng*:] So Lear: "—when cut-purfs come not to *throng*." WARBURTON.

Mr. Dennis reads—*thong*; which has been followed, I think, improperly, by some of the modern editors. MALONE.

⁹ — *Pickt-hatch*,] *Pickt-hatch* was in *Turnbull-street*.

" — Your whore doth live

" In *Pickt-hatch*, *Turnbull-street*."

Amends for Ladies, a comedy by N. Field, 1639.

You'll not bear a letter for me, you rogue!—you stand upon your honour!—Why, thou unconfinable baseness, it is as much as I can do, to keep the terms of my honour precise. I, I, I myself sometimes, leaving the fear of heaven on the left hand, and hiding mine honour in my necessity, am fain to shuffle, to hedge, and to lurch; and yet you, rogue, will ensconce your rags¹, your cat-a-mountain looks, your red-lattice phrases², and your bold-beating oaths, under the shelter of your honour! You will not do it, you?

Pist. I do relent; What would'st thou more of man?

Enter ROBIN.

Rob. Sir, here's a woman would speak with you.

Fal. Let her approach.

The derivation of the word may perhaps be discovered from the following passage in *Cupid's Whirligig*: "Set some *pickes* upon your *batch*, and I pray, profess to keep a bawdy-house." Perhaps the unreasonable and obstreperous irruptions of the gallants of that age might render such a precaution necessary. STEEVENS.

This was a cant name of some part of the town noted for bawdy-houses. Sir T. Hanmer says, that this was "a noted harbour for thieves and pickpockets," who certainly were proper companions for a man of Pistol's profession. But Falstaff here more immediately means to ridicule another of his friend's vices; and there is some humour in calling Pistol's favourite brothel, his manor of *Pickt-batch*.

T. WARTON.

¹ — *ensconce* your rags, &c.] A *sconce* is a petty fortification. To *ensconce*, therefore, is to protect as with a fort. The word occurs again in *K. Henry IV.* Part I. STEEVENS.

² — *red-lattice phrases*,] Your ale-house conversation. JOHNSON.

Red lattice at the doors and windows were formerly the external denotements of an ale-house. Hence the present *chequers*. Perhaps the reader will express some surprize, when he is told that shops, with the sign of the *chequers*, were common among the Romans. See a view of the left-hand street of Pompeii, (No. 9) presented by Sir William Hamilton (together with several others, equally curious,) to the *Antiquary Society*. STEEVENS.

The following passage in Braithwaite's *Strapado for the Devil*, 1615, confirms Mr. Steevens's observation.—"To the true discoverer of secrets, Monsieur *Bacchus*,—Master-gunner of the *pottle-pot* ordnance, —prime-founder of *red lattices* &c."

In *King Henry IV.* P. II. Falstaff's page, speaking of Bardolph, says, "he called me even now, my Lord, through a *red lattice*, and I could see no part of his face from the window." MALONE.

Enter

Enter Mistress QUICKLY.

Quick. Give your worship good-morrow.

Fal. Good-morrow, good wife.

Quick. Not so, an't please your worship.

Fal. Good maid, then.

Quick. I'll be sworn; as my mother was, the first hour I was born.

Fal. I do believe the swearer: What with me?

Quick. Shall I vouchsafe your worship a word or two?

Fal. Two thousand, fair woman; and I'll vouchsafe thee the hearing.

Quick. There is one mistress Ford, sir;—I pray, come a little nearer this ways:—I myself dwell with master doctor Caius.

Fal. Well, on: Mistress Ford, you say,—

Quick. Your worship says very true: I pray your worship, come a little nearer this ways.

Fal. I warrant thee, nobody hears;—mine own people, mine own people.

Quick. Are they so? Heaven bless them, and make them his servants!

Fal. Well: mistress Ford;—what of her?

Quick. Why, sir, she's a good creature. Lord, lord! your worship's a wanton: Well, heaven forgive you, and all of us, I pray!

Fal. Mistress Ford;—come, mistress Ford,—

Quick. Marry, this is the short and the long of it; you have brought her into such a canaries³, as 'tis wonderful. The best courtier of them all, when the court lay at Windsor⁴, could never have brought her to such a canary. Yet there has been knights, and lords, and gentlemen, with their coaches; I warrant you, coach after coach,

3 — canaries,] This is the name of a brisk light dance, and is therefore properly enough used in low language for any hurry or perturbation. JOHNSON.

It is highly probable, however, that *canaries* is only a mistake of Mrs. Quickly's for *quandaries*; and yet the Clown, in *As you like it*, says, "we that are true lovers run into strange capers." STEEVENS.

4 — lay at Windsor,] i. e. resided there. MALONE.

letter after letter, gift after gift; smelling so sweetly, (all musk,) and so rushling, I warrant you, in silk and gold; and in such alligant terms; and in such wine and sugar of the best, and the fairest, that would have won any woman's heart; and, I warrant you, they could never get an eye-wink of her.—I had myself twenty angels given me this morning: but I defy all angels, (in any such fort, as they say,) but in the way of honesty:—and, I warrant you, they could never get her so much as sip on a cup with the proudest of them all: and yet there has been earls, nay, which is more, pensioners⁵; but, I warrant you, all is one with her.

Fal. But what says she to me? be brief, my good she Mercury.

Quick. Marry, she hath receiv'd your letter; for the which she thanks you a thousand times: and she gives you to notify, that her husband will be absence from his house between ten and eleven.

Fal. Ten and eleven.

Quick. Ay, forsooth; and then you may come and see the picture, she says, that you wot of⁶;—master Ford, her husband, will be from home. Alas! the sweet wo-

5 — earls, nay, which is more, pensioners;] i. e. Gentlemen of the band of Pensioners.—“In the month of December,” [1539] says Stowe, *Annals*, p. 973, edit. 1605, “were appointed to waite on the king's person fifty Gentlemen, called *Pensioners*, or *Speares*, like as they were in the first yeare of the king; unto whom was assigned the summe of fiftie pounds, yerely, for the maintenance of themselves, and everie man two horses, or one horse and a gelding of service.” Their dress was remarkably splendid, and therefore likely to attract the notice of Mrs. Quickly. Hence, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, our author has selected from all the tribes of flowers the golden-coated cowslips to be *pensioners* to the Fairy Queen:

“The cowslips tall her *pensioners* be,

“In their *gold coats* spots you see; &c.” MALONE.

—earls, nay, which is more, pensioners;] This may be illustrated by a passage in Gervase Holles's *Life of the First Earl of Clare*. *Biog. Brit. Art.* HOLLES. “I have heard the earl of Clare say, that when he was *pensioner* to the queen, he did not know a worse man of the whole band than himself; and that all the world knew he had then an inheritance of 4000l. a year.” TYRWHITT.

6 — you wot of;] To wot is to know. Obsolete. STEEVENS.

man

man leads an ill life with him ; he's a very jealousy man ; the leads a very frampold ⁷ life with him, good heart.

Fal. Ten and eleven : woman, commend me to her ; I will not fail her.

Quick. Why you say well : But I have another messenger to your worship : Miltrefs Page hath her hearty commendations to you too ;—and let me tell you in your ear, she's as fartuous a civil modest wife, and one (I tell you) that will not miss you morning or evening prayer, as any is in Windsor, whoe'er be the other : and she bade me tell your worship, that her husband is seldom from home ; but, she hopes, there will come a time. I never knew a woman so dote upon a man ; surely, I think you have charms, la ; yes, in truth.

Fal. Not-I, I assure thee ; setting the attraction of my good parts aside, I have no other charms.

Quick. Blessing on your heart for't !

Fal. But, I pray thee, tell me this ; has Ford's wife, and Page's wife, acquainted each other how they love me ?

Quick. That were a jest, indeed ;—they have not so little grace, I hope :—that were a trick, indeed ! But mistress Page would desire you to send her your little page, of all loves⁸ ; her husband has a marvellous infection to the little page : and, truly, master Page is an honest man. Never a wife in Windsor leads a better life than she does ; do what she will, say what she will, take all, pay all, go to bed when she list, rise when she list, all is as she will ; and, truly, she deserves it ; for if there be a kind woman in Windsor, she is one. You must send her your page ; no remedy.

⁷ — *frampold*—] This word I have never seen elsewhere, except in Dr. Hacket's *Life of Archbishop Williams*, where a *frampul* man signifies a peevish troublesome fellow. JOHNSON.

Ray, among his *South and East* country words, says, that *frampald*, or *frampard*, signifies *fretful*, *peevish*, *cross*, *froward*. As *froward* (he adds) comes from *from*, so may *frampard*. STEEVENS.

⁸ — *to send her your little page, of all loves* :] *Of all loves*, is an adjuration only, and signifies no more, than if she had said, desires you to send him by *all* means. It is used in Decker's *Honest Whore*, Part I. 1635 :—" conjuring his wife, *of all loves*, to prepare cheer fitting," &c. Again, in Holinshed's *Chronicle*, p. 1164. STEEVENS.

Fal. Why, I will.

Quick. Nay, but do so then: and, look you, he may come and go between you both; and, in any case, have a nay-word⁹, that you may know one another's mind, and the boy never need to understand any thing; for 'tis not good that children should know any wickedness: old folks, you know, have discretion, as they say, and know the world.

Fal. Fare thee well: commend me to them both: there's my purse; I am yet thy debtor.—Boy, go along with this woman.—This news distracts me!

[*Exeunt QUICKLY and ROBIN,*

Pist. This punk is one of Cupid's carriers¹:—
Clap on more sails; pursue, up with your fights²;
Give fire; she is my prize, or ocean whelm them all!

[*Exit PISTOL,*

Fal. Say'st thou so, old Jack? go thy ways; I'll make more of thy old body than I have done. Will they yet look after thee? Wilt thou, after the expence of so much money, be now a gainer? Good body, I thank thee: Let them say, 'tis grossly done; so it be fairly done, no matter.

Enter BARDOLPH.

Bard. Sir John, there's one master Brook below would fain speak with you, and be acquainted with you; and

9 — A nay-word,] i. e. a watch-word. So, in a subsequent scene: "We have a nay-word to know one another, &c." STEEVENS.

¹ *This punk is one of Cupid's carriers:]* Dr. Warburton's emendation, "This pink &c." is plausible. A pink is a vessel whose form may be supposed to bear some resemblance to that of Mrs. Quickly; the bends and ribs compassing so that its sides bulge out very much, by which means it is enabled to carry greater burdens. They are often used (according to Chambers) as *store-ships*. But there is no need of alteration. It is always dangerous to meddle with Pistol's language. The allusion to the marine is sufficiently preserved by the word *carrier*, which is technical. *This punk is one of those vessels which Cupid employs in the carrying trade.* Clap on more sails, &c. MALONE.

² — *up with your fights;]* *Fights*, are cloaths hung round the ship to conceal the men from the enemy; and *close-fights* are bulk-heads, or any other shelter that the fabrick of a ship affords. JOHNSON.

hath sent your worship a morning's draught of sack*.

Fal. Brook, is his name?

Bard. Ay, sir.

Fal. Call him in; [*Exit BARDOLPH.*] Such Brooks are welcome to me, that o'erflow such liquor. Ah! ha! mistress Ford and mistress Page, have I encompass'd you? go to; *via*³!

Re-enter BARDOLPH, with FORD disguised.

Ford. Bless you, sir.

Fal. And you, sir: Would you speak with me?

Ford. I make bold, to press with so little preparation upon you.

Fal. You're welcome; What's your will? Give us leave, drawer. [*Exit BARDOLPH.*

Ford. Sir, I am a gentleman that have spent much; my name is Brook.

Fal. Good master Brook, I desire more acquaintance of you.

Ford. Good sir John, I sue for yours: not to charge you⁴; for I must let you understand, I think myself in

* —one master Brook below would fain speak with you, and be acquainted with you, and hath sent your worship a morning's draught of sack.] It seems to have been a common custom at taverns, in our author's time, to send presents of wine from one room to another, either as a memorial of friendship, or (as in the present instance) by way of introduction to acquaintance. Of the existence of this practice the following anecdote of Ben Jonson and the ingenious Bishop Corbet furnishes a proof. "Ben Jonson was at a tavern, and in comes Bishop Corbet (but not so then) into the next room. Ben Jonson calls for a quart of *raw* wine, and gives it to the tapster. 'Sirrah, says he, carry this to the gentleman in the next chamber, and tell him, I sacrifice my service to him.' The fellow did, and in those words. Friend, says Dr. Corbet, I thank him for his love; but 'pr'ythee tell him from me that he is mistaken; for *sacrifices* are always *burnt*." *Merry Passages and Feasts*, Mss. Harl. 6395. MALONE.

³ —go to; *via*!] This cant phrase of exultation is common in the old plays. STEEVENS.

Markham uses this word as one of the vocal helps necessary for reviving a horse's spirits in galloping large rings, when he grows slothful. Hence this cant phrase (perhaps from the Italian, *via*) may be used on other occasions to quicken or pluck up courage. TOLLET.

⁴ —not to charge you;] That is, not with a purpose of putting you to expence, or being burthensome. JOHNSON.

better plight for a lender than you are: the which hath something embolden'd me to this unseason'd intrusion; for they say, if money go before, all ways do lie open.

Fal. Money is a good soldier, sir, and will on.

Ford. Troth, and I have a bag of money here troubles me: if you will help to bear it, sir John, take all, or half, for easing me of the carriage.

Fal. Sir, I know not how I may deserve to be your porter.

Ford. I will tell you, sir, if you will give me the hearing.

Fal. Speak, good master Brook; I shall be glad to be your servant.

Ford. Sir, I hear you are a scholar,—I will be brief with you;—and you have been a man long known to me, though I had never so good means, as desire, to make myself acquainted with you. I shall discover a thing to you, wherein I must very much lay open mine own imperfection: but, good sir John, as you have one eye upon my follies, as you hear them unfolded, turn another into the register of your own; that I may pass with a reproof the easier, sith⁵ you yourself know, how easy it is to be such an offender.

Fal. Very well, sir; proceed.

Ford. There is a gentlewoman in this town, her husband's name is Ford.

Fal. Well, sir.

Ford. I have long loved her, and, I protest to you, bestow'd much on her; follow'd her with a doting observance; engross'd opportunities to meet her; fee'd every slight occasion, that could but niggardly give me sight of her; not only bought many presents to give her, but have given largely to many, to know what she would have given: briefly I have pursued her, as love hath pursued me; which hath been, on the wing of all occasions. But whatsoever I have merited, either in my mind, or in my means, meed⁶, I am sure, I have received none; unless

⁵ — *sith*] i. e. Since. STEEVENS.

⁶ — *meed*,] i. e. reward. STEEVENS.

experience be a jewel: that I have purchas'd at an infinite rate; and that hath taught me to say this:

*Love like a shadow flies, when substance love pursues;
Pursuing that that flies, and flying what pursues.*

Fal. Have you receiv'd no promise of satisfaction at her hands?

Ford. Never.

Fal. Have you importuned her to such a purpose?

Ford. Never.

Fal. Of what quality was your love then?

Ford. Like a fair house, built upon another man's ground; so that I have lost my edifice, by mistaking the place where I erected it.

Fal. To what purpose have you unfolded this to me?

Ford. When I have told you that, I have told you all. Some say, that, though she appear honest to me, yet, in other places, she enlargeth her mirth so far, that there is shrewd construction made of her. Now, sir John, here is the heart of my purpose: You are a gentleman of excellent breeding, admirable discourse, of great admittance⁷, authentick in your place and person, generally allow'd⁸ for your many war-like, court-like, and learned preparations.

Fal. O, sir!

Ford. Believe it, for you know it:—There is money; spend it, spend it; spend more; spend all I have; only give me so much of your time in exchange of it, as to lay an amiable siege⁹ to the honesty of this Ford's wife: use your art of wooing, win her to consent to you; if any man may, you may as soon as any.

Fal. Would it apply well to the vehemence of your af-

⁷ — of great admittance,] i. e. admitted into all, or the greatest companies. STEEVENS.

⁸ — generally allowed—] Allowed is approved. So, in *K. Lear*:

“ ——— if your sweet sway

“ Allow obedience, &c.” STEEVENS.

⁹ to lay an amiable siege—] i. e. a siege of love. So, in *Romeo and Juliet*:

“ — the siege of loving terms.” MALONE.

fection, that I should win what you would enjoy? Methinks, you prescribe to yourself very preposterously.

Ford. O, understand my drift! she dwells so securely on the excellency of her honour, that the folly of my soul dares not present itself; she is too bright to be look'd against¹. Now, could I come to her with any detection in my hand, my desires had instance and argument² to commend themselves; I could drive her then from the ward of her purity³, her reputation, her marriage vow, and a thousand other her defences, which now are too strongly embattled against me: What say you to't, sir John?

Fal. Master Brook, I will first make bold with your money; next, give me your hand; and last, as I am a gentleman, you shall, if you will, enjoy Ford's wife.

Ford. O good sir!

Fal. Master Brook, I say you shall.

Ford. Want no money, sir John, you shall want none.

Fal. Want no mistress Ford, master Brook, you shall want none. I shall be with her (I may tell you) by her own appointment; even as you came in to me, her assistant, or go-between, parted from me: I say, I shall be with her between ten and eleven; for at that time the jealous rascally knave, her husband, will be forth. Come you to me at night; you shall know how I speed.

Ford. I am blest in your acquaintance. Do you know Ford, sir?

Fal. Hang him, poor cuckoldly knave! I know him not:—yet I wrong him, to call him poor; they say, the jealous wittoly knave hath masses of money; for the which his wife seems to me well-favour'd. I will use her as the key of the cuckoldly rogue's coffer; and there's my harvest-home.

Ford. I would you knew Ford, sir; that you might avoid him, if you saw him.

Fal. Hang him, mechanical salt-butter rogue! I will stare him out of his wits; I will awe him with my cudgel:

¹ —*she is too bright to be look'd against.*]

Nimium lubricus aspicit. Hor. MALONE.

² —*instance and argument.*—] *Instance is example.* JOHNSON.

³ the ward of her purity,—] i. e. the defence of it. STEEVENS.

it shall hang like a meteor o'er the cuckold's horns: master Brook, thou shalt know, I will predominate over the peasant, and thou shalt lie with his wife.—Come to me soon at night:—Ford's a knave, and I will aggravate his stile⁴; thou, master Brook, shalt know him for a knave and cuckold:—come to me soon at night. [*Exit.*]

Ford. What a damn'd Epicurean rascal is this!—My heart is ready to crack with impatience.—Who says, this is improvident jealousy? My wife hath sent to him, the hour is fix'd, the match is made: Would any man have thought this? See the hell of having a false woman! my bed shall be abused, my coffers ransack'd, my reputation gnawn at; and I shall not only receive this villainous wrong, but stand under the adoption of abominable terms, and by him that does me this wrong. Terms! names! Amaimon sounds well; Lucifer, well; Barbason⁵ well; yet they are devils' additions, the names of fiends: but cuckold! wittol-cuckold^{*}! the devil himself hath not such a name. Page is an ass, a secure ass; he will trust his wife, he will not be jealous: I will rather trust a Fleming with my butter, parson Hugh the Welchman with my cheese, an Irishman with my aqua-vitæ bottle⁶, or a thief to walk my ambling gelding, than my wife

⁴ — and I will aggravate his stile:] *Stile* is a phrase from the herald's office. *Falstaff* means, that he will add more titles to those he already enjoys. STEEVENS.

⁵ —Amaimon—Barbason—] The reader who is curious to know any particulars concerning these dæmons, may find them in *Reginald Scott's Inventarie of the Names, Shapes, Powers, Government, and Effects of Devils and Spirits, &c.* p. 377, &c. From hence it appears that *Amaimon* was king of the East, and *Barbatos* a great countie or earle. STEEVENS.

^{*} — wittol-cuckold!] One who knows his wife's falsehood, and is contented with it;—from *wittan*, Sax. to know. MALONE.

⁶ — an Irishman with my aqua-vitæ bottle,] Heywood, in his *Challenge for Beauty*, 1636, mentions the love of aqua-vitæ as characteristic of the Irish:

“The Briton he metheglin quaffs,

“The Irish aqua-vitæ.”

The Irish aqua-vitæ, I believe, was not brandy, but *usquebaugh*, for which Ireland has been long celebrated. MALONE.

Dericke, in *The Image of Ireland*, 1581, Sign. F 2, mentions *Uske-beaghe*, and in a note explains it to mean aqua vitæ. REED.

with herself: then she plots, then she ruminates, then she devises: and what they think in their hearts they may effect, they will break their hearts but they will effect. Heaven be praised for my jealousy! Eleven o'clock ' the hour; I will prevent this, detect my wife, be revenged on Falstaff, and laugh at Page: I will about it; better three hours too soon, than a minute too late. Fie, fie, fie! cuckold! cuckold! cuckold? [Exit.

SCENE III.

Windsor Park.

Enter CAIUS and RUGBY.

Caius. Jack Rugby!

Rug. Sir.

Caius. Vat is de clock, Jack?

Rug. 'Tis past the hour, sir, that fir Hugh promised to meet.

Caius. By gar, he has save his soul, dat he is no come; he has pray his pible vell, dat he is no come: by gar, Jack Rugby, he is dead already, if he be come.

Rug. He is wise, sir; he knew, your worship would kill him, if he came.

Caius. By gar, de herring is no dead, so as I vill kill him. Take your rapier, Jack; I vill tell you how I vill kill him.

Rug. Alas, sir, I cannot fence.

Caius. Villainy, take your rapier.

Rug. Forbear; here's company.

Enter Host, SHALLOW, SLENDER, and PAGE.

Host. 'Bless thee, bully doctor.

Shal. 'Save you, master doctor Caius.

Page. Now, good master doctor!

7 *Eleven o'clock—*] Ford should rather have said *ten o'clock*: the time was between ten and eleven; and his impatient suspicion was not likely to stay beyond the time. JOHNSON.

It is necessary for the business of the piece that Falstaff should be at Ford's house before his return. Hence our author makes him name the later hour. See p. 251:—"The clock gives me my cue;—there I shall find Falstaff." When he says above, "I shall prevent *this*," he means, not the meeting, but his wife's effecting her purpose. MALONE.

Slend.

Slen. Give you good-morrow, sir.

Caius. Vat be all you, one, two, tree, four, come for?

Hof. To see thee fight, to see thee foin⁸, to see thee traverse, to see thee here, to see thee there; to see thee pass thy punto, thy stock⁹, thy reverse, thy distance, thy montant. Is he dead, my Ethiopian? Is he dead, my Francisco^{*}? ha, bully! What says my Æsculapius? my Galen? my heart of elder¹? ha! is he dead, bully Stale²? is he dead?

Caius. By gar, he is de coward Jack priest of the world; he is not shew his face.

Hof. Thou art a Castilian³ king, Urinal! Hector of Greece, my boy!

Caius. I pray you, bear vitnests that me have stay fix or seven, two, tree hours for him, and he is no come.

Sbal. He is the wiser man, master doctor: he is a curer of souls, and you a curer of bodies; if you should fight, you go against the hair⁴ of your professions: is it not true, master Page?

⁸ — to see thee foin,] To foin, I believe, was the ancient term for making a thrust in fencing, or tilting. STEEVENS.

⁹ — thy stock,] *Stock* is a corruption of *stocata*, Ital. from which language the technical terms that follow are likewise adopted. STEEV.

^{*} — my Francisco?] He means, my Frenchman. The quarto reads — my *Francoyes*. MALONE.

¹ — my heart of elder?] It should be remember'd, to make this joke relish, that the elder tree has no heart. I suppose this expression was made use of in opposition to the common one, *heart of oak*. STEEV.

² — bully Stale?] The reason why Caius is called bully *Stale*, and afterwards *Urinal*, must be sufficiently obvious to every reader. STEEV.

³ — Castilian—] *Castilian* and *Ethiopian*, like *Cataian*, appear in our author's time to have been cant terms. I have met with them in more than one of the old comedies. I suppose *Castilian* was the cant term for *Spaniard* in general. STEEVENS.

I believe this was a popular slur upon the Spaniards, who were held in great contempt after the business of the *Armada*. Thus we have a *Treatise Parænetical, wherein is shewed the right way to resist the Castilian king*: and a sonnet, prefixed to *Lea's Answer to the Untruths published in Spain, in glorie of their supposed Victory atchieved against our English Navie*, begins: "Thou fond Castilian king!"—and so in other places. FARMER.

⁴ — against the hair &c.] This phrase is proverbial, and is taken from stroking the hair of animals a contrary way to that in which it grows.—We now say against the grain. STEEVENS.

Page. Master Shallow, you have yourself been a great fighter, though now a man of peace.

Shal. Bodykins, master Page, though I now be old, and of the peace, if I see a sword out, my finger itches to make one: though we are justices, and doctors, and churchmen, master Page, we have some salt of our youth in us; we are the sons of women, master Page.

Page. 'Tis true, master Shallow.

Shal. It will be found so, master Page. Master doctor Caius, I am come to fetch you home. I am sworn of the peace: you have shew'd yourself a wise physician, and Sir Hugh hath shewn himself a wise and patient churchman: you must go with me, master doctor.

Host. Pardon, guest justice:—A word, Monsieur Mock-water⁵.

Caius. Mock-water! vat is dat?

Host. Mock-water, in our English tongue, is valour, bully.

Caius. By gar, then I have as much mock-water as de

5 *A word, Monsieur Mock-water.*] The second of these words was recovered from the early quarto by Mr. Theobald. Some years ago I suspected that *mock-water*, which appears to me to afford no meaning, was corrupt, and that the author wrote—*Make-water*. I have since observed that the words *mock* and *make* are often confounded in the old copies, [See Vol. II. pp. 21, 83.] and have therefore now more confidence in my conjecture. It is observable that the host, availing himself of the Doctor's ignorance of English, annexes to the terms that he uses a sense directly opposite to their real import. Thus, the poor Frenchman is made to believe, that "he will *clapper-claw* thee tightly," signifies, "he will make thee *amends*." Again, when he proposes to be his friend, he tells him, "for this I will be thy *adversary* toward Anne Page." So also, instead of "heart of *oak*," he calls him "heart of *elder*." In the same way, he informs him that *Make-water* means "*valour*."—In the old play called *the Life and Death of Lord Cromwell*, 1602, a female of this name is mentioned.

Dr. Farmer, however, observes to me, that *Muck-water* may be the true reading, that term being used in some counties; signifying the oozing of a muck or dung-hill. MALONE.

The host means, I believe, to reflect on the inspection of urine, which made a considerable part of practical physick in that time; yet I do not well see the meaning of *mock-water*. JOHNSON.

To *mock*, in *Antony and Cleopatra*, undoubtedly signifies to *play with*. Shakspeare may therefore chuse to represent Caius as one to whom a *urinal* was a play-thing. STEEVENS.

Englishman:

Englishman:—Scurvy jack-dog-priest! by gar, me vill cut his ears.

Hof. He will clapper-claw thee tightly, bully.

Caius. Clapper-de-claw! vat is dat?

Hof. That is, he will make thee amends.

Caius. By gar, me do look, he shall clapper-de-claw me; for, by gar, me vill have it.

Hof. And I will provoke him to't, or let him wag.

Caius. Me tank you for dat.

Hof. And moreover, bully,—But first, master guest, and master Page, and eke cavalero Slender, go you through the town to Frogmore. [*Aside to them.*]

Page. Sir Hugh is there, is he?

Hof. He is there: see what humour he is in; and I will bring the doctor about by the fields: will it do well?

Shal. We will do it.

Page, Shal. and Slen. Adieu, good master doctor.

[*Exeunt PAGE, SHALLOW, and SLENDER.*]

Caius. By gar, me vill kill de priest; for he speak for a jack-an-ape to Anne Page.

Hof. Let him die: but, first*, sheath thy impatience; throw cold water on thy choler: go about the fields with me through Frogmore; I will bring thee where mistress Anne Page is, at a farm-house a feasting; and thou shalt woo her: cry'd game⁶, said I well?

Caius. By gar, me tank you for dat: by gar, I love you; and I shall procure-a you de good guest, de earl, de knight, de lords, de gentlemen, my patients.

Hof. For the which, I will be thy adversary toward Anne Page; said I well?

* — but, first,] These words were recovered from the old quarto by Mr. Theobald. MALONE.

⁶ — cry'd game,] We yet say, in colloquial language, that such a one is—game,—or game to the back. Cry'd game, might mean, in those days,—a profess'd buck, one who was as well known by the report of his gallantry, as he could have been by proclamation. Thus, in *Troilus and Cressida*:

“ On whose bright crest, fame, with her loud'st O-yes,

“ Cries, this is he.”

Again: “ Thou art proclaim'd a fool, I think.”

Again, in *King Lear*: “ — A proclaim'd prize.” STEEVENS.

Caius. By gar, 'tis good; vell said.

Hof. Let us wag then.

Caius. Come at my heels, Jack Rugby. [Exeunt.]

ACT III. SCENE I.

A field near Frogmore.

Enter Sir Hugh EVANS and SIMPLE.

Evans. I pray you now, good master Slender's serving-man, and friend Simple by your name, which way have you looked for master Caius, that calls himself *Doctor of Physick*?

Simple. Marry, fir, the city-ward¹, the park-ward, every way; old Windsor way, and every way but the town way.

Evans. I most feheemently desire you, you will also look that way.

Simple. I will, fir.

Evans. 'Pless my soul! how full of cholers I am, and trempling of mind!—I shall be glad, if he have deceived me:—how melancholies I am!—I will knog his urinals about his knave's costard, when I have good opportunities for the 'ork:—'pless my soul!

*To shallow rivers², to whose falls
Melodious birds sing madrigals;
There will we make our peds of roses,
And a thousand fragrant posies.*

[sings.]

To shallow—

'Mercy on me! I have a great dispositions to cry.

Melodious

¹ — the city-ward,] i. e. towards London. So, in *K. Henry VI. P. I.*

" ——— you may perceive,

" Their powers are marching unto Paris-ward."

The first folio has—*pity-ward*, which in the second folio was corrupted into—*pitty-wary*. The emendation was suggested by Mr. Steevens, who likewise proposes *petty-ward*. MALONE.

² *To shallow rivers, &c.*] These lines are part of an old song written by Christopher Marlowe, which was first published imperfectly in 1599, and afterwards entire in a Collection of Verses entitled *England's Helicon*,

*Melodious birds sing madrigals ;—
When as I sat in Pabylon³,—
And a thousand vagram posies.
To shallow—*

Simple. Yonder he is coming, this way, sir Hugh.

Evans. He's welcome :—

To shallow rivers, to whose falls—

Heaven prosper the right !—What weapons is he ?

Simple. No weapons, sir : There comes my master, master Shallow, and another gentleman from Frogmore, over the stile, this way.

Evans. Pray you, give me my gown ; or else keep it in your arms.

Enter PAGE, SHALLOW, and SLENDER.

Shal. How now, master parson ? Good-morrow, good sir Hugh. Keep a gamester from the dice, and a good student from his book, and it is wonderful.

con, printed in 1600 ; beginning thus : “ *Come live with me, and be my love, &c.* ” *Evans* in his panick mis-recites the lines, which in the original run thus :

“ There will we sit upon the rocks,
“ And see the shepherds feed their flocks,
“ By shallow rivers, to whose falls
“ Melodious birds sing madrigals :
“ There will I make thee beds of roses
“ With a thousand fragrant posies &c.”

In the modern editions the verses sung by Sir Hugh have been corrected, I think, improperly. His mis-recitals were certainly intended.—He *sings* on the present occasion, to shew that he is not afraid. So Bottom, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* : “ I will walk up and down here, and I will *sing*, that they shall hear, I am not afraid.” MALONE.

3 *When as I sat in Pabylon,—*] This line is from the old version of the 137th Psalm :

“ *When we did sit in Babylon,*
“ *The rivers round about,*
“ *Then, in remembrance of Sion,*
“ *The tears for grief burst out.*”

The word *rivers* in the second line may be supposed to have been brought to Sir Hugh's thoughts by the line of Marlowe's madrigal that he has just repeated ; and in his fright he blends the sacred and prophane song together. The old quarto has—“ There lived a man in *Babylon* ; ” which was the first line of an old song mentioned in *Twelfth Night* :—but the other line is more in character. MALONE.

Slen. Ah sweet Anne Page!

Page. Save you, good fir Hugh!

Evans. 'Plefs you from his mercy fake, all of you!

Shal. What! the sword and the word! do you study them both, master parson?

Page. And youthful still, in your doublet and hose, this raw rheumatick day?

Evans. There is reasons and causes for it.

Page. We are come to you, to do a good office, master parson.

Evans. Fery well: What is it?

Page. Yonder is a most reverend gentleman, who be-like, having received wrong by some person, is at most odds with his own gravity and patience, that ever you saw.

Shal. I have lived fourscore years, and upward; I never heard a man of his place, gravity, and learning, so wide of his own respect.

Evans. What is he?

Page. I think you know him; master doctor Caius, the renowned French physycian.

Evans. Got's will, and his passion of my heart! I had as lief you would tell me of a mess of porridge.

Page. Why?

Evans. He has no more knowledge in Hibocrates and Galen,—and he is a knave besides; a cowardly knave, as you would desires to be acquainted withal.

Page. I warrant you, he's the man should fight with him.

Slen. O, sweet Anne Page!

Enter Host, CAIUS, and RUGBY.

Shal. It appears so, by his weapons:—Keep them asunder;—here comes doctor Caius.

Page. Nay, good master parson, keep in your weapon.

Shal. So do you, good master doctor.

Host. Disarm them, and let them question; let them keep their limbs whole, and hack our English.

Caius. I pray you, let-a me speak a word vit your ear. Verefore vill you not meet-a me?

Evans.

Evans. Pray you, use your patience: In good time.

Caius. By gar, you are de coward, de Jack dog, John ape.

Evans. Pray you, let us not be laughing-stogs to other men's humours; I desire you in friendship, and I will one way or other make you amends:—I will knog your urinals about your knave's cogs-comb, for missing your meetings and appointments⁴.

Caius. *Diable!*—Jack Rugby,—mine *Host de Jarierre*, have I not stay for him, to kill him? have I not, at de place I did appoint?

Evans. As I am a christians soul, now, look you, this is the place appointed; I'll be judgment by mine host of the Garter.

Host. Peace, I say, Guallia and Gaul⁵, French and Welch; soul-curer and body-curer.

Caius. Ay, dat is very good! excellent!

Host. Peace, I say; hear mine host of the Garter. Am I politick? am I subtle? am I a Machiavel? Shall I lose my doctor? no; he gives me the potions, and the motions. Shall I lose my parson? my priest? my sir Hugh? no; he gives me the pro-verbs and the no-verbs.—Give me thy hand, terrestrial; so:—Give me thy hand, celestial; so.—Boys of art, I have deceived you both; I have directed you to wrong places: your hearts are mighty, your skins are whole, and let burnt sack be the issue.—Come, lay their swords to pawn:—Follow me, lad of peace; follow, follow, follow.

Shal. Trust me, a mad host:—Follow, gentlemen, follow.

Slen. O, sweet Anne Page!

[*Exeunt* SHALLOW, SLENDER, PAGE, and Host.]

Caius. Ha! do I perceive dat? have you make-a de sot of us⁶? ha, ha!

⁴ —for missing your meetings and appointments.] These words, which are not in the folio, were recovered from the quarto by Mr. Pope. MALONE.

⁵ Guallia and Gaul,] The folio reads—*Gallia* and Gaul; but the reading of the old quarto [*Gawle* and *Gawlia*] justifies the emendation now made, which was suggested by Dr. Farmer. *Guallia* is *Walia*. MALONE.

Thus, in *K. Henry VI.* P. II. *Gualtier* for *Walter*. STEEVENS.

⁶ make-a de sot of us?] *Sot* in French signifies a fool. MALONE.

Evans. This is well; he has made us his vlouting-stog.—I desire you, that we may be friends; and let us knog our prains together, to be revenge on this same scall, scurvy⁷, cogging companion, the host of the Garter.

Caius. By gar, vit all my heart; he promise to bring me vere is Anne Page: by gar, he deceive me too.

Evans. Well, I will smite his noddles;—Pray you follow. [*Exeunt.*]

S C E N E II.

The Street in Windsor.

Enter Mistress PAGE and Robin.

Mrs. Page. Nay, keep your way, little gallant; you were wont to be a follower, but now you are a leader: Whether had you rather, lead mine eyes, or eye your master's heels?

Rob. I had rather, forsooth, go before you like a man, than follow him like a dwarf.

Mrs. Page. O, you are a flattering boy; now, I see, you'll be a courtier.

Enter FORD.

Ford. Well met, mistress Page: Whither go you?

Mrs. Page. Truly, sir, to see your wife; Is she at home?

Ford. Ay; and as idle as she may hang together, for want of company: I think, if your husbands were dead, you two would marry.

Mrs. Page. Be sure of that,—two other husbands.

Ford. Where had you this pretty weather-cock?

Mrs. Page. I cannot tell what the dickens his name is my husband had him of: What do you call your knight's name, sirrah?

Rob. Sir John Falstaff.

Ford. Sir John Falstaff!

Mrs. Page. He, he; I can never hit on's name.—There is such a league between my good man and he!—Is your wife at home, indeed?

⁷ — scall, *scurvy*,] *Scall* was an old word of reproach, as *scab* was afterwards. Chaucer imprecates on his *scriviner*:

“Under thy longe lockes mayest thou have the *scalle*.” JOHNSON.
See Leviticus, 13th Ch.—v. 30, 31, and seqq. WHALLEY.

Ford.

Ford. Indeed, she is.

Mrs. Page. By your leave, sir;—I am sick, till I see her. [Exeunt *Mrs. PAGE* and *ROBIN*.]

Ford. Has Page any brains? hath he any eyes? hath he any thinking? Sure they sleep; he hath no use of them. Why, this boy will carry a letter twenty miles, as easy as a cannon will shoot point-blank twelve score. He pieces-out his wife's inclination; he gives her folly motion, and advantage: and now she's going to my wife, and Falstaff's boy with her. A man may hear this shower sing in the wind!—and Falstaff's boy with her!—Good plots!—they are laid; and our revolted wives share damnation together. Well; I will take him, then torture my wife, pluck the borrow'd veil of modesty from the so seeming mistress Page⁸, divulge Page himself for a secure and wilful Actæon; and to these violent proceedings all my neighbours shall cry aim⁹. [Clock strikes.] The clock gives me my cue, and my assurance bids me search; there I shall find Falstaff: I shall be rather praised for this, than mock'd; for it is as positive as the earth is firm*, that Falstaff is there: I will go.

Enter *PAGE*, *SHALLOW*, *SLENDER*, *Host*, *Sir Hugh EVANS*, *CAIUS*, and *RUGBY*.

Shal. Page, &c. Well met, master Ford.

Ford. Trust me, a good knot: I have good cheer at home; and, I pray you, all go with me.

Shal. I must excuse myself, master Ford.

⁸ — so seeming mistress Page,] *seeming* is *specious*. So, in *K. Lear*:

“If aught within that little *seeming* substance—.” STEEVENS.

⁹ — shall cry aim.] i. e. shall encourage. So, in Fenton's *Tragical Discourses*, 1567:—“standing rather in his window to—cry *aim*, than helping any way to part the fraye.”

The phrase is taken from archery. It seems to have been the office of the *aim-crier*, to give notice to the *Archer* when he was within a proper distance of his mark, or in a direct line with it; and to point out why he failed to strike it. So, in the *Spanish Gipsie*, a com. 1653:—“great bobbars have shot at me;—but I myself gave *aim* thus:—wide four bows; short three and a half, &c.” STEEVENS.

* — as the earth is firm,] So, in *Macbeth*:

“——Thou sure and firm-set earth—.” MALONE.

Slen. And so must I, sir; we have appointed to dine with mistress Anne, and I would not break with her for more money than I'll speak of.

Shal. We have linger'd¹ about a match between Anne Page and my cousin Slender, and this day we shall have our answer.

Slen. I hope, I have your good will, father Page.

Page. You have, master Slender; I stand wholly for you:—but my wife, master doctor, is for you altogether.

Caius. Ay, by gar; and de maid is love-a me; my nursh-a Quickly tell me so much.

Hof. What say you to young master Fenton? he capers, he dances, he has eyes of youth, he writes verses, he speaks holyday², he smells April and May³: he will

¹ *We have linger'd*—] They have not linger'd very long. The match was proposed by Sir Hugh but the day before. JOHNSON.

Shallow represents the affair as having been *long in hand*, that he may better excuse himself and *Slender* from accepting *Ford's* invitation on the day when it was to be concluded. STEEVENS.

Perhaps we should read—*linguer'd*, or *languer'd*, which may have been a provincial word for *talked*, from *lingua*, Lat. or *langue*, Fr. “Let thy tongue *langer* with arguments of state,” occurs in *Twelfth Night*; but it must be owned, there is reason to suspect that it is an error of the press.—*Unlanguard* in French is a pratler; and *languayer* signifies to talk. *Linguist* and *linguacious* are both English terms, and in *Blount's Glossography* we meet with the substantive *linguer*. MALONE.

² — *he writes verses, he speaks holyday*,] i. e. in an high-flown, rustian style. It was called a *holy-day style*, from the old custom of acting their farces of the *mysteries* and *moralities*, which were turgid and bombast, on holy-days. So, in *Much Ado about Nothing*: “I cannot woo in *festival terms*.” And again, in *The Merchant of Venice*:

“Thou spend'st such *high-day wit* in praising him.” WARBUR.

I suspect that Dr. Warburton's supposition that this phrase is derived from the season of acting the old mysteries, is but an *holyday* hypothesis; and have preserved his note only for the sake of the passages he quotes. Fenton is not represented as a talker of bombast.

He speaks holyday, I believe, means only, his language is more *curious* and *affectingly chosen* than that used by ordinary men. MALONE.

— *he speaks holyday*,] So, in *K. Henry IV.* P. I.

“With many *holiday* and lady terms.” STEEVENS.

³ — *he smells April and May*:] This was the phraseology of the time; not “he smells of April” &c. So, in *Measure for Measure*:—“he would mouth with a beggar of fifty, though she *smelt brown bread and garlick*.” MALONE.

carry't,

carry't, he will carry't; 'tis in his buttons⁴; he will carry't.

Page. Not by my consent, I promise you. The gentleman is of no having⁵: he kept company with the wild prince and Poins; he is of too high a region, he knows too much. No, he shall not knit a knot in his fortunes with the finger of my substance: if he take her, let him take her simply; the wealth I have waits on my consent, and my consent goes not that way.

Ford. I beseech you, heartily, some of you go home with me to dinner: besides your cheer, you shall have sport; I will shew you a monster.—Master doctor, you shall go;—so shall you, master Page;—and you Sir Hugh.

Shal. Well, fare you well;—we shall have the freer wooing at master Page's. [*Exeunt SHAL. and SLEND.*]

Caius. Go home, John Rugby; I come anon.

[*Exit RUGBY.*]

Hof. Farewell, my hearts: I will to my honest knight Falstaff, and drink canary with him. [*Exit Hof.*]

Ford. [*Aside.*] I think, I shall drink in pipe-wine first with him; I'll make him dance⁶. Will you go, gentles?

All. Have with you, to see this monster. [*Exeunt.*]

4 — 'tis in his buttons;] Alluding to an ancient custom among the country fellows, of trying whether they should succeed with their mistresses, by carrying the *batchelor's buttons* (a plant of the *Lycnis* kind, whose flowers resemble a coat button in form) in their pockets. And they judged of their good or bad success, by their growing, or their not growing there. SMITH.

5 — of no having:] *Having* is the same as *estate* or *fortune*. JOHNS. So, in *Macbeth*:

“Of noble *having*, and of royal hope.” STEEVENS.

6 *I shall drink in pipe wine first with him; I'll make him dance.*] *Pipe* is known to be a vessel of wine, now containing two hogsheds. *Pipe* wine is therefore wine, not from the *bottle*, but the *pipe*; and the jest consists in the ambiguity of the word, which signifies both a cask of wine, and a musical instrument. JOHNSON.

Canary, as Mr. Tyrwhitt has observed, is the name of a dance as well as of a wine. The phrase—“to drink *in* pipe wine” always seemed to me a very strange one, till I met with the following passage in King James's first speech to his parliament, in 1604; by which it appears that “to drink *in*” was the phraseology of the time: “---who either, being old, have retained their first drunken *in* liquor;” &c. MALONE.

SCENE

SCENE III.

*A Room in Ford's House.**Enter Mrs. FORD, and Mrs. PAGE.**Mrs. Ford.* What, John ! what, Robert !*Mrs. Page.* Quickly, quickly : Is the buck-basket—*Mrs. Ford.* I warrant :—What, Robin, I say.*Enter Servants with a Basket.**Mrs. Page.* Come, come, come.*Mrs. Ford.* Here, set it down.*Mrs. Page.* Give your men the charge ; we must be brief.*Mrs. Ford.* Marry, as I told you before, John, and Robert, be ready here hard-by in the brew-house ; and when I suddenly call you, come forth, and (without any pause, or staggering,) take this basket on your shoulders : that done, trudge with it in all haste, and carry it among the whitsters in Datchet mead, and there empty it in the muddy ditch, close by the Thames' side.*Mrs. Page.* You will do it ?*Mrs. Ford.* I have told them over and over ; they lack no direction : Be gone, and come when you are call'd.[*Exeunt Servants.*]*Mrs. Page.* Here comes little Robin.*Enter Robin.**Mrs. Ford.* How now, my eyas-musket⁷ ? what news with you ?*Rob.* My master sir John is come in at your back-door, mistress Ford ; and requests your company.*Mrs. Page.* You little Jack-a-lent⁸, have you been true to us ?*Rob.* Ay, I'll be sworn : My master knows not of your

7 — *my eyas-musket* ?] *Eyas* is a young unfledg'd hawk ; I suppose from the Italian *Niaso*, which originally signified any young bird taken from the nest unfledg'd, afterwards a young hawk. *Musket* signifies a sparrow hawk, or the smallest species of hawks. *WARBURTON.*

Eyas-musket is the same as *infant Lilliputian*. *STEEVENS.*

8 — *Jack-a-lent* ;] A *Jack o' lent* was a puppet thrown at in Lent, like shrove-cocks. *STEEVENS.*

being

being here; and hath threaten'd to put me into everlasting liberty, if I tell you of it; for, he swears, he'll turn me away.

Mrs. Page. Thou'rt a good boy; this secrecy of thine shall be a tailor to thee, and shall make thee a new doublet and hose.—I'll go hide me.

Mrs. Ford. Do so:—Go tell thy master, I am alone. Mistress Page, remember you your cue. [*Exit Robin.*]

Mrs. Page. I warrant thee; if I do not act it, hiss me. [*Exit Mrs. PAGE.*]

Mrs. Ford. Go to then; we'll use this unwholesome humidity, this gross watry pumpkin; we'll teach him to know turtles from jays.⁹

Enter FALSTAFF.

Fal. Have I caught thee, my heavenly jewel¹? Why, now let me die, for I have lived long enough²; this is the period of my ambition: O this blessed hour!

Mrs. Ford. O sweet sir John!

Fal. Mistress Ford, I cannot cog, I cannot prate, mistress Ford. Now shall I sin in my wish: I would thy husband were dead; I'll speak it before the best lord, I would make thee my lady.

Mrs. Ford. I your lady, sir John! alas, I should be a pitiful lady.

Fal. Let the court of France shew me such another; I see how thine eye would emulate the diamond: Thou hast the right arched bent³ of the brow, that becomes the

⁹ — from jays.] So, in *Cymbeline*:

“ ——— some jay of Italy,

“ Whose mother was her painting, &c.” STEEVENS.

¹ Have I caught my heavenly jewel?] is the first line of the second song in Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*. TOLLET.

² Why, now let me die; for I have lived long enough;] This sentiment, which is of sacred origin, is here indecently introduced. It appears again, with somewhat less of profaneness, in the *Winter's Tale*, Act IV. and in *Othello*, Act II. STEEVENS.

³ — arched bent—] Thus the quartos 1602, and 1619. The folio reads—arched beauty. STEEVENS.

The reading of the quarto is supported by a passage in *Antony and Cleopatra*:

“ Eternity was in our lips and eyes,

“ Blifs in our brows-bent.” MALONE.

ship-tire⁴, the tire-valiant⁵, or any tire of Venetian admittance⁶.

Mrs. Ford. A plain kerchief, fir John : my brows become nothing else ; nor that well neither.

Fal. Thou art a traitor⁷ to say so : thou would'st make an absolute courtier ; and the firm fixture of thy foot would give an excellent motion to thy gait, in a semi-circled farthingale. I see what thou wert, if fortune thy foe were not⁸ ; nature is thy friend⁹ : Come, thou canst not hide it.

4 — *that becomes the ship-tire,*] The *ship-tire* was an open head-dress, with a kind of scarf depending from behind. Its name of *ship-tire* was, I presume, from its giving the wearer some resemblance of a *ship* (as Shakspeare says) in *all her trim* : with all her pennants out, and flags and streamers flying. WARBURTON.

In the fifth Act Fenton mentions that his mistress is to meet him,
“ With ribbons *pendant* flaring 'bout her head.”

This probably was what is here called the *ship-tire*. MALONE.

5 — *the tire valiant,*] I would read *tire volant*. Stubbs, who describes most minutely every article of female dress, has mentioned none of these terms, but speaks of vails depending from the top of the head, and flying behind in loose folds. The word *volant* was in use before the age of Shakspeare.—*Tire vellet*, which is the reading of the old quarto, may be printed, as Mr. Tollet observes, by mistake, for *tire-velvet*. We know that *velvet hoods* were worn in the age of Shakspeare. STEEVENS.

Among the presents sent by the Queen of Spain to the Queen of England, in April 1606, was a *velvet* cap with gold buttons. Catharine's cap in *the Taming of the Shrew* is likewise of velvet. MALONE.

6 — *of Venetian admittance.*] i. e. of a fashion received from Venice. So, in *Westward Hoe*, 1606, by Decker and Webster : “ — now she's in that *Italian head-tire* you sent her.” Dr. Farmer proposes to read—of Venetian *remittance*. STEEVENS.

7 — *a traitor*—] i. e. to thy own merit. STEEVENS.

The folio reads—thou art a *tyrant* &c. but the reading of the quarto appears to me far better. MALONE.

8 — *fortune thy foe*—] “ was the beginning of an old ballad, in which were enumerated all the misfortunes that fall upon mankind, through the caprice of fortune.” See note on *the Custom of the Country*, Act I. sc. i. by Mr. Theobald. REED.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August 1780, p. 371, it is observed, that “ the tune was the same as *Death and the Lady* ; and that the lamentations of criminals have been generally sung to this tune for two hundred years past.” MALONE.

9 — *nature is thy friend* :] *Is*, which is not in the old copy, was introduced by Mr. Pope. MALONE.

Mrs.

Mrs. Ford. Believe me, there's no such thing in me.

Fal. What made me love thee? let that persuade thee, there's something extraordinary in thee. Come, I cannot cog, and say, thou art this and that, like a many of these lipping haw-thorn buds, that come like women in men's apparel, and smell like Bucklers-bury¹ in simple-time; I cannot: but I love thee; none but thee; and thou deservest it.

Mrs. Ford. Do not betray me, fir; I fear, you love mistress Page.

Fal. Thou might'st as well say, I love to walk by the Counter-gate; which is as hateful to me as the reek of a lime-kiln.

Mrs. Ford. Well, heaven knows, how I love you; and you shall one day find it.

Fal. Keep in that mind; I'll deserve it.

Mrs. Ford. Nay, I must tell you, so you do; or else I could not be in that mind.

Rob. [*within.*] Mistress Ford, mistress Ford! here's mistress Page at the door, sweating, and blowing, and looking wildly, and would needs speak with you presently.

Fal. She shall not see me; I will ensconce me behind the arras.

Mrs. Ford. Pray you, do so; she's a very tattling woman.— [*FALSTAFF hides himself.*]

Enter Mistress PAGE, and Robin.

What's the matter? how now?

Mrs. Page. O mistress Ford, what have you done? You're shamed, you are overthrown, you are undone for ever.

Mrs. Ford. What's the matter, good mistress Page?

Mrs. Page. O well-a-day, mistress Ford! having an honest man to your husband, to give him such cause of suspicion!

Mrs. Ford. What cause of suspicion?

¹ — like *Bucklers-bury* &c.] *Bucklers-bury*, in the time of Shakspeare, was chiefly inhabited by druggists, who sold all kind of herbs, green as well as dry. STEEVENS.

Mrs. Page. What cause of suspicion? Out upon you! how am I mistook in you?

Mrs. Ford. Why, alas! what's the matter?

Mrs. Page. Your husband's coming hither, woman, with all the officers in Windsor, to search for a gentleman, that, he says, is here now in the house, by your consent, to take an ill advantage of his absence: You are undone.

Mrs. Ford. Speak louder². [*Aside.*]—'Tis not so, I hope.

Mrs. Page. Pray heaven it be not so, that you have such a man here; but 'tis most certain your husband's coming with half Windsor at his heels, to search for such a one. I come before to tell you: If you know yourself clear, why I am glad of it: but if you have a friend here, convey, convey him out. Be not amazed; call all your senses to you; defend your reputation, or bid farewell to your good life for ever.

Mrs. Ford. What shall I do?—There is a gentleman, my dear friend; and I fear not mine own shame, so much as his peril: I had rather than a thousand pound, he were out of the house.

Mrs. Page. For shame, never stand you *had rather*, and you *had rather*; your husband's here at hand, bethink you of some conveyance: in the house you cannot hide him.—O, how have you deceived me!—Look, here is a basket; if he be of any reasonable stature, he may creep in here; and throw foul linen upon him, as if it were going to bucking: Or, it is whiting-time, send him by your two men to Datchet mead.

Mrs. Ford. He's too big to go in there: What shall I do?

Re-enter FALSTAFF.

Fal. Let me see't, let me see't! O let me see't! I'll in, I'll in;—follow your friend's counsel;—I'll in.

Mrs. Page. What! sir John Falstaff! Are these your letters, knight?

² *Speak louder.*] i. e. that Falstaff who is retired may hear. This passage is only found in the two elder quartos. STEEVENS.

Fal.

Fal. I love thee, and none but thee³; help me away : let me creep in here ; I'll never—

[*He goes into the basket ; they cover him with foul linen.*

Mrs. Page. Help to cover your master, boy : Call your men, mistress Ford :—You dissembling knight !

Mrs. Ford. What, John, Robert, John ! [*Exit Robin. Re-enter Servants.*] Go take up these clothes here, quickly ; Where's the cowl-staff ? look, how you drumble⁴ : carry them to the laundress in Datchet mead⁵ ; quickly, come.

Enter FORD, PAGE, CAIUS, and Sir Hugh EVANS.

Ford. Pray you, come near : if I suspect without cause, why then make sport at me, then let me be your jest ; I deserve it.—How now ? whither bear you this ?

Serv. To the laundress, forsooth.

Mrs. Ford. Why, what have you to do whither they bear it ? You were best meddle with buck-washing.

Ford. Buck ? I would I could wash myself of the buck ! Buck, buck, buck ? Ay, buck ; I warrant you, buck, and of the season too ; it shall appear⁶. [*Exeunt Servants,*

3 — *and none but thee ;*] These words, which are characteristick, and spoken to Mrs. Page aside, I have restored from the early quarto. He had used the same words before to Mrs. Ford. MALONE.

4 — *how you drumble :*] The reverend Mr. Lambe, the editor of the ancient metrical history of the *Battle of Floddon*, observes, that—*look, how you drumble*, means—*how confused you are* ; and that in the North, *drumbled ale* is *muddy disturbed ale*. STEEVENS.

A *drumble-drone* in the western dialect signifies a *drone*, or *drumble-bee*. Mrs. Page therefore may mean—How lazy and stupid you are ! be more alert. MALONE.

To *drumble*, in Devonshire, signifies to mutter in a fullen and inarticulate voice. HENLEY.

5 — *carry them to the laundress in Datchet mead ;*] Mr. Dennis objects, with some degree of reason, to the probability of the circumstance of Falstaff's being carried to Datchet mead, and thrown into the Thames. " It is not likely (he observes) that Falstaff would suffer himself to be carried in the basket as far as Datchet mead, which is half a mile from Windsor, and it is plain that they could not carry him, if he made any resistance." MALONE.

6 — *it shall appear.*] Ford seems to allude to the cuckold's horns. So afterwards : " — and so buffets himself on the forehead, crying, *peer out, peer out.*" *Of the season* is a phrase of the forest. MALONE.

with the basket.] Gentlemen, I have dream'd to-night ; I'll tell you my dream. Here, here, here be my keys : ascend my chambers, search, seek, find out : I'll warrant, we'll unkennel the fox : Let me stop this way first : So, now uncape⁷.

Page. Good master Ford, be contented : you wrong yourself too much.

Ford. True, master Page. Up, gentlemen ; you shall see sport anon : follow me, gentlemen. [Exit.

Evans. This is fery fantastical humours, and jealousies.

Caius. By gar, 'tis no de fashion of France : it is not jealous in France.

Page. Nay, follow him, gentlemen ; see the issue of his search. [Exeunt EVANS, PAGE, and CAIUS.

Mrs. Page. Is there not a double excellency in this ?

Mrs. Ford. I know not which pleases me better, that my husband is deceived, or Sir John.

Mrs. Page. What a taking was he in, when your husband ask'd who was in the basket !

Mrs. Ford. I am half afraid, he will have need of washing ; so throwing him into the water will do him a benefit.

Mrs. Page. Hang him, dishonest rascal ! I would, all of the same strain were in the same distress.

Mrs. Ford. I think, my husband hath some special suspicion of Falstaff's being here ; for I never saw him so gross in his jealousy till now.

Mrs. Page. I will lay a plot to try that : And we will yet have more tricks with Falstaff : his dissolute disease will scarce obey this medicine.

Mrs. Ford. Shall we send that foolish carrion⁸, mistress Quickly, to him, and excuse his throwing into the water ; and give him another hope, to betray him to another punishment ?

⁷ *So, now uncape.*] The allusion is to the stopping every hole at which a fox could enter, before they *uncap* or turn him out of the bag in which he was brought. I suppose every one has heard of a *bag-fox*.

STEEVENS.

⁸ — *that foolish carrion,*] The old copy has—*foolishion* carrion. The correction was made by the editor of the second folio. MALONE.

Mrs. Page. We'll do it; let him be sent for to-morrow eight o'clock, to have amends.

Re-enter FORD, PAGE, CAIUS, and Sir Hugh EVANS.

Ford. I cannot find him: may be the knave bragg'd of that he could not compass.

Mrs. Page. Heard you that?

Mrs. Ford. Ay, ay, peace⁹:—You use me well, master Ford, do you?

Ford. Ay, I do so.

Mrs. Ford. Heaven make you better than your thoughts!

Ford. Amen.

Mrs. Page. You do yourself mighty wrong, master Ford.

Ford. Ay, ay; I must bear it.

Evans. If there be any pody in the house, and in the chambers, and in the coffers, and in the presses, heaven forgive my sins at the day of judgment!

Caius. By gar, nor I too; dere is no bodies.

Page. Fye, fye, master Ford! are you not ashamed? What spirit, what devil suggests this imagination? I would not have your distemper in this kind, for the wealth of Windsor Castle.

Ford. 'Tis my fault, master Page: I suffer for it.

Evans. You suffer for a pad conscience: your wife is as honest a 'omans, as I will desires among five thousand, and five hundred too.

Caius. By gar, I see 'tis an honest woman.

Ford. Well;—I promised you a dinner: Come, come, walk in the park: I pray you, pardon me; I will hereafter make known to you, why I have done this.—Come, wife;—come, mistress Page; I pray you pardon me; pray heartily, pardon me.

Page. Let's go in, gentlemen; but, trust me, we'll mock him. I do invite you to-morrow morning to my house to breakfast; after, we'll a birding together; I have a fine hawk for the bush: Shall it be so?

⁹ *Ay, ay, peace:*] These words were recovered from the early quarto by Mr. Theobald. But in his and the other modern editions, *I*, the old spelling of the affirmative particle, has inadvertently been retained.

Ford. Any thing.

Evans. If there is one, I shall make two in ~~the~~ company.

Caius. If there be one or two, I shall make-a de turd.

Evans. In your teeth¹: for shame.

Ford. Pray you go, master Page.

Evans. I pray you now, remembrance to-morrow on the lousy knave, mine host.

Caius. Dat is good; by gar, vit all my heart.

Evans. A lousy knave; to have his gibes, and his mockeries. *[Exit.]*

SCENE IV.

A Room in Page's House.

Enter FENTON and Mistress ANNE PAGE.

Fent. I see, I cannot get thy father's love;
Therefore, no more turn me to him, sweet Nan.

Anne. Alas! how then?

Fent. Why, thou must be thyself.
He doth object, I am too great of birth;
And that, my state being gall'd with my expence,
I seek to heal it only by his wealth:
Besides these, other bars he lays before me,—
My riots past, my wild societies;
And tells me, tis a thing impossible
I should love thee, but as a property.

Anne. May be, he tells you true.

Fent. No, heaven so speed me in my time to come!
Albeit, I will confess, thy father's wealth²

¹ *In your teeth:]* This dirty restoration was made by Mr. Theobald. Evans's application of the doctor's words is not in the folio. STEEV.

² — *father's wealth]* Some light may be given to those who shall endeavour to calculate the increase of English wealth, by observing, that Latymer, in the time of Edward VI. mentions it as a proof of his father's prosperity, *That though but a yeoman, he gave his daughters five pounds each for her portion.* At the latter end of Elizabeth, seven hundred pounds were such a temptation to courtship, as made all other motives suspected. Congreve makes twelve thousand pounds more than a counterbalance to the affectation of Belinda. No poet would now fly his favourite character at less than fifty thousand. JOHNSON.

Was the first motive that I woo'd thee, Anne :
 Yet, wooing thee, I found thee of more value
 Than stamps in gold, or, sums in sealed bags ;
 And 'tis the very riches of thyself
 That now I aim at.

Anne. Gentle master Fenton,
 Yet seek my father's love ; still seek it, sir :
 If opportunity and humblest suit
 Cannot attain it, why then,—Hark you hither.
[They converse apart.]

Enter SHALLOW, SLENDER, and *Mrs.* QUICKLY.

Shal. Break their talk, mistress Quickly ; my kinsman shall speak for himself.

Slen. I'll make a shaft or a bolt on't³ : 'slid, 'tis but venturing.

Shal. Be not dismay'd.

Slen. No, she shall not dismay me : I care not for that,—but that I am afraid.

Quick. Hark ye ; master Slender would speak a word with you.

Anne. I come to him.—This is my father's choice.
 O, what a world of vile ill-favour'd faults
 Looks handsome in three hundred pounds a year ! *[Aside.]*

Quick. And how does good master Fenton ? Pray you, a word with you.

Shal. She's coming ; to her, coz. O boy, thou hadst a father !

Slen. I had a father, mistress Anne ;—my uncle can tell you good jests of him :—Pray you, uncle, tell mistress Anne the jest, how my father stole two geese out of a pen, good uncle.

Shal. Mistress Anne, my cousin loves you.

Slen. Ay, that I do ; as well as I love any woman in Gloucestershire.

³ *I'll make a shaft or a bolt on't :*] This is enumerated by Ray, amongst others, in his Collection of proverbial phrases. REED.

The *shaft* was such an arrow as skilful archers employed. The *bolt* in this proverb means, I think, the *fool's bolt*.—MALONE.

Shal. He will maintain you like a gentlewoman.

Slen. Ay, that I will, come cut and long-tail⁴, under the degree of a 'squire.

Shal. He will make you a hundred and fifty pounds jointure.

Anne. Good master Shallow, let him woo for himself.

Shal. Marry, I thank you for it; I thank you for that good comfort. She calls you, coz: I'll leave you.

Anne. Now, master Slender.

Slen. Now, good mistress Anne.

Anne. What is your will?

Slen. My will? od's heartlings, that's a pretty jest, indeed! I ne'er made my will yet, I thank heaven; I am not such a sickly creature, I give heaven praise.

Anne. I mean, master Slender, what would you with me?

Slen. Truly, for mine own part, I would little or nothing with you: Your father, and my uncle, have made motions: if it be my luck, so; if not, happy man be his dole⁵! They can tell you how things go, better than I can: You may ask your father; here he comes.

Enter PAGE, and Mistress PAGE.

Page. Now, master Slender:—Love him, daughter Anne.—

Why, how now! what does master Fenton here?

4 — *come cut and long tail,—*] i. e. let who will come as a suitor, of whatever degree he may be, under the degree of a squire. The phrase of *cut and long tail* had its origin from the practice of sometimes cutting the tails of dogs and horses, and leaving others in their natural state; so that (as Mr. Reed has observed) under the description of *cut and long tail* the whole species of those animals is included. *Cut*, in consequence of this practice, was in our author's time a common name of a horse, as both *cut* and *curtail* were designations of a dog, of whose tail a part had been cut off. MALONE.

So, in *The First Part of the Eighth liberal Science, &c.* by Ulpian Fulwel, 1576:—"yea, even their very dogs, Rug, Rig, and Ribbie, yea, cut and long-taile, they shall be welcome." STEEVENS.

5 — *happy man be his dole!*] A proverbial expression. See Ray's collection, p. 116. edit. 1737. STEEVENS.

You

You wrong me, fir, thus still to haunt my house:
I told you, fir, my daughter is dispos'd of.

Fent. Nay, master Page, be not impatient.

Mrs. Page. Good master Fenton, come not to my child.

Page. She is no match for you.

Fent. Sir, will you hear me?

Page. No, good master Fenton.

Come, master Shallow; come, son Slender; in :—
Knowing my mind, you wrong me, master Fenton.

[*Exeunt* PAGE, SHALLOW, and SLENDER.]

Quick. Speak to mistress Page.

Fent. Good mistress Page, for that I love your daughter
In such a righteous fashion as I do,
Perforce, against all checks, rebukes, and manners,
I must advance the colours of my love,
And not retire: Let me have your good will.

Anne. Good mother, do not marry me to yond' fool.

Mrs. Page. I mean it not; I seek you a better husband.

Quick. That's my master, master doctor.

Anne. Alas, I had rather be set quick i' the earth,
And bowl'd to death with turnips⁶.

Mrs. Page. Come, trouble not yourself: Good master
Fenton,

I will not be your friend, nor enemy:
My daughter will I question how she loves you,
And as I find her, so am I affected;
Till then, farewell, fir:—She must needs go in;
Her father will be angry.

Fent. Farewell, gentle mistress; farewell, Nan⁷.

[*Exeunt* Mrs. PAGE and ANNE.]

Quick. This is my doing now;—Nay, said I, will you

⁶ Anne. Alas, I had rather be set quick i' the earth,

And bowl'd to death with turnips.] This is a common proverb in the southern counties. I find almost the same expression in Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*: "Would I had been set in the ground, all but the head of me, and had my brains bowl'd at." COLLINS.

⁷ Farewell, gentle mistress; farewell, Nan.] *Mistress* is here used as a trisyllable. MALONE.

cast away your child on a fool, and a physician⁸? Look on, Master Fenton :—this is my doing.

Fent. I thank thee; and I pray thee, once to-night⁹ Give my sweet Nan this ring: There's for thy pains. [*Exit.*

Quick. Now heaven send thee good fortune! A kind heart he hath: a woman would run through fire and water for such a kind heart. But yet, I would my master had mistress Anne; or I would master Slender had her; or, in sooth, I would master Fenton had her: I will do what I can for them all three; for so I have promised, and I'll be as good as my word; but speciously¹ for master Fenton. Well, I must of another errand to Sir John Falstaff from my two mistresses; What a beast am I to slack it?

[*Exit.*

SCENE V.

A Room in the Garter Inn.

Enter FALSTAFF and BARDOLPH.

Fal. Bardolph, I say,—

Bard. Here, sir.

Fal. Go fetch me a quart of sack; put a toast in't. [*Exit BARD.*] Have I lived to be carried in a basket, like

⁸ — *fool, and a physician?* I should read *fool* or a *physician*, meaning Slender and Caius. JOHNSON.

Sir Tho. Hanmer reads according to Dr. Johnson's conjecture. This may be right.—Or my dame Quickly may allude to the proverb, a man of forty is either a *fool* or a *physician*; but she asserts her master to be both. FARMER.

I believe the old copy is right, and that Mrs. Quickly means to insinuate that she had addressed at the same time both Mr. and Mrs. Page on the subject of their daughter's marriage, one of whom favoured Slender, and the other Caius. “—on a fool or a physician,” would be more accurate, but *and* is sufficiently suitable to dame Quickly, *referendo singula singulis*. MALONE.

Mr. Dennis, of irascible memory, who altered this play, and brought it on the stage, in the year 1702, under the title of *The Comical Gallant*, (when, thanks to the alterer, it was fairly damn'd,) has introduced the proverb at which Mrs. Quickly's allusion appears to be pointed. STEEV.

⁹ — *once to night*—] i. e. *sometime* to-night. So, in a letter from the sixth earl of Northumberland; (quoted in the notes on the Household book of the fifth earl of that name:) “—notwithstanding I trust to be able *ons* to set up a chapell off myne owne.” STEEVENS.

¹ — *speciously*—] She means to say *specialy*. STEEVENS.

a barrow

a barrow of butcher's offal; and to be thrown into the Thames? Well; if I be served such another trick, I'll have my brains ta'en out, and butter'd, and give them to a dog for a new year's gift. The rogues slighted me into the river with as little remorse as they would have drown'd a bitch's blind puppies², fifteen i' the litter: and you may know by my size, that I have a kind of alacrity in sinking; if the bottom were as deep as hell, I should down. I had been drown'd, but that the shore was shelvy and shallow; a death that I abhor; for the water swells a man; and what a thing should I have been, when I had been swell'd! I should have been a mountain of mummy.

Re-enter BARDOLPH, with the wine.

Bar. Here's Mistress Quickly, Sir, to speak with you.

Fal. Come, let me pour in some sack to the Thames water; for my belly's as cold, as if I had swallow'd snow-balls for pills to cool the reins. Call her in.

Bard. Come in, woman.

Enter Mrs. QUICKLY.

Quick. By your leave; I cry you mercy: Give your worship good morrow.

Fal. Take away these chalices: Go brew me a pottle of sack finely.

Bard. With eggs, sir?

Fal. Simple of itself; I'll no pullet-sperm in my brewage. [*Exit BARD.*] How now?

Quick. Marry, sir, I come to your worship from mistress Ford.

Fal. Mistress Ford! I have had ford enough: I was thrown into the ford; I have my belly full of ford.

Quick. Alas the day! good heart, that was not her fault: she does so take on with her men; they mistook their erection.

² — a bitch's blind puppies,] The old copy reads—a blind bitch's puppies. The emendation was made by Mr. Theobald. MALONE.

The transposition may be justified from the following passage in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*: “—one that I saved from drowning, when three or four of his blind brothers and sisters went to it.” STEEVENS,

Fal.

Fal. So did I mine, to build upon a foolish woman's promise.

Quick. Well, she laments, sir, for it, that it would yern your heart to see it. Her husband goes this morning a birding; she desires you once more to come to her between eight and nine: I must carry her word quickly: she'll make you amends, I warrant you.

Fal. Well, I will visit her: Tell her so; and bid her think, what a man is: let her consider his frailty, and then judge of my merit.

Quick. I will tell her.

Fal. Do so. Between nine and ten, say'st thou?

Quick. Eight and nine, sir.

Fal. Well, be gone: I will not miss her.

Quick. Peace be with you, sir!

[Exit.

Fal. I marvel, I hear not of master Brook; he sent me word to stay within: I like his money well. O, here he comes.

Enter FORD.

Ford. Bless you, sir!

Fal. Now, master Brook? you come to know what hath pass'd between me and Ford's wife?

Ford. That, indeed, sir John, is my business.

Fal. Master Brook, I will not lie to you; I was at her house the hour she appointed me.

Ford. And how sped you, sir*?

Fal. Very ill-favour'dly, master Brook.

Ford. How, sir? Did she change her determination?

Fal. No, master Brook: but the peaking cornuto her husband, master Brook, dwelling in a continual 'larum of jealousy, comes me in the instant of our encounter, after we had embraced, kiss'd, protested, and, as it were, spoke the prologue of our comedy; and at his heels a rabble of his companions, thither provoked and instigated by his distemper, and forsooth, to search his house for his wife's love.

Ford. What, while you were there?

Fal. While I was there.

* — how sped you, Sir?] The word *how* I have restored from the old quarto. MALONE.

Ford.

Ford. And did he search for you, and could not find you ?

Fal. You shall hear. As good luck would have it, comes in one mistress Page ; gives intelligence of Ford's approach ; and, by her invention, and Ford's wife's distraction, they convey'd me into a buck-basket.

Ford. A buck-basket !

Fal. By the Lord, a buck-basket : ramm'd me in with foul shirts and smocks, socks, foul stockings, greasy napkins ; that, master Brook, there was the rankest compound of villainous smell, that ever offended nostril.

Ford. And how long lay you there ?

Fal. Nay, you shall hear, master Brook, what I have suffer'd to bring this woman to evil for your good. Being thus cramm'd in the basket, a couple of Ford's knaves, his hinds, wert call'd forth by their mistress, to carry me in the name of foul cloaths to Datchet-lane : they took me on their shoulders ; met the jealous knave their master in the door ; who ask'd them once or twice, what they had in their basket * : I quaked for fear, least the lunatick knave would have search'd it ; but fate, ordaining he should be a cuckold, held his hand. Well ; on went he for a search, and away went I for foul cloaths. But mark the sequel, master Brook : I suffer'd the pangs of three several deaths † : first, an intolerable fright, to be detected with ‡ a jealous rotten bell-weather : next, to be compass'd, like a good bilbo, in the circumference of a peck †, hilt to point, heel

* — *what they had in their basket :*] So, in p. 260 : " What a taking was he in, when your husband ask'd who was in the basket !" But Ford had asked no such question. See p. 259. Our author seems seldom to have revised his plays. MALONE.

‡ — *several deaths :*] Thus the folio and the most correct of the quartos. The first quarto reads—*egregious deaths*. STEEVENS.

† — *detected with—*] Thus the old copies. *With* was sometimes used for *of*. So, a little after :

" I rather will suspect the sun *with* cold."

Detected *of* a jealous &c. would have been the common grammar of the times. The modern editors read *by*. STEEVENS.

‡ — *bilbo,*] A *bilbo* is a Spanish blade, of which the excellence is flexibility and elasticity. JOHNSON.

—*bilbo*, from *Bilboa*, a city of Biscay, where the best blades are made. STEEVENS.

† — *of a peck,*] Thus the folio. The old quarto reads—*of a pack* ; and perhaps rightly. Pedlar's packs are sometimes of such a size as to admit

heel to head : and then, to be stopp'd in, like a strong distillation, with stinking cloaths that fretted in their own grease : think of that,—a man of my kidney⁶,—think of that ; that am as subject to heat, as butter ; a man of continual dissolution and thaw ; it was a miracle, to 'scape suffocation. And in the height of this bath, when I was more than half stew'd in grease, like a Dutch dish, to be thrown into the Thames, and cool'd, glowing hot, in that surge, like a horse-shoe ; think of that,—hissing hot,—think of that, master Brook.

Ford. In good sadness, sir, I am sorry that for my sake you have suffer'd all this. My suit then is desperate ; you'll undertake her no more ?

Fal. Master Brook, I will be thrown into *Ætna*, as I have been into Thames, ere I will leave her thus. Her husband is this morning gone a birding : I have received from her another embassy of meeting ; 'twixt eight and nine is the hour, master Brook.

Ford. 'Tis past eight already, sir.

Fal. Is it ? I will then address me⁷ to my appointment. Come to me at your convenient leisure, and you shall know how I speed ; and the conclusion shall be crown'd with your enjoying her : Adieu. You shall have her, master Brook ; master Brook, you shall cuckold Ford.

[*Exit.*]

Ford. Humph ! ha ! is this a vision ? is this a dream ? do I sleep ? Master Ford, awake ; awake, master Ford ; there's a hole made in your best coat, master Ford. This 'tis to be married ! this 'tis to have linen, and buck-baskets !—Well, I will proclaim myself what I am : I will now take the lecher ; he is at my house : he cannot 'scape me ; 'tis impossible he should ; he cannot creep into a half-penny purse, nor into a pepper-box : but, lest the devil that guides him should aid him, I will search

admit of Falstaff's description ; but who but a Lilliputian could be " compassed in a peck ?" MALONE.

⁶ — kidney ;] *Kidney* in this phrase now signifies *kind* or *qualities*, but Falstaff means, *a man whose kidneys are as fat as mine.* JOHNSON.

⁷ — address me—] i. e. make myself ready. So, in *K. Henry V* :

" To-morrow for our march we are address." STEEVENS.

impossible places. Though what I am I cannot avoid, yet to be what I would not, shall not make me tame: if I have horns to make one mad, let the proverb go with me, I'll be horn-mad^s. [Exit.]

ACT IV. SCENE I.

The Street.

Enter Mrs. PAGE, Mrs. QUICKLY, and WILLIAM.

Mrs. Page. Is he at master Ford's already, think'st thou?

Quick. Sure, he is by this; or will be presently: but truly, he is very courageous mad, about his throwing into the water. Mistress Ford desires you to come suddenly.

Mrs. Page. I'll be with her by and by; I'll but bring my young man here to school: Look, where his master comes; 'tis a playing-day, I see.

Enter Sir Hugh EVANS.

How now, sir Hugh? no school to-day?

Evans. No; master Slender is let the boys leave to play.

Quick. Blessing of his heart!

Mrs. Page. Sir Hugh, my husband says, my son profits nothing in the world at his book; I pray you, ask him some questions in his accidence.

^s — *I'll be horn-mad.*] There is no image which our author appears so fond of, as that of cuckolds' horns. Scarcely a light character is introduced that does not endeavour to produce merriment by some allusion to horned husbands. As he wrote his plays for the stage rather than the press, he perhaps reviewed them seldom, and did not observe this repetition; or finding the jest, however frequent, still successful, did not think correction necessary. JOHNSON.

⁴ This is a very trifling scene, of no use to the plot, and I should think of no great delight to the audience; but Shakspeare best knew what would please. JOHNSON.

We may suppose this scene to have been a very entertaining one to the audience for which it was written. Many of the old plays exhibit pedants instructing their scholars. STEEVENS.

Evans.

Evans. Come hither, William; hold up your head; come.

Mrs. Page. Come on, firrah; hold up your head; answer your master, be not afraid!

Evans. William, how many numbers is in nouns?

Will. Two.

Quick. Truly I thought there had been one number more; because they say, od's nouns.

Evans. Peace your tatlings. What is *fair*, William?

Will. *Pulcher*.

Quick. Poulcats! there are fairer things than poulcats, sure.

Evans. You are a very simplicity 'oman; I pray you, peace. What is *Lapis*, William?

Will. A stone.

Evans. And what is a stone, William?

Will. A pebble.

Evans. No, it is *Lapis*; I pray you, remember in your prain.

Will. *Lapis*.

Evans. That is a good William. What is he, William, that does lend articles?

Will. Articles are borrow'd of the pronoun; and be thus declined, *Singulariter, nominativo, hic, hæc, hoc*.

Evans. *Nominativo, hig, hag, hog*;—pray you, mark: *genitivo, hujus*: Well, what is your *accusative case*?

Will. *Accusativo, hinc*.

Evans. I pray you, have your remembrance, child; *Accusativo, hing, hang, hog*.

Quick. Hang hog is Latin for bacon, I warrant you.

Evans. Leave your prabbles, 'oman. What is the *focative case*, William?

Will. O—*vocativo, O*.

Evans. Remember, William; *focative is, caret*.

Quick. And that's a good root.

Evans. 'Oman, forbear.

Mrs. Page. Peace.

Evans. What is your *genitive case plural*, William?

Will. *Genitive case*?

Evans. Ay.

Will.

Will. Genitive,—*horum, harum, horum*².

Quick. 'Vengeance of Jenny's case? fie on her!—never name her, child, if she be a whore.

Evans. For shame, 'oman.

Quick. You do ill to teach the child such words: he teaches him to hick and to hack³, which they'll do fast enough of themselves; and to call, *horum*:—fie upon you!

Evans. 'Oman, art thou lunaticks? hast thou no understandings for thy cases, and the numbers of the genders? Thou art a foolish christian creatures, as I would desires.

Mrs. Page. Pr'ythee, hold thy peace.

Evans. Shew me now, William, some declensions of your pronouns.

Will. Forsooth, I have forgot.

Evans. It is *ki, kæ, cod*; if you forget your *kies*, your *kæs*⁴, and your *cods*, you must be preeches⁵. Go your ways, and play, go.

Mrs. Page. He is a better scholar, than I thought he was.

Evans. He is a good sprag⁶ memory, Farewell, mistress Page.

Mrs. Page. Adieu, good sir Hugh. Get you home, boy.—Come, we stay too long. [Exeunt.

² — *horum, harum, horum*.] Taylor, the water-poet, has borrowed this jest, such as it is, in his character of a strumpet:

“ And come to *horum, harum, wborum*, then

“ She proves a great proficient among men.” STEEVENS.

³ — *to hick and to hack*,] Sir William Blackstone thought that this, “ in Dame Quickly's language, signifies to *stammer* or *hesitate*, as boys do in saying their lessons;” but Mr. Steevens, with more probability, supposes it signifies, in her language,—*to do mischief*. MALONE.

⁴ — *your kies, your kæs &c.*] All this ribaldry is likewise found in Taylor, the water-poet. See fol. edit. p. 106. STEEVENS.

⁵ — *you must be preeches*.] Sir Hugh means to say—you must be *breech'd*: i. e. flogg'd. To *breech* is to *flog*. So, in the *Taming of the Shrew*:

“ I am no *breeching* scholar in the schools.” STEEVENS.

⁶ — *sprag*.—] I am told that this word is still used by the common people in the neighbourhood of Bath, where it signifies *ready, alert, sprightly*, and is pronounced as if it was written—*sprack*. STEEVENS.

A *sprack* lad or wench, says Ray, is *apt to learn, ingenious*. REED.

SCENE II.

*A Room in Ford's House.**Enter FALSTAFF, and Mrs. FORD.*

Fal. Mistress Ford, your sorrow hath eaten up my sufferance: I see, you are obsequious in your love, and I profess requital to a hair's breadth; not only, mistress Ford, in the simple office of love, but in all the accoutrement, complement, and ceremony of it. But are you sure of your husband now?

Mrs. Ford. He's a birding, sweet sir John.

Mrs. Page. [*within.*] What ho, gossip Ford! what ho!

Mrs. Ford. Step into the chamber, sir John.

[*Exit FALSTAFF.*]

Enter Mistress PAGE.

Mrs. Page. How now, sweetheart? who's at home besides yourself?

Mrs. Ford. Why, none but mine own people.

Mrs. Page. Indeed?

Mrs. Ford. No, certainly:—Speak louder. [*Aside.*]

Mrs. Page. Truly, I am so glad you have nobody here.

Mrs. Ford. Why?

Mrs. Page. Why, woman, your husband is in his old lunes⁷ again: he so takes on⁸ yonder with my husband; so rails against all married mankind; so curies all Eve's daughters, of what complexion soever; and so buffets himself on the forehead, crying, *Peer-out, peer-out*⁹! that

⁷ — *lunes*—] i. e. lunacy, frenzy. See a note on the *Winter's Tale*, Act II. sc. ii. The folio reads *lines*, instead of *lunes*. The elder quartos —his old *vaine* again. STEEVENS.

The correction was made by Mr. Theobald. MALONE.

⁸ — *be so takes on*—] *To take on*, which is now used for *to grieve*, seems to be used by our author for *to rage*. JOHNSON.

It is used by Nash in *Pierce Penniless his Supplication to the Devil*, 1592, in the same sense: "Some will take on like a madman, if they see a pig come to table." MALONE.

⁹ — *peer-out*,] That is, *appear before*. Shakspeare is at his old *lunes*. JOHNSON.

that any madness, I ever yet beheld, seem'd but tameness, civility, and patience, to this his distemper he is in now : I am glad the fat knight is not here.

Mrs. Ford. Why, does he talk of him ?

Mrs. Page. Of none but him ; and swears, he was carried out, the last time he search'd for him, in a basket : protests to my husband, he is now here ; and hath drawn him and the rest of their company from their sport, to make another experiment of his suspicion : but I am glad the knight is not here ; now he shall see his own foolery.

Mrs. Ford. How near is he, mistress Page.

Mrs. Page. Hard by ; at street end ; he will be here anon.

Mrs. Ford. I am undone !—the knight is here.

Mrs. Page. Why, then you are utterly shamed, and he's but a dead man. What a woman are you ?—Away with him, away with him ; better shame than murder.

Mrs. Ford. Which way should he go ? how should I bestow him ? Shall I put him into the basket again ?

Enter FALSTAFF.

Fal. No, I'll come no more i' the basket : May I not go out, ere he come ?

Mrs. Page. Alas, three of master Ford's brothers watch the door with pistols, that none shall issue out ; otherwise you might slip away ere he came. But what make you here ?

Fal. What shall I do ?—I'll creep up into the chimney.

Mrs. Ford. There they always use to discharge their birding-pieces : Creep into the kiln-hole*.

Fal. Where is it ?

Mrs. Ford. He will seek there on my word. Neither press, coffer, chest, trunk, well, vault, but he hath an

Shakspeare here refers to the practice of children, when they call on a snail to push forth his horns :

Peer out, peer out, peer out of your hole,

Or else I'll beat you black as a coal. HENLEY.

* *But what make you here ?*] i. e. What do you here ? MALONE.

* *Creep into the kiln-hole.*] I suspect, these words belong to Mrs. Page. See Mrs. Ford's next speech. That, however, may be a second thought ; a correction of her former proposal : but the other supposition is more probable. MALONE.

abstract² for the remembrance of such places, and goes to them by his note: There is no hiding you in the house.

Fal. I'll go out then.

Mrs. Page. If you go * out in your own semblance, you die, sir John. Unless you go out disguis'd,—

Mrs. Ford. How might we disguise him?

Mrs. Page. Alas the day, I know not. There is no woman's gown big enough for him; otherwise, he might put on a hat, a muffler, and a kerchief, and so escape.

Fal. Good hearts, devise something: any extremity, rather than a mischief.

Mrs. Ford. My maid's aunt, the fat woman of Brentford, has a gown above.

Mrs. Page. On my word, it will serve him; she's as big as he is: and there's her thrum'd hat, and her muffler too³: Run up, sir John.

Mrs. Ford. Go, go, sweet sir John: mistress Page, and I, will look some linen for your head.

Mrs. Page. Quick, quick; we'll come dress you straight: put on the gown the while. [*Exit FALSTAFF.*]

Mrs. Ford. I would, my husband would meet him in this shape: he cannot abide the old woman of Brentford; he swears, she's a witch; forbade her my house, and hath threaten'd to beat her.

Mrs. Page. Heaven guide him to thy husband's cudgel; and the devil guide his cudgel afterwards!

Mrs. Ford. But is my husband coming?

Mrs. Page. Ay, in good sadness, is he; and talks of the basket too, howsoever he hath had intelligence.

Mrs. Ford. We'll try that; for I'll appoint my men to carry

² — an abstract] i. e. a short note or description. So, in *Hamlet*:—"the abstract and brief chronicle of the times." MALONE.

* *Mrs. Page.* If you go &c.] In the first folio, by the mistake of the compositor, the name of *Mrs. Ford* is prefixed to this speech and the next. For the correction now made the present editor is answerable. The editor of the second folio put the two speeches together, and gave them both to *Mrs. Ford*. The threat of danger from *without* ascertains the first to belong to *Mrs. Page*. See her speech on her entrance. MALONE.

³ — her thrum'd hat, and her muffler too:] The *thrum* is the end of a weaver's warp, and we may suppose, was used for the purpose of making coarse hats. A *muffler* was some part of dress that covered the face.

STEEVENS.

A thrum'd

carry the basket again, to meet him at the door with it, as they did last time.

Mrs. Page. Nay, but he'll be here presently : let's go dress him like the witch of Brentford.

Mrs. Ford. I'll first direct my men, what they shall do with the basket. Go up, I'll bring linen for him straight.

[*Exit.*]

Mrs. Page. Hang him, dishonest varlet ! we cannot misuse him enough ⁴.

We'll leave a proof, by that which we will do,

Wives may be merry, and yet honest too :

We do not act, that often jest and laugh ;

'Tis old but true, *Still swine eat all the draugh* ⁵. [*Exit.*]

Re-enter Mrs. FORD, with two Servants.

Mrs. Ford. Go, sirs, take the basket again on your shoulders ; your master is hard at door ; if he bid you set it down, obey him : quickly, dispatch. [*Exit.*]

1. *Serv.* Come, come, take it up.

2. *Serv.* Pray heaven, it be not full of knight ⁶ again.

1. *Serv.* I hope not ; I had as lief bear so much lead.

Enter FORD, PAGE, SHALLOW, CAIUS, and Sir Hugh EVANS.

Ford. Ay, but if it prove true, master Page, have you any way then to unfool me again ?—Set down the basket, villain :—Somebody call my wife :—You youth in a basket, come out here ⁷ !—O, you panderly rascals ! there's a knot, a gang ⁸, a pack, a conspiracy, against me : Now

A tbrum'd hat was made of very coarse woollen cloth. See *Minshew's Dict.* 1617, in v. *Tbrum'd* is, *formed of tbrums*. MALONE.

⁴ — *misuse him enough.*] *Him* which was accidentally omitted in the first folio, was inserted by the editor of the second. MALONE.

⁵ *Still swine &c.*] This is a proverbial sentence. See *Ray's Collection*. MALONE.

⁶ — *of knight*] Thus the only authentick copy, the first folio. The editor of the second reads—*of the knight* ; I think, unnecessarily. We have just had—“ *hard at door.*” MALONE.

⁷ *You youth in a basket* come out here !] This reading I have adopted from the early quarto. The folio has only—“ *Youth in a basket !*”

MALONE.

⁸ — *a gang,*] Old Copy—*gin*. Corrected by Mr. Rowe. MALONE.

shall the devil be shamed. What! wife, I say! come, come forth; behold what honest clothes you send forth to bleaching.

Page. Why, this passes⁹! Master Ford, you are not to go loose any longer; you must be pinion'd.

Evans. Why, this is lunatics! this is mad as a mad dog!

Shal. Indeed, master Ford, this is not well; indeed.

Enter Mrs. FORD.

Ford. So say I too, sir.—Come hither, mistress Ford; mistress Ford, the honest woman, the modest wife, the virtuous creature, that hath the jealous fool to her husband!—I suspect without cause, mistress, do I?

Mrs. Ford. Heaven be my witness, you do, if you suspect me in any dishonesty.

Ford. Well said, brazen-face; hold it out.—Come forth, sirrah. [*Pulls the clothes out of the basket.*]

Page. This passes.

Mrs. Ford. Are you not ashamed? let the clothes alone.

Ford. I shall find you anon.

Evans. 'Tis unreasonable! Will you take up your wife's clothes? Come away.

Ford. Empty the basket, I say.

Mrs. Ford. Why, man, why,—

Ford. Master Page, as I am a man, there was one convey'd out of my house yesterday in this basket; Why may not he be there again? In my house I am sure he is: my intelligence is true; my jealousy is reasonable: Pluck me out all the linen.

Mrs. Ford. If you find a man there, he shall die a flea's death.

Page. Here's no man.

Shal. By my fidelity, this is not well, master Ford; this wrongs you¹.

Evans. Master Ford, you must pray, and not follow the imaginations of your own heart: this is jealousies.

⁹ — *this passes!*] See p. 205, note 4. MALONE.

¹ — *this wrongs you.*] This is below your character, unworthy of your understanding, injurious to your honour. So, in *The Taming of the Shrew*, Bianca, being ill treated by her rugged sister, says,

"You wrong me much, indeed you wrong yourself." JOHNSON.
Ford.

Ford. Well, he's not here I seek for.

Page. No, nor no where else but in your brain.

Ford. Help to search my house this one time: if I find not what I seek, shew no colour for my extremity, let me for ever be your table-sport; let them say of me, As jealous as Ford, that search'd a hollow walnut for his wife's leman². Satisfy me once more; once more search with me.

Mrs. Ford. What ho, mistress Page! come you, and the old woman down; my husband will come into the chamber.

Ford. Old woman! What old woman's that?

Mrs. Ford. Why, it is my maid's aunt of Brentford.

Ford. A witch, a quean, an old cozening quean! Have I not forbid her my house? She comes of errands, does she? We are simple men; we do not know what's brought to pass under the profession of fortune-telling. She works by charms³, by spells, by the figure, and such daubery⁴ as this is; beyond our element: we know nothing.—Come down, you witch, you hag you; come down, I say.

Mrs. Ford. Nay, good, sweet husband;—good gentlemen, let him not strike the old woman⁵.

Enter FALSTAFF in women's clothes, led by Mrs. PAGE.

Mrs. Page. Come, mother Prat, come, give me your hand.

2 — his wife's leman] *Leman*, i. e. *lover*, is derived from *leef*, Dutch, *beloved*, and *man*. STEEVENS.

3 *She works by charms, &c.*] Concerning some old woman of Brentford, there are several ballads. *Julian of Brentford's last Will and Testament* was entered on the Stationers' books in March, 1599.

STEEVENS.
This without doubt was the person here alluded to; for in the early quarto Mrs. Ford says—"my maid's aunt, Gillian of Brentford, hath a gown above." So also, in *Westward Hoe*, a com. 1607: "I doubt that old hag, Gillian of Brainesford, has bewitch'd me." MALONE.

4 — such daubery—] *Dauber*ies are *disguises*. So, in *K. Lear*, Edgar says, "I cannot daub it further." STEEVENS.

Perhaps rather—such gross *falsehood*, and *imposition*. In our author's time a *dauber* and a *plasterer* were synonymous. See Minshew's *Dict. inv.* "To lay it on with a trowel" was a phrase of that time, applied to one who uttered a gross lie. MALONE.

5 — let him not strike the old woman.] *Not*, which was inadvertently omitted in the first folio, was supplied by the second. MALONE.

Ford. I'll *prat* her:—Out of my door, you witch! [*beats him.*] you rag⁶, you baggage, you poulcat, you ronyon⁷! out! out! I'll conjure you, I'll fortune-tell you.

[*Exit FALSTAFF.*]

Mrs. Page. Are you not ashamed? I think, you have kill'd the poor woman.

Mrs. Ford. Nay, he will do it:—'Tis a goodly credit for you.

Ford. Hang her, witch!

Evans. By yea and no, I think, the 'oman is a witch indeed: I like not when a 'oman has a great peard; I spy a great peard under his muffler⁸.

Ford. Will you follow, gentlemen? I beseech you follow; see but the issue of my jealousy: if I cry out thus upon no trail⁹, never trust me when I open again.

Page. Let's obey his humour a little further: Come, gentlemen. [*Exeunt PAGE, FORD, SHAL. and EVANS.*]

Mrs. Page. Trust me, he beat him most pitifully.

Mrs. Ford. Nay, by the mass that he did not; he beat him most unpitifully, methought.

Mrs. Page. I'll have the cudgel hallow'd, and hung o'er the altar; it hath done meritorious service.

6 — you rag,] This opprobrious term is again used in *Timon of Athens*: “—thy father, that poor rag—.” Mr. Rowe unnecessarily dismissed this word, and introduced *bag* in its place. MALONE.

7 — ronyon!] *Ronyon*, applied to a woman, means, as far as can be traced, much the same with *scall* or *scab* spoken of a man. JOHNSON. From *Rogneux*, Fr. So, in *Macbeth*:

“Aroint thee, witch, the rump-fed ronyon cries.” STEEVENS.

8 *I spy a great peard under his muffler.*] One of the marks of a supposed witch was a beard. See *Macbeth*. STEEVENS.

Should we not read—under *her* muffler? MALONE.

As the second stratagem, by which Falstaff escapes, is much the grosser of the two, I wish it had been practised first. It is very unlikely that Ford, having been so deceived before, and knowing that he had been deceived, would suffer him to escape in so slight a disguise. JOHNSON.

9 — cry out thus upon no trail,] The expression is taken from the hunters. *Trail* is the scent left by the passage of the game. *To cry out*, is to open or bark. JOHNSON.

So, in *Hamlet*:

“How cheerfully on the false trail they cry:

“Oh! this is counter, ye false Danish dogs!” STEEVENS.

Mrs.

Mrs. Ford. What think you? May we, with the warrant of woman-hood, and the witness of a good conscience, pursue him with any further revenge?

Mrs. Page. The spirit of wantonness is, sure, scared out of him; if the devil have him not in fee-simple, with fine and recovery, he will never, I think, in the way of waste, attempt us again¹.

Mrs. Ford. Shall we tell our husbands how we have served him?

Mrs. Page. Yes, by all means; if it be but to scrape the figures out of your husband's brains. If they can find in their hearts, the poor unvirtuous fat knight shall be any further afflicted, we two will still be the ministers.

Mrs. Ford. I'll warrant, they'll have him publicly shamed: and, methinks, there would be no period² to the jest, should he not be publicly shamed.

Mrs. Page. Come, to the forge with it then, 'shape it: I would not have things cool. [Exeunt.

SCENE III.

A Room in the Garter Inn.

Enter Host and BARDOLPH.

Bard. Sir, the Germans desire to have three of your horses: the duke himself will be to-morrow at court, and they are going to meet him.

Host. What duke should that be, comes so secretly? I hear not of him in the court: Let me speak with the gentlemen; they speak English?

Bard. Ay, sir; I'll call them to you³.

¹ — *in the way of waste, attempt us again.*] i. e. he will not make further attempts to ruin us, by corrupting our virtue, and destroying our reputation. STEEVENS.

² — *no period*—] Shakspeare seems by *no period*, to mean, *no proper catastrophe*. STEEVENS.

Our author often uses *period*, for *end* or *conclusion*. So, in *King Richard III*:

“O, let me make the *period* to my curse. MALONE.

³ — *I'll call them to you.*] Old Copy—I'll call *him*. Corrected in the third folio. MALONE.

Host.

Host. They shall have my horses; but I'll make them pay, I'll sauce them: they have had my houses a week at command: I have turn'd away my other guests: they must come off⁴; I'll sauce them: Come. [*Exeunt.*

S C E N E IV.

A Room in Ford's House.

Enter PAGE, FORD, Mrs. PAGE, Mrs. FORD, and Sir Hugh EVANS.

Evans. 'Tis one of the best discretions of a 'oman as ever I did look upon.

Page. And did he send you both these letters at an instant?

Mrs. Page. Within a quarter of an hour.

Ford. Pardon me, wife: Henceforth do what thou wilt; I rather will suspect the sun with cold⁵, Than thee with wantonness: now doth thy honour stand, In him that was of late an heretick, As firm as faith.

Page. 'Tis well, 'tis well; no more. Be not as extreme in submission, As in offence; But let our plot go forward: let our wives Yet once again, to make us publick sport, Appoint a meeting with this old fat fellow, Where we may take him, and disgrace him for it.

Ford. There is no better way than that they spoke of.

Page. How! to send him word they'll meet him in the park at midnight! Fie, fie; he'll never come.

⁴ — *they must come off;*] *To come off,* is, *to pay.* In this sense it is used by Decker, Heywood, Middleton, Massinger, and other comick writers. STEEVENS.

In John Heywood's play of *the Four P's*, the pedlar says,

" ——— if you be willing to buy,

" Lay down money; *come off* quickly." FARMER.

The phrase is used by Chaucer, *Friar's Tale*, 338, edit. Urry.

TYRWITT.

⁵ — *with cold,*] The old copy reads—*gold.* The emendation is Mr. Rowe's. MALONE.

Evans.

Evans. You say, he has been thrown in the rivers; and has been grievously peaten, as an old 'oman: methinks, there should be terrors in him, that he should not come; methinks, his flesh is punish'd, he shall have no desires.

Page. So think I too.

Mrs. Ford. Devise but how you'll use him when he comes,

And let us two devise to bring him thither.

Mrs. Page. There is an old tale goes, that Herne the hunter,

Sometime a keeper here in Windfor forest,
Doth all the winter time, at still midnight,
Walk round about an oak, with great ragg'd horns;
And there he blasts the tree, and takes the cattle⁶;
And makes milch-kine yield blood, and shakes a chain
In a most hideous and dreadful manner:
You have heard of such a spirit; and well you know,
The superstitious idle-headed eld⁷
Receiv'd, and did deliver to our age,
This tale of Herne the hunter for a truth.

Page. Why, yet there want not many, that do fear
In deep of night to walk by this Herne's oak:
But what of this?

Mrs. Ford. Marry, this is our device;
That Falstaff at that oak should meet with us,
Disguis'd like Herne, with huge horns on his head⁸.

Page.

⁶ — and takes the cattle;] To take, in Shakspeare, signifies to seize or strike with a disease, to blast. So, in *Lear*:

“ — Strike her young bones,

“ Ye taking airs, with lameness.” JOHNSON.

⁷ — idle-headed eld] Eld seems to be used here, for what our poet calls in *Macbeth*—the olden time. It is employed in *Measure for Measure*, to express age and decrepitude:

“ — doth beg the alms

“ Of palsied eld.” STEEVENS.

I rather imagine it is used here for old persons. MALONE.

⁸ Disguis'd like Herne, with huge horns on his head.] This line, which is not in the folio, was properly restored from the old quarto by Mr. Theobald. He at the same time introduced another,—“ We'll send him word to meet us in the field,”—which is clearly unnecessary, and

Page. Well, let it not be doubted but he'll come,
And in this shape : When you have brought him thither,
What shall be done with him? what is your plot?

Mrs. Page. That likewise have we thought upon, and
thus :

Nan Page my daughter, and my little son,
And three or four more of their growth, we'll dress
Like urchins, ouphes⁹, and fairies, green and white,
With rounds of waxen tapers on their heads,
And rattles in their hands; upon a sudden,
As Falstaff, she, and I, are newly met,
Let them from forth a saw-pit rush at once
With some diffused song¹; upon their sight,
We two in great amazedness will fly:
Then let them all encircle him about,
And, fairy-like, to-pinch the unclean knight²;
And ask him, why, that hour of fairy revel,
In their so sacred paths he dares to tread
In shape prophane.

and indeed improper; for the word *field* relates to two preceding lines of the quarto, which have not been introduced :

“ Now, for that Falstaff has been so deceiv'd,

“ As that he dares not venture to the *house*,

“ We'll send him word to meet us in the *field*.” MALONE.

⁹ — *urchins, ouphes*,—] The primitive signification of *urchin* is a hedge-hog. Hence it comes to signify any thing little and dwarfish.

Ouph is the Teutonic word for a *fairy* or *goblin*. STEEVENS.

¹ *With some diffused song*;] i. e. wild, irregular, discordant. That this was the meaning of the word, I have shewn in a note on another play by a passage from one of Greene's pamphlets, in which he calls a dress of which the different parts were made after the fashions of different countries, “ a *diffused* attire.” MALONE.

² *And, fairy-like, to-pinch the unclean knight*;] This use of *to* in composition with verbs, is very common in Gower and Chaucer, but must have been rather antiquated in the time of Shakspeare. See Gower, *De Confessione Amantis*, B. iv. fol. 7.

“ All *to-tore* is myn araic.”

And Chaucer, *Reeve's Tale*, 1169 :

“ ——— mouth and nose *to-broke*.” TYRWHITT.

This use of the preposition *to* was not entirely antiquated in our author's time. See Spenser, B. IV. c. 7. B. V. c. 8. STEEVENS.

So Milton, in his *Masque* :

“ Were all *to-ruffled*, and sometimes impair'd. MALONE.

Mrs.

Mrs. Ford. And till he tell the truth,
Let the supposed fairies pinch him sound³,
And burn him with their tapers.

Mrs. Page. The truth being known,
We'll all present ourselves; dis-horn the spirit,
And mock him home to Windsor.

Ford. The children must
Be practis'd well to this, or they'll ne'er do't.

Evans. I will teach the children their behaviours; and I
will be like a jack-an-apes also, to burn the knight with
my taber.

Ford. That will be excellent. I'll go buy them vi-
zards.

Mrs. Page. My Nan shall be the queen of all the fairies,
Finely attired in a robe of white.

Page. That silk will I go buy;—and in that time⁴
Shall master Slender steal my Nan away, [Aside.
And marry her at Eton.—Go, send to Falstaff straight.

Ford. Nay, I'll to him again in name of Brook:
He'll tell me all his purpose: Sure he'll come.

Mrs. Page. Fear not you that: Go get us properties⁵
And tricking for our fairies⁶.

Evans. Let us about it: It is admirable pleasures, and
fery honest knaveries.

[Exeunt PAGE, FORD, and EVANS.]

Mrs. Page. Go, mistress Ford,
Send Quickly to Sir John, to know his mind.

[Exit Mrs. FORD.]

I'll to the doctor; he hath my good will,
And none but he, to marry with Nan Page.
That Slender, though well landed, is an ideot;
And he my husband best of all affects:
The doctor is well money'd, and his friends

³ — pinch him sound,] i. e. soundly. The adjective used as an
adverb. STEEVENS.

⁴ — and, in that time] That time relates to the time of the mask
with which Falstaff was to be entertained. WARBURTON.

⁵ — properties—] Properties are little incidental necessities to a
theatre, exclusive of scenes and dresses. STEEVENS.

⁶ — tricking for our fairies.] To trick, is to dress out. STEEVENS.

Potent at court; he, none but he, shall have her,
Though twenty thousand worthier come to crave her.

[Exit.

S C E N E V.

A Room in the Garter Inn.

Enter Host and SIMPLE.

Host. What would'st thou have, boor? what, thick-skin? speak, breathe, discuss; brief, short, quick, snap.

Simp. Marry, sir, I come to speak with sir John Falstaff from Master Slender.

Host. There's his chamber, his house, his castle, his standing-bed, and truckle-bed⁸; 'tis painted about with the story of the prodigal, fresh and new: Go; knock and call; he'll speak like an *Anthropophaginian*⁹ unto thee: Knock, I say.

Simp. There's an old woman, a fat woman gone up into his chamber; I'll be so bold as stay, sir, till she come down: I come to speak with her, indeed.

Host. Ha! a fat woman! the knight may be robb'd? I'll call.—Bully knight! Bully sir John! speak from thy lungs military: Art thou there? it is thine host, thine Ephesian*, calls.

Fal. [*above.*] How now, mine host?

Host. Here's a Bohemian-Tartar¹ tarries the coming down

⁷ — what, *thick-skin*?] I meet with this term of abuse in Warner's *Albions England*, 1602, book vi. chap. 30:

"That he so foul a *thick-skin* should so fair a lady catch." STEEV.

⁸ — *standing bed, and truckle-bed*;] The usual furniture of chambers in that time was a standing-bed, under which was a *trochel*, *truckle*, or *running-bed*. In the standing-bed lay the master, and in the truckle-bed the servant. So, in Hall's *Account of a servile tutor*:

"He lieth in the *truckle-bed*,

"While his young master lieth o'er his head." JOHNSON.

⁹ — *Anthropophaginian*—] i. e. a cannibal. See *Othello*, Act I. sc. iii. It is here used as a sounding word to astonish *Simple*. STEEVENS.

* — *thine Ephesian*,] This was a cant term of the time. So, in *K. Henry IV.* P. II. Act II. sc. ii. "*P. Henry.* What company? *Page.* *Ephesians*, my lord, of the old church." See the note there. MALONE.

¹ — *Bohemian-Tartar*—] The French call a *Bohemian* what we call a *Gypsy*; but I believe the *Host* means nothing more than, by a wild appellation, to insinuate that *Simple* makes a strange appearance. JOHNS.

down of thy fat woman: Let her descend, bully, Let her descend; my chambers are honourable: Fie! privacy? fie!

Enter FALSTAFF.

Fal. There was, mine host, an old fat woman even now with me; but she's gone.

Simp. Pray you, sir, was't not the wise woman of Brentford²?

Fal. Ay, marry was it, mussel-shell³; What would you with her?

Simp. My master, sir, my master Slender, sent to her, seeing her go thorough the streets, to know, sir, whether one Nym, sir, that beguiled him of a chain, had the chain, or no.

Fal. I spake with the old woman about it.

Simp. And what says she, I pray, sir?

Fal. Marry, she says, that the very same man, that beguiled master Slender of his chain, cozen'd him of it.

Simp. I would, I could have spoken with the woman herself; I had other things to have spoken with her too, from him.

Fal. What are they? let us know.

Host. Ay, come; quick.

Simp. I may not conceal them, sir*.

Host. Conceal them, or thou diest.

Simp. Why, sir, they were nothing but about mistress Anne Page; to know, if it were my master's fortune to have her, or no.

In Germany, there were several companies of vagabonds, &c. called *Tartars* and *Zigens*. "These are the same in my opinion," says Mezeray, "as those the French call *Bobemians*, and the English *Gypsies*." Bulteel's *Translation of Mezeray's Hist. of France*, ad. an. 1417. TOLLET.

² — *the wise woman of Brentford?*] In our author's time female dealers in palmistry and fortune-telling were usually denominated *wise women*. So the person from whom Heywood's play of *The wise woman of Hogsdon*, 1638, takes its title, is employed in answering many such questions as are the object of Simple's enquiry. REED.

³ — *mussel-shell*;] He calls poor Simple *mussel-shell*, because he stands with his mouth open. JOHNSON.

* *Simp. I may &c.*] In the old copy this speech is given to Falstaff. Corrected by Mr. Rowe. I mention this error, because it justifies other similar corrections that have been made. See pp. 194, 276. MALONE.

Fal.

Fal. 'Tis, 'tis his fortune.

Simp. What, sir?

Fal. To have her,—or no: Go; say, the woman told me so.

Simp. May I be so bold to say so, sir?

Fal. Ay, sir Tike; who more bold⁴?

Simp. I thank your worship: I shall make my master glad with these tidings. [Exit SIMPLE.

Hof. Thou art clerkly⁵, thou art clerkly, sir John: Was there a wise woman with thee?

Fal. Ay, that there was, mine host; one, that hath taught me more wit than ever I learn'd before in my life: and I paid nothing for it neither, but was paid⁶ for my learning.

Enter BARDOLPH.

Bard. Out, alas, sir! cozenage! meer cozenage!

Hof. Where be my horses? speak well of them, varletto.

Bard. Run away with the cozeners: for so soon as I came beyond Eton, they threw me off, from behind one of them, in a slough of mire; and set spurs, and away, like three German devils, three Doctor Faustus's⁷.

Hof. They are gone but to meet the duke, villain: do not say, they be fled; Germans are honest men.

Enter Sir Hugh EVANS.

Evans. Where is mine host?

Hof. What is the matter, sir?

Evans. Have a care of your entertainments: there is a

⁴ *Ay, Sir Tike; who more bold?* The folio reads—*Ay, Sir, like &c.* The emendation, which is supported by the old quarto, (where we find *Ay, Tike, &c.*) was suggested by Dr. Farmer. MALONE.

⁵ — *clerkly*,—] i. e. scholar-like. STEEVENS.

⁶ *I paid nothing for it neither, but was paid—*] He alludes to the beating which he had just received. The same play on words occurs in *Cymbeline*, Act V. “—sorry you have paid too much, and sorry that you are paid too much.” STEEVENS.

To pay in our author's time often signified to beat. So, in *K. Henry IV.*, P. I. “—seven of the eleven I paid.” See Vol. II. p. 183. MALONE.

⁷ — three German devils, three Doctor Faustus's.] *John Faufß*, commonly called *Doctor Faustus*, was a German. STEEVENS.

friend of mine come to town, tells me, there is three couzin germans, that has cozen'd all the hosts of Readings, of Maidenhead, of Colebrook, of horses and money. I tell you for good will, look you: you are wise, and full of gibes and vlouting-stogs; and 'tis not convenient you should be cozen'd: Fare you well. [Exit.

Enter CAIUS.

Caius. Vere is mine *Host de Jartherre*?

Host. Here, master doctor, in perplexity, and doubtful dilemma.

Caius. I cannot tell vat is dat: But it is tell-a me, dat you make grand preparation for a duke *de Jarmany*: by my trot, dere is no duke, dat the court is know to come: I tell you for good vill: adieu. [Exit.

Host. Hue and cry, villain, go:—assist me, knight; I am undone:—fly, run, hue and cry, villain! I am undone! [Exeunt Host, and BARDOLPH.

Fal. I would, all the world might be cozen'd; for I have been cozen'd, and beaten too. If it should come to the ear of the court, how I have been transform'd, and how my transformation hath been wash'd and cudgel'd, they would melt me out of my fat, drop by drop, and liquor fishermen's boots with me; I warrant, they would whip me with their fine wits, till I were as crest-fall'n as a dry'd pear. I never prosper'd since I foreswore myself at *Primero*⁸. Well, if my wind were but long enough to say my prayers⁹, I would repent.—

Enter

⁸ —at *Primero*.] A game at cards. JOHNSON.

Primero was in Shakspeare's time the fashionable game. In the Earl of Northumberland's letters about the powder plot, Josc. Percy was playing at *Primero* on a Sunday, when his uncle the conspirator called on him at Essex House. This game is again mentioned in our author's *Henry VIII.* PERCY.

“*Primero* and *Primavista*, two games of cards. *Primum et primum visum*, that is, first, and first seene, because he that can shew such an order of cards, wins the game.” See Minshew's *Dict.* 1617.—In the *Sydney Papers*, Vol. II. p. 83, is the following account of an altercation that happened between our poet's generous patron, and one Willoughby, at this game: “The quarrel of my Lord Southampton to

Enter Mistress QUICKLY.

Now! whence come you?

Quick. From the two parties, forsooth.

Fal. The devil take one party, and his dam the other, and so they shall be both bestow'd! I have suffer'd more for their sakes, more, than the villainous inconstancy of man's disposition is able to bear.

Quick. And have not they suffer'd? Yes, I warrant; speciously one of them; mistress Ford, good heart, is beaten black and blue, that you cannot see a white spot about her.

Fal. What tell'st thou me of black and blue? I was beaten myself into all the colours of the rainbow; and I was like to be apprehended for the witch of Brentford; but that my admirable dexterity of wit, my counterfeiting the action of an old woman¹, deliver'd me, the knave constable had set me i'the stocks, i'the common stocks, for a witch.

Quick. Sir, let me speak with you in your chamber: you shall hear how things go; and I warrant, to your con-

Ambrose Willoughby grew upon this: That he, with Sir Walter Rawley and Mr. Parker, being at *Primero* in the presence-chamber, the queen was gone to bed; and he being there, as squire of the body, desired them to give over. Soon after he spoke to them againe, that if they would not leave, he would call in the guard to pull down the bord; which Sir Walter Rawley seeing, put up his money, and went his wayes; but my lord Southampton took exceptions at hym, and told hym, he would remember yt: and so finding hym between the Tennis-Court wall and the garden, strooke him; and Willoughby pull'd of some of his lockes." This happened in the beginning of 1598. MALONE.

9 — *to say my prayers,*] These words were restored from the early quarto by Mr. Pope. They were probably omitted in the folio on account of the Stat. 3. Jac. I. ch. 21. MALONE.

¹ — *action of an old woman,*] Mr. Theobald reads *wold-woman*, i. e. frantick, crazy; but the reading of the old copy is fully supported by what Falstaff says afterwards to Ford: "I went to her, Master Brook, as you see, like a poor old man; but I came from her, Master Brook, like a poor old woman." MALONE.

Falstaff by counterfeiting such weakness and infirmity, as would naturally be pitied in an old woman, averted the punishment to which he would otherwise have been subjected, on the supposition that he was a witch. STEEVENS.

tent.

tent. Here is a letter will say somewhat. Good hearts, what ado here is to bring you together! Sure, one of you does not serve heaven well², that you are so cross'd.

Fal. Come up into my chamber.

[*Exeunt.*]

S C E N E VI.

Another Room in the Garter Inn.

Enter FENTON and Host.

Host. Master Fenton, talk not to me; my mind is heavy, I will give over all.

Fent. Yet hear me speak: Assist me in my purpose, And, as I am a gentleman, I'll give thee A hundred pound in gold, more than your loss.

Host. I will hear you, master Fenton; and I will, at the least, keep your counsel.

Fent. From time to time I have acquainted you With the dear love I bear to fair Anne Page; Who, mutually, hath answered my affection (So far forth as herself might be her chooser,) Even to my wish: I have a letter from her Of such contents as you will wonder at; The mirth whereof's * so larded with my matter, That neither, singly, can be manifested, Without the shew of both;—wherein fat Falstaff³

² *Sure, one of you does not serve heaven well, &c.*] The great fault of this play is the frequency of expressions so profane, that no necessity of preserving character can justify them. There are laws of higher authority than those of criticism. JOHNSON.

* *The mirth whereof's—*] Old Copy—*whereof*. The correction is Mr. Pope's. I am not sure that it is necessary. *Whereof* might have been used as we should now use *thereof*. "The mirth thereof being so larded," &c. MALONE.

³ ——— wherein fat Falstaff &c.

Hath a great scene:] The first folio reads:

Without the shew of both: fat Falstaff &c.

I have supplied the word that was probably omitted at the press, from the early quarto, where, in the corresponding place, we find—

Wherein fat Falstaff hath a mighty scene [*scene*].

The editor of the second folio, to supply the metre, arbitrarily reads,

Without the shew of both:—fat Sir John Falstaff—. MALONE.

Hath a great scene: the image of the jest ⁴

[*Shewing the letter.*

I'll shew you here at large. Hark, good mine host:
To-night at Herne's oak, just 'twixt twelve and one,
Must my sweet Nan present the fairy queen;
The purpose why, is here⁵; in which disguise,
While other jests are something rank on foot⁶,
Her father hath commanded her to slip
Away with Slender, and with him at Eton
Immediately to marry: she hath consented:
Now, Sir,
Her mother, even strong against that match⁷,
And firm for Doctor Caius, hath appointed
That he shall likewise shuffle her away,
While other sports are talking of their minds⁸,
And at the deanery, where a priest attends,
Straight marry her: to this her mother's plot
She, seemingly obedient, likewise hath
Made promise to the doctor:—Now, thus it rests:
Her father means she shall be all in white;
And in that habit, when Slender sees his time
To take her by the hand, and bid her go,
She shall go with him:—her mother hath intended,
The better to denote⁹ her to the doctor,

(For

⁴ — *the image of the jest*] *Image is representation.* So, in *K. Richard III*:

“ And liv'd by looking on his *images*.” STEEVENS.

These words allude to a custom still in use, of hanging out painted representations of shows. HENLEY.

⁵ — *is here*;] i. e. in the letter. STEEVENS.

⁶ *While other jests are something rank on foot*,] i. e. while they are hotly pursuing other merriment of their own. STEEVENS.

⁷ — *even strong against that match*,] *Even strong. is as strong, with a similar degree of strength.* So, in *Hamlet*, “ *even christian*” is *fellow christian*. STEEVENS.

⁸ — *talking of their minds*,] So, in another play of our author:

“ ——— some things of weight,

“ That *task* our thoughts concerning us and France.” STEEV.

⁹ — *to denote*—] In the Mss. of our author's age *n* and *u* were formed so very much alike, that they are scarcely distinguishable. Hence it was, that in the old copies of these plays one of these letters is frequently

(For they must all be mask'd and vizarded,) That, quaint in green¹, she shall be loose enrobed, With ribbands pendant, flaring 'bout her head; And when the doctor spies his vantage ripe, To pinch her by the hand, and, on that token, The maid hath given consent to go with him.

Host. Which means she to deceive? father or mother?

Fent. Both, my good host, to go along with me: And here it rests,—that you'll procure the vicar To stay for me at church, 'twixt twelve and one, And, in the lawful name of marrying, To give our hearts united ceremony.

Host. Well, husband your device; I'll to the vicar: Bring you the maid, you shall not lack a priest.

Fent. So shall I evermore be bound to thee; Besides, I'll make a present recompence. [Exeunt.

ly put for the other. From the cause assigned, or from an accidental inversion of the letter *n* at the press, the first folio in the present instance reads—*devote*, *u* being constantly employed in that copy instead of *v*. The same mistake has happened in several other places. Thus, in *Much ado about Nothing*, 1623, we find, “he is turu'd orthographer,” instead of *turn'd*. Again, in *Orbello*:—“to the contemplation, mark, and *deuotement* of her parts,” instead of *denotement*. Again, in *King John*: This *expeditious* charge, instead of *expedition's*. Again, *ibid*: *invulnerable* for *invulnerable*. Again, in *Hamlet*, 1605, we meet with this very word put by an error of the press for *denote*:

“Together with all forms, modes, shap^s of grief,

“That can *devote* me truly.”

The present emendation, which was suggested by Mr. Steevens, is fully supported by a subsequent passage quoted by him:—“the white will *decipher* her well enough.” MALONE.

¹ — *quaint in green*,] may mean fantastically dress'd in green. So, in Milton's *Masque at Ludlow Castle*:

“—— left the place,

“And this *quaint* habit, breed astonishment.”

In the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act III. sc. i. *quaintly* is used for *ingeniously*:

“—— a ladder *quaintly* made of cords.” STEEVENS.

In Daniel's SONNETS, 1594, it is used for *fantastick*:

“Prayers prevail not with a *quaint* disdain.” MALONE.

ACT V. SCENE I.

*A Room in the Garter Inn.**Enter FALSTAFF and Mrs. QUICKLY.*

Fal. Pr'ythee, no more prattling ;—go.—I'll hold : This is the third time ; I hope, good luck lies in odd numbers. Away, go ; they say, there is divinity in odd numbers, either in nativity, chance, or death.—Away.

Quick. I'll provide you a chain ; and I'll do what I can to get you a pair of horns.

Fal. Away, I say ; time wears : hold up your head, and mince¹. *[Exit Mrs. QUICKLY.]*

Enter FORD.

How now, master Brook ? Master Brook, the matter will be known to-night, or never. Be you in the Park about midnight, at Herne's oak, and you shall see wonders.

Ford. Went you not to her yesterday, sir, as you told me you had appointed ?

Fal. I went to her, master Brook, as you see, like a poor old man : but I came from her, master Brook, like a poor old woman. That same knave, Ford her husband, hath the finest mad devil of jealousy in him, master Brook, that ever govern'd frenzy. I will tell you.—He beat me grievously, in the shape of a woman ; for in the shape of man, master Brook, I fear not Goliath with a weaver's beam ; because I know also, life is a shuttle. I am in haste ; go along with me ; I'll tell you all, master Brook. Since I pluck'd geese, play'd truant, and whipp'd top, I knew not what 'twas to be beaten, till lately. Follow me : I'll tell you strange things of this knave Ford ; on whom to-night I will be revenged, and I will deliver his wife into your hand.—Follow : Strange things in hand, master Brook ! follow. *Exeunt.*

¹ — *bold up your head, and mince.*] To *mince* is to walk with affected delicacy. So, in the *Merchant of Venice* :

“ — turn two mincing steps

“ Into a manly stride.” STEEVENS.

SCENE II.

*Windfor Park.**Enter PAGE, SHALLOW, and SLENDER.*

Page. Come, come ; we'll couch i' the castle-ditch, till we see the light of our fairies.—Remember, son Slender, my daughter².

Slen. Ay, forsooth ; I have spoke with her, and we have a nay-word³, how to know one another. I come to her in white, and cry, *mum* ; she cries, *budget* ; and by that we know one another.

Shal. That's good too ; But what needs either your *mum*, or her *budget* ? the white will decipher her well enough.—It hath struck ten.o'clock.

Page. The night is dark ; light and spirits will become it well. Heaven prosper our sport ! No man means evil but the devil⁴, and we shall know him by his horns. Let's away ; follow me. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE III.

*The Street in Windfor.**Enter Mistress PAGE, Mrs. FORD, and Dr. CAIUS.*

Mrs. Page. Master doctor, my daughter is in green : when you see your time, take her by the hand, away with her to the deanery, and dispatch it quickly : Go before into the park ; we two must go together.

Caius. I know vat I have to do ; Adieu.

Mrs. Page. Fare you well, sir. [*Exit CAIUS.*] My

² — *my daughter.*] The word *daughter* was inadvertently omitted in the first folio. The emendation was made by the editor of the second.

MALONE.

³ — *a nay-word,—*] i. e. a watch-word. *Mrs. Quickly* has already used it in this sense. STEEVENS.

⁴ *No man means evil but the devil,*] In the ancient interludes and moralities, the beings of supreme power, excellence, or depravity, are occasionally styled *men*. So, in *Much Ado about Nothing*, Dogberry says, “God's a good man.” Again, in *Jeronimo, or the First Part of the Spanish Tragedy*, 1605 :

“You're the last *man* I thought on, save the *devil*.” STEEVENS.

husband will not rejoice so much at the abuse of Falstaff, as he will chafe at the doctor's marrying my daughter; but 'tis no matter; better a little chiding, than a great deal of heart-break.

Mrs. Ford. Where is Nan now, and her troop of fairies? and the Welch devil, Hugh⁵?

Mrs. Page. They are all couch'd in a pit hard by Herne's oak⁶, with obscured lights; which, at the very instant of Falstaff's and our meeting, they will at once display to the night.

Mrs. Ford. That cannot choose but amaze him.

Mrs. Page. If he be not amazed, he will be mock'd; if he be amazed, he will every way be mock'd.

Mrs. Ford. We'll betray him finely.

Mrs. Page. Against such lewdsters, and their lechery, Those that betray them do no treachery.

Mrs. Ford. The hour draws on; To the oak, to the oak!
[*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV.

Windfor Park.

Enter Sir Hugh EVANS, and Fairies.

Evans. Trib, trib, fairies; come; and remember your parts: be pold, I pray you; follow me into the pit; and when I give the watch-ords, do as I bid you; Come, come; trib, trib.
[*Exeunt.*

SCENE V.

Another part of the Park.

Enter FALSTAFF disguis'd, with a buck's head on.

Fal. The Windfor bell hath struck twelve; the minute

5 — and the Welch devil, Hugh?] So afterwards: "Well said, fairy Hugh." The old copy reads—and the Welch devil *Herne*. Theobald saw the error, and substituted *Evans*. MALONE.

I suppose only the letter *H*. was set down in the Ms; and therefore, instead of *Hugh* (which seems to be the true reading,) the editors substituted *Herne*. STEEVENS.

6 — in a pit hard by Herne's oak,] An oak, which may be that alluded to by Shakspere, is still standing close to a pit in Windfor Forest. It is yet shewn as the oak of *Herne*. STEEVENS.

draws

draws on : Now, the hot-blooded gods assist me !—Remember, Jove, thou wast a bull for thy Europa ; love set on thy horns.—O powerful love ! that, in some respects, makes a beast a man ; in some other, a man a beast.—You were also, Jupiter, a swan, for the love of Leda ;—O omnipotent love ! how near the god drew to the complexion of a goose ?—A fault done first in the form of a beast ;—O Jove, a beastly fault ! and then another fault in the semblance of a fowl ; think on't, Jove ; a foul fault.—When gods have hot backs, what shall poor men do ? For me, I am here a Windsor stag ; and the fattest, I think, i' the forest : Send me a cool rut-time, Jove, or who can blame me to piss my tallow ? Who comes here ? my doe ?

Enter Mistress FORD and Mistress PAGE.

Mrs. Ford. Sir John ? art thou there, my deer ? my male deer ?

Fal. My doe with the black scut ?—Let the sky rain potatoes ; let it thunder to the tune of *Green Sleeves* ; hail kissing-comfits, and snow eringoes ; let there come a tempest of provocation ⁹, I will shelter me here.

[embracing her.
Mrs.

⁷ *When gods have hot backs, what shall poor men do ?*] Shakspeare had perhaps in his thoughts the argument which Cherea employed in a similar situation. *TER. Eun. Act III. sc. v :*

“ ————— Quia confimilem luserat

“ Jam olim ille ludum, impendio magis animus gaudebat mihi

“ Deum sese in hominem convertisse, atque per alienas tegulas

“ Venisse clanculum per impluvium, fucum factum mulieri.

“ At quem deum ? qui templa cœli summa sonitu concutit.

“ *Ego homuncio hoc non facerem ? Ego vero illud ita feci, ac lubens.*”

A translation of Terence was published in 1598. MALONE.

⁸ *Send me a cool rut-time, Jove ; or who can blame me to piss my tallow ?*] This, I find, is technical. In Tuberville's *Booke of Hunting*, 1575 : “ During the time of their rut, the harts live with small sustenance.—The red mushroome helpeth well to make them *pyss* their greace, they are then in so vehement heate, &c.” FARMER.

In Ray's *Collection of Proverbs*, the phrase is yet further explained : “ *He has piss'd his tallow.* This is spoken of bucks who grow lean after rutting-time, and may be applied to men.” STEEVENS.

⁹ *Let the sky rain potatoes ;—hail kissing comfits, and snow eringoes ; let there come a tempest of provocation,—*] Potatoes, when they were first introduced

Mrs. Ford. Mistress Page is come with me, sweet-heart.

Fal. Divide me like a bribe-buck¹, each a haunch: I will keep my sides to myself, my shoulders for the fellow of this walk², and my horns I bequeath your husbands. Am I a woodman³? ha! Speak I like Herne the hunter? Why, now is Cupid a child of conscience; he makes restitution. As I am a true spirit, welcome! [*Noise within.*

Mrs. Page. Alas! what noise?

Mrs. Ford. Heaven forgive our sins!

Fal. What shall this be?

Mrs. Ford.

Mrs. Page. } Away, away.

[*They run off.*

Fal. I think the devil will not have me damn'd, lest the oil that is in me should set hell on fire; he would never else cross me thus.

introduced into England, were supposed to be strong provocatives. See Mr. Collins's note on a passage in *Troilus and Cressida*, Act V. sc. ii. *Kissing-comfits* were sugar plums, perfumed to make the breath sweet.

Holinshed informs us, that in the year 1583, for the entertainment of prince Alasco was performed "a verie statelie tragedie named *Dido*, wherein the queen's banquet (with *Æneas*' narration of the destruction of Troie,) was livelic described in a marchpaine patterne,—*the tempest wherein it bailed small confets, rained rose-water, and snow an artificial kind of snow*, all strange, marvellous, and abundant." On this circumstance very probably Shakspeare was thinking, when he put the words quoted above into the mouth of Falstaff. STEEVENS.

¹ — *like a brib'd buck,*] Thus all the old copies, mistakingly: it must be *bribe-buck*; i. e. a buck sent for a bribe. THEOBALD.

² — *my shoulders to the fellow of this walk,*] A *walk* is that district in a forest, to which the jurisdiction of a particular keeper extends. So, in Lodge's *Rosalynde*, 1592: "Tell me, forester, under whom maintainest thou thy *walke*?" MALONE.

To the keeper the *shoulders* and *bumbles* belong as a perquisite. GREY.

So in Holinshed, 1586, Vol. I. p. 202: "The keeper by a custom — hath the skin, head, *umbles*, chine, and *shoulders*." STEEVENS.

³ *Am I a woodman?*] A *woodman* in its original signification meant an archer; but in our author's time it was sometimes used in a wanton sense. So Lucio says of the Duke, in *Measure for Measure*, "He's a better *woodman* than thou takest him for." It seems in the passage before us to have both senses. MALONE.

Enter

Enter Sir Hugh EVANS, like a satyr; Mrs. QUICKLY, and PISTOL; ANNE PAGE, as the Fairy Queen, attended by her brother and others, dressed like fairies, with waxen tapers on their heads ⁴.

Quick. Fairies, black, grey, green, and white,
You moon-shine revellers, and shades of night,
You orphan-heirs of fixed destiny ⁵,
Attend your office, and your quality *.—
Crier Hobgoblin, make the fairy o-yes.

Pist. Elves, list your names; silence, you airy toys ⁶.
Cricket,

⁴ This stage-direction I have formed on that of the old quarto, corrected by such circumstances as the poet introduced when he new-modeled his play. In the folio there is no direction whatsoever. Mrs. Quickly and Pistol seem to have been but ill suited to the delivery of the speeches here attributed to them; nor are either of those personages named by Ford in a former scene, where the intended plot against Falstaff is mentioned. It is highly probable, (as a modern editor has observed,) that the performer who had represented Pistol, was afterwards, from necessity, employed among the fairies; and that his name thus crept into the copies. He here represents *Puck*, a part which in the old quarto is given to Sir Hugh. The introduction of Mrs. Quickly, however, cannot be accounted for in the same manner; for in the first sketch in quarto, she is particularly described as the *Queen of the Fairies*; a part which our author afterwards allotted to Anne Page. MALONE.

⁵ You orphan-heirs of fixed destiny,] Dr. Warburton corrects *orphan* to *cupben*; and not without plausibility, as the word *cupbes* occurs both before and afterwards. But, I fancy, in acquiescence to the vulgar doctrine, the address in this line is to a part of the *troop*, as mortals by birth, but adopted by the fairies: *orphans* in respect of their real parents, and now only dependent on *destiny* herself. A few lines from Spenser, B. iii. C. 3. st. 26. edit. 1590, will sufficiently illustrate this passage:

“ The man whom *heavens* have *ordaynd* to bee

“ The spouse of *Britomart*, is *Arthegall*.

“ He wonneth in the land of *Fayeree*,

“ Yet is no *Fary* borne, ne sib at all

“ To elves, but sprong of seed *terrestrial*,

“ And whilome by false *Fairies* stolen away,

“ Whiles yet in infant cradle he did crall, &c.” FARMER.

Dr. Warburton objects to their being *beirs* to *Destiny*, who was still in being. But Shakspeare, I believe, uses *beirs*, with his usual laxity, for *children*. So, to *inherit* is used in the sense of to *possess*. MALONE.

* — and your quality.] See p. 16, n. 3. and p. 162, n. 6. MALONE.

⁶ *Crier Hobgoblin, make the fairy o-yes.*

Elves, list your names; silence, you airy toys.] These two lines were certainly intended to rhyme together, as the preceding and subsequent couplets

Cricket, to Windsor chimneys shalt thou leap :
Where fires thou find'st unrak'd, and hearths unswept,
There pinch the maids as blue as bilberry⁷ :
Our radiant queen hates sluts, and sluttery.

Fal. They are fairies ; he, that speaks to them, shall die :
I'll wink and couch ; No man their works must eye.

[*Lies down upon his face.*

Evans. Where's *Pede*? Go you, and where you find a maid,
That, ere she sleep, has thrice her prayers said,
Raise up the organs of her fantasy,
Sleep she as sound as careless infancy ;
But those, as sleep, and think not on their sins,
Pinch them, arms, legs, backs, shoulders, sides, and shins⁸.

Quick, About, about ;
Search Windsor castle, elves, within and out :
Strew good luck, oushes, on every sacred room^{*} ;
That it may stand till the perpetual doom,

couplets do : and accordingly, in the old editions, the final words of each line are printed, *eyes* and *toyes*. This therefore is a striking instance of the inconvenience which has arisen from modernizing the orthography of Shakspeare. TYRWHITT.

7 — as bilberry :] The *bilberry* is the *whortleberry*. Fairies were always supposed to have a strong aversion to sluttery. Thus, in the old song of *Robin Good Fellow*. See Dr. Percy's *Reliques*, &c. Vol. III :

“ When house or hearth doth sluttish lye,

“ I pinch the maidens black and blue, &c.” STEEVENS.

8 — Go you, and where you find a maid,
That, ere she sleep, hath thrice her prayers said,
Raise up the organs of her fantasy,
Sleep she as sound as careless infancy ;
But those, as sleep, and think not on their sins,

Pinch them, arms, legs, backs, shoulders, sides, and shins.] i. e.

Go' you, and wherever you find a maid asleep, that hath thrice prayed to the deity, *though*, in consequence, of her innocence she sleep as soundly as an infant, elevate her fancy, and amuse her tranquil mind with some delightful vision ; but those whom you find asleep, without having previously thought on their sins, and prayed to heaven for forgiveness, pinch &c. It should be remembered, that those persons who sleep very soundly, seldom dream. Hence the injunction “ to raise up the organs of her fantasy,” “ Sleep she &c.” i. e. *though* she sleep as sound &c.

Dr. Warburton, who appears to me to have totally misunderstood this passage, reads—*Rein up* &c. in which he has been followed, in my opinion too hastily, by the subsequent editors. MALONE.

* — on every sacred room ;] See Chaucer's *Cant. Tales*, v. 3482, edit. Tyrwhitt. “ On foure halves of the hous aboute,” &c. MALONE.

-In

In state as wholesome⁹, as in state 'tis fit ;
 Worthy the owner, and the owner it.
 The several chairs of order look you scour
 With juice of balm, and every precious flower¹ :
 Each fair instalment coat, and several crest,
 With loyal blazon, evermore be blest !
 And nightly, meadow-fairies, look, you sing,
 Like to the Garter's compass, in a ring :
 The expresseure that it bears, green let it be,
 More fertile-fresh than all the field to see ;
 And, *Honi Soit Qui Mal y Pense*, write,
 In emerald tufts, flowers purple, blue, and white ;
 Like saphire, pearl, and rich embroidery,
 Buckled below fair knight-hood's bending knee :
 Fairies use flowers for their chaacter².
 Away ; disperse : But, till 'tis one o'clock,
 Our dance of custom, round about the oak
 Of Herne the hunter, let us not forget.

Evans. Pray you, lock hand in hand ; yourselves in
 order set :

And twenty glow-worms shall our lanthorns be,
 To guide our measure round about the tree.
 But, stay ; I smell a man of middle earth³.

⁹ — *as wholesome,*] *Wholesom* here signifies *integer*. He wishes the castle may stand in its present state of perfection. *WARBURTON.*

¹ *The several chairs of order look you scour*

With juice of balm, &c.] It was an article of our ancient luxury, to rub tables, &c. with aromatick herbs. Pliny informs us, that the Romans did the same, to drive away evil spirits. *STEEVENS.*

² — *for their chaacter.*] For the matter with which they make letters. *JOHNSON.*

³ *of middle earth.*] Spirits are supposed to inhabit the ethereal regions, and fairies to dwell under ground ; men therefore are in a middle station. *JOHNSON.*

So, in the ancient metrical romance of *Syr Guy of Warwick*, bl. 1. no date :

“ Thou mayst them flea with dint of swearde,

“ And win the fayrest mayde of middle erde.”

Again, in Gower, *De Confessione Amantis*, fol. 26 :

“ Adam, for pride, lost his price

“ In myddell ertb.” *STEEVENS.*

Fal.

Fal. Heavens defend me from that Welch fairy ! lest he transform me to a piece of cheese ! -

Pist. Vile worm, thou wast o'er-look'd even in thy birth⁴.

Quick. With trial-fire touch me his finger-end :
If he be chaste, the flame will back descend,
And turn him to no pain ; but if he start,
It is the flesh of a corrupted heart.

Pist. A trial, come.

Evans. Come, will this wood take fire ?

[*They burn him with their tapers.*]

Fal. Oh, oh, oh !

Quick. Corrupt, corrupt, and tainted in desire !
About him, fairies ; sing a scornful rhyme :
And, as you trip, still pinch him to your time.

SONG. *Fie on sinful phantasy !
Fie on lust and luxury⁵ !
Lust is but a bloody fire⁶,
Kindled with unchaste desire,
Fed in heart ; whose flames aspire,
As thoughts do blow them, higher and higher.
Pinch him, fairies, mutually ;
Pinch him for his villainy ;*

⁴ Vile worm, thou wast o'er-look'd even in thy birth.] The old copy reads—*wild*. That *wild*, which so often occurs in these plays, was not an error of the press, but the old spelling and the pronunciation of the time, appears from these lines of Heywood, in his *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas*, 1637 :

“ EARTH. What goddess, or how styl'd ?

“ AGE. Age am I call'd.

“ EARTH. Hence, false virago wild !”

However, as the spelling of the original copy of our author's plays has not been adhered to in the modern editions, there is no reason why this in particular should be preserved. In a passage in the *Tempest*, I have inadvertently retained the old spelling of this word. MALONE.

⁵ — and luxury !] *Luxury* is here used for incontinence. So, in *K. Lear* : “ To't *luxury*, pell-mell, for I lack soldiers.” STEEVENS.

⁶ Lust is but a bloody fire,] A *bloody fire*, means a fire in the blood. In *K. Henry IV.* P. II. Act IV. the same expression occurs :

“ Led on by bloody youth,” &c.

i. e. sanguine youth. STEEVENS.

So also, in the *Tempest* :

“ — the strongest oaths are straw

“ To the fire i'the blood.” MALONE.

Pinch

*Pinch him, and burn him, and turn him about,
Till candles, and star-light, and moon-shine be out.*

During this song, the fairies pinch Falstaff⁷. Doctor Caius comes one way, and steals away a fairy in green; Slender another way, and takes off a fairy in white; and Fenton comes, and steals away Mrs. Anne Page. A noise of hunting is made within. All the fairies run away. Falstaff pulls off his buck's head, and rises.

Enter PAGE, FORD, Mrs. PAGE, and Mrs. FORD. They lay hold on him.

Page. Nay, do not fly: I think, we have watch'd you now;

Will none but Herne the hunter serve your turn?

Mrs. Page. I pray you, come; hold up the jest no higher:—

Now, good sir John, how like you Windsor wives?

See you these, husband? do not these fair yokes

Become the forest better than the town⁸?

Ford. Now, sir, who's a cuckold now?—Master Brook, Falstaff's a knave, a cuckoldly knave; here are his horns, master Brook: And, master Brook, he hath enjoyed nothing of Ford's but his buck-basket, his cudgel, and twenty pounds of money; which must be paid to master Brook⁹; his horses are arrested for it, master Brook.

Mrs. Ford. Sir John, we have had ill luck; we could

⁷ — *the fairies pinch Falstaff.*] So, in Lilly's *Endymion*, 1591: "The fairies dance, and with a song pinch him." STEEVENS.

⁸ *See you these, husband? do not these fair yokes*

Become the forest better than the town?] Mrs. Page's meaning is this. Seeing the horns (the types of cuckoldom) in Falstaff's hand, she asks her husband, whether those yokes are not more proper in the forest than in the town; i. e. than in his own family. THEOBALD.

The editor of the second folio changed *yokes* to—*oaks*. MALONE.

⁹ — *to master Brook;*] We ought rather to read with the old quarto, —"which must be paid to master Ford;" for as Ford, to mortify Falstaff, addresses him throughout this speech by the name of *Brook*, the describing himself by the same name creates a confusion. A modern editor plausibly enough reads—"which must be paid *too*, Master Brook;" but the first sketch shews that *to* is right; for the sentence, as it stands in the quarto, will not admit *too*. MALONE.

never meet. I will never take you for my love again, but I will always count you my deer.

Fal. I do begin to perceive, that I am made an ass.

Ford. Ay, and an ox too; both the proofs are extant.

Fal. And these are not fairies? I was three or four times in the thought, they were not fairies: and yet the guiltiness of my mind, the sudden surprize of my powers, drove the grossness of the foppery into a receiv'd belief, in despite of the teeth of all rhyme and reason, that they were fairies. See now, how wit may be made a Jack-a-lent¹, when 'tis upon ill employment!

Evans. Sir John Falstaff, serve Got, and leave your desires, and fairies will not pinse you.

Ford. Well said, fairy Hugh.

Evans. And leave your jealousies too, I pray you.

Ford. I will never mistrust my wife again, till thou art able to woo her in good English.

Fal. Have I lay'd my brain in the sun, and dried it, that it wants matter to prevent so gross o'er-reaching as this? Am I ridden with a Welch goat too? Shall I have a coxcomb of frize²? 'tis time I were choak'd with a piece of toasted cheese.

Evans. Seefe is not good to give putter; your pelly is all putter.

Fal. Seefe and putter! Have I lived to stand at the taunt of one that makes fritters of English? This is enough to be the decay of lust and late-walking, through the realm.

Mrs. Page. Why, sir John, do you think, though we would have thrust virtue out of our hearts by the head and shoulders, and have given ourselves without scruple to hell, that ever the devil could have made you our delight?

Ford. What, a hodge-pudding? a bag of flax?

Mrs. Page. A puff'd man?

Page. Old, cold, wither'd, and of intolerable entrails?

Ford. And one that is as slanderous as Satan?

Page. And as poor as Job?

¹ — how wit may be made a Jack-a-lent,] See p. 254, n. 8. MALONE.

² — a coxcomb of frize?] i. e. a fool's cap made out of Welch materials. Wales was famous for this cloth. STEEVENS.

Ford. And as wicked as his wife?

Evans. And given to fornications, and to taverns, and sack, and wine, and metheglins, and to drinkings, and swearings, and starings, pribbles and prabbles?

Fal. Well, I am your theme; you have the start of me; I am dejected; I am not able to answer the Welch flannel³; ignorance itself is a plummet o'er me⁴: use me as you will.

Ford. Marry, sir, we'll bring you to windsor, to one master Brook, that you have cozen'd of money, to whom you should have been a pandar: over and above that you have suffered, I think, to repay that money will be a biting affliction.

Mrs. Ford. Nay, husband⁵, let that go to make amends: Forgive that sum, and so we'll all be friends.

Ford. Well, here's my hand; all's forgiven at last.

Page. Yet be cheerful, knight: thou shalt eat a posset to-night at my house; where I will desire thee to laugh

3 — *the Welch flannel*;] The very word is derived from a *Welch* one, so that it is almost unnecessary to add that *flannel* was originally the manufacture of Wales. STEEVENS.

It probably might make part of Sir Hugh's dress. EDWARDS.

4 *Ignorance itself is a plummet o'er me*:] The meaning may be, I am so enfeebled, that *ignorance itself* weighs me down and oppresses me.

JOHNSON.

Perhaps Falstaff's meaning may be this: "Ignorance itself is a plummet o'er me: i. e. *above me*;" ignorance itself is not so low as I am, by the length of a *plummet-line*. TYRWHITT.

Dr. Johnson, for *plummet*, proposes to read *plume*; Dr. Farmer suggests — *planet*. The latter conjecture (says Mr. Steevens) derives some support from a passage in *K. Henry VI.* where Queen Margaret says, that Suffolk's face

" — — — rul'd like a wand'ring *planet* over me."

I am satisfied with the old reading. MALONE.

5 *Mrs. Ford. Nay, husband, &c.*] This and the following little speech I have inserted from the old quartos. The retrenchment, I presume, was by the players. Sir John Falstaff is sufficiently punished, in being disappointed and exposed. The expectation of his being prosecuted for the twenty pounds, gives the conclusion too tragical a turn. Besides, it is *poetical justice*, that Ford should sustain this loss, as a fine for his unreasonable jealousy. THEOBALD.

at my wife⁶, that now laughs at thee : Tell her, master Slender hath married her daughter.

Mrs. Page. Doctors doubt that ; if Anne Page be my daughter, she is, by this, doctor Caius wife. [*Aside.*

Enter SLENDER.

Slén. Whoo, ho ! ho ! father Page !

Page. Son ! how now ? how now, son ? have you dispatched^d ?

Slén. Dispatch'd ! I'll make the best in Gloucestershire know on't ; would I were hang'd, la, else.

Page. Of what, son ?

Slén. I came yonder at Eton to marry mistress Anne Page, and she's a great lubberly boy : If it had not been i'the church, I would have swung him, or he should have swung me. If I did not think it had been Anne Page, would I might never stir, and 'tis a post-master's boy.

Page. Upon my life then you took the wrong.

Slén. What need you tell me that ? I think so, when I took a boy for a girl : If I had been married to him, for all he was in woman's apparel, I would not have had him.

Page. Why, this is your own folly ; Did not I tell you, how you should know my daughter by her garments ?

Slén. I went to her in white⁷, and cry'd, *mum*, and she cry'd *budget*, as Anne and I had appointed ; and yet it was not Anne, but a post-master's boy.

Evans. Jeshu ! Master Slender, cannot you see but marry boys⁸ ?

⁶ — *laugh at my wife,*] The two plots are excellently connected, and the transition very artfully made in this speech. JOHNSON.

⁷ — *in white,*] The old copy, by the inadvertence of either the author or transcriber, reads—in *green* ; and in the two subsequent speeches of Mrs. Page, instead of *green* we find *white*. The corrections, which are fully justified by what has preceded, (see p. 292,) were made by Mr. Pope. MALONE.

⁸ — *marry boys ?*] This and the next speech are likewise restorations from the old quarto. STEEVENS.

Page.

Page. O, I am vex'd at heart: What shall I do?

Mrs. Page. Good George, be not angry: I knew of your purpose; turn'd my daughter into green; and, indeed, she is now with the doctor at the deanery, and there married.

Enter CAIUS.

Caius. Vere is mistress Page? By gar, I am cozened; I ha' married *un garçon*, a boy; *un païsan*, by gar, a boy; it is not Anne Page: by gar, I am cozened.

Mrs. Page. Why, did you take her in green?

Caius. Ay, be gar, and 'tis a boy: be gar, I'll raise all Windsor. *[Exit CAIUS.]*

Ford. This is strange: Who hath got the right Anne?

Page. My heart misgives me: Here comes master Fenton.

Enter FENTON, and ANNE PAGE.

How now, master Fenton?

Anne. Pardon, good father! good my mother, pardon!

Page. Now, mistress? how chance you went not with master Slender?

Mrs. Page. Why went you not with master doctor, maid?

Fent. You do amaze her; Hear the truth of it.

You would have married her most shamefully,

Where there was no proportion held in love.

The truth is, She and I, long since contracted,

Are now so sure, that nothing can dissolve us.

The offence is holy, that she hath committed:

And this deceit loses the name of craft,

Of disobedience, or unduteous title;

Since therein she doth evitate and shun

A thousand irreligious cursed hours,

Which forced marriage would have brought upon her.

Ford. Stand not amaz'd: here is no remedy:—

In love, the heavens themselves do guide the state;

Money buys lands, and wives are sold by fate.

Fal. I am glad, though you have ta'en a special stand to strike at me, that your arrow hath glanced.

Page. Well, what remedy⁹? Fenton, heaven give thee joy!

What cannot be eschew'd, must be embrac'd.

Fal. When night-dogs run, all sorts of deer are chas'd¹.

Evans. I will dance and eat plums at your wedding².

Mrs. Page. Well, I will muse no further:—Master Fenton,

Heaven give you many, many merry days!—

Good husband, let us every one go home,

And laugh this sport o'er by a country fire;

Sir John and all.

Ford. Let it be so:—Sir John,

To master Brook you yet shall hold your word;

For he, to-night, shall lie with mistress Ford³. [*Exeunt.*

⁹ *Page.* Well, what remedy?—] In the first sketch of this play, which, as Mr. Pope observes, is much inferior to the latter performance, the only sentiment of which I regret the omission, occurs at this critical time. When Fenton brings in his wife, there is this dialogue.

Mrs. Ford. Come, mistress Page, I must be bold with you,
'Tis pity to part love that is so true.

Mrs. Page. [*Aside.*] Although that I have mis'd in my intent,
Yet I am glad my husband's match is cross'd.

—Here Fenton, take her.—

Evans. Come, master Page, you must needs agree.

Ford. I faith, sir, come, you see your wife is pleas'd.

Page. I cannot tell, and yet my heart is eas'd;

And yet it doth me good the doctor mis'd.

Come hither, Fenton, and come hither, daughter. JOHNSON.

¹ — all sorts of deer are chas'd.] Young and old, does as well as bucks. He alludes to Fenton's having just run down Anne Page.

MALONE.

² *I will dance &c.*] This speech was restored from the first quarto by Mr. Pope; but inserted improperly before that of Falstaff, which seems to have been intended to rhyme with the preceding line. MALONE.

³ Of this play there is a tradition preserved by Mr. Rowe, that it was written at the command of queen Elizabeth, who was so delighted with the character of Falstaff, that she wished it to be diffused through more plays; but suspecting that it might pall by continued uniformity, directed the poet to diversify his manner, by shewing him in love. No task is harder than that of writing to the ideas of another. Shakspeare knew what the queen, if the story be true, seems not to have known, that by any real passion of tenderness, the selfish craft, the careless jollity, and the lazy luxury of Falstaff must have suffered so much abatement,

ment, that little of his former cast would have remained. Falstaff could not love, but by ceasing to be Falstaff. He could only counterfeit love, and his professions could be prompted, not by the hope of pleasure, but of money. Thus the poet approached as near as he could to the work enjoined him; yet having perhaps in the former plays completed his own idea, seems not to have been able to give Falstaff all his former power of entertainment.

This comedy is remarkable for the variety and number of the personages, who exhibit more characters appropriated and discriminated, than perhaps can be found in any other play.

Whether Shakspeare was the first that produced upon the English stage the effect of language distorted and depraved by provincial or foreign pronunciation, I cannot certainly decide *. This mode of forming ridiculous characters can confer praise only on him, who originally discovered it, for it requires not much of either wit or judgment: its success must be derived almost wholly from the player, but its power in a skilful mouth, even he that despises it, is unable to resist.

The conduct of this drama is deficient; the action begins and ends often before the conclusion, and the different parts might change places without inconvenience; but its general power, that power by which all works of genius shall finally be tried, is such, that perhaps it never yet had reader or spectator, who did not think it too soon at an end. JOHNSON.

The story of *The two Lovers of Pisa*, from which (as Dr. Farmer has observed) Falstaff's adventures in this play seem to have been taken, is thus related in *Tarleton's Newes out of Purgatorie*, bl. let. no date. [Entered in the Stationers' Books, June 16, 1590.]

"In Pisa, a famous cittie of Italye, there liued a gentleman of good lineage and landes, feared as well for his wealth, as honoured for his vertue; but indeed well thought on for both: yet the better for his riches. This gentleman had one onelye daughter called Margaret, who for her beauty was liked of all, and desired of many: but neither might their futes, nor her owne preuaile about her fathers resolution, who was determined not to marrye her, but to such a man as should be able in abundance to maintain the excellency of her beauty. Diuers young gentlemen proffered large feoffments, but in vaine: a maide shee must bee still: till at last an olde doctor in the towne, that professed phisicke, became a futor to her; who was a welcome man to her father, in that he was one of the welthiest men in all Pisa. A tall strippling he was, and a proper youth, his age about fourescore; his head as white as milke, wherein for offence sake there was left neuer a tooth: but it is no mat-

* In the *Three Ladies of London*, 1584, is the character of an Italian merchant, very strongly marked by foreign pronunciation. Dr. Dodypoll, in the comedy which bears his name, is, like Caius, a French physician. This piece appeared at least a year before the *Merry Wives of Windsor*. The hero of it speaks such another jargon as the antagonist of Sir Hugh, and like him is cheated of his mistress. In several other pieces, more ancient than the earliest of Shakspeare's, provincial characters are introduced. STEVENS.

ter;

ter; what he wanted in person he had in the purse; which the poore gentlewoman little regarded, wishing rather to tie her self to one that might fit her content, though they liued meanelly, then to him with all the wealth in Italye. But shee was yong and forst to follow her fathers direction, who vpon large covenants was content his daughter should marry with the doctör, and whether she like him or no, the match was made vp, and in short time she was married. The poore wench was bound to the stake, and had not onely an old impotent man, but one that was so jealous, as none might enter into his house without suspicion, nor she doo any thing without blame: the least glance, the smallest countenance, any smile, was a manifest instance to him, that shee thought of others better than himselfe; thvs he himselfe liued in a hell, and tormented his wife in as ill perplexitie. At last it chaunced, that a young gentleman of the citie comming by her house, and seeing her looke out at her window, noting her rare and excellent proportion, fell in loue with her, and that so extreameley, as his passions had no means till her fauour might mittigate his hearticke discontent. The young man that was ignorant in amorous matters, and had neuer beene vsed to courte any gentlewoman, thought to reueale his passions to some one freend, that might giue him counsaile for the winning of her loue; and thinking experience was the surest maister, on a daye seeing the olde doctör walking in the church, (that was Margarets husband,) little knowing who he was, he thought this the fittest man to whom he might discover his passions, for that hee was olde and knewe much, and was a phisition that with his drugges might helpe him forward in his purposes: so that seeing the old man walke solitary, he ioinde vnto him, and after a curteous salute, tolde him he was to impart a matter of great import vnto him; wherein if hee would not onely be secrete, but indeuour to pleasure him, his pains should bee every way to the full considered. You must imagine, gentleman, quoth Mutio, for so was the doctör's name, that men of our profession are no blabs, but hold their secrets in their hearts' bottome; and therefore reueale what you please, it shall not onely be concealed, but cured; if either my art or counsaile may do it. Upon this Lionello, (so was the young gentleman called) told and discourst vnto him from point to point how he was false in loue with a gentlewoman that was married to one of his profession; discovered her dwelling and the house; and for that he was vnacquainted with the woman, and a man little experienced in loue matters, he required his fauour to further him with his aduise. Mutio at this motion was stung to the hart, knowing it was his wife hee was fallen in loue withal: yet to conceale the matter, and to experience his wiues chastity, and that if she plaide false, he might be reuenged on them both, he dissembled the matter, and answered, that he knewe the woman very well, and commended her highly; but saide, she had a churle to her husband, and therefore he thought shee would bee the more tractable: trie her man, quoth hee; fainte hart neuer woonne fair lady; and if shee will not be brought to the bent of your bowe, I will provide such a potion as shall dispatch all to your owne content; and
to

to give you further instructions for opportunitie, knowe that her husband is foorth euery afternoone from three till fixe. Thus farre I haue aduised you, because I pittie your passions as my selfe being once a louer : but now I charge thee, reueale it to none whomsoeuer, least it doo disparage my credit, to meddle in amorous matters. The young gentleman not onely promised all carefull secrecy, but gaue him hartly thanks for his good counsell, promising to meete him there the next day, and tell him what newes. Then hee left the old man, who was almost mad for feare his wife any way should play false. He saw by experience, braue men came to besiege the castle, and seeing it was in a womans custodie, and had so weake a gouernor as himselfe, he doubted it would in time be deliuered up : which feare made him almost franticke, yet he driude of the time in great torment, till he might heare from his riuall. Lionello, he hastes him home, and sutes him in his brauerie, and goes downe towards the house of Mutio, where he sees her at her windowe, whom he courted with a passionate looke, with such an humble salute, as shee might perceiue how the gentleman was affectionate. Margaretta looking earnestlye upon him, and noting the perfection of his proportion, accounted him in her eye the flower of all Pisa ; thinkte her selfe fortunate if she might haue him for her freend, to supply those defaultes that she found in Mutio. Sundry times that afternoone he past by her window, and he cast not vp more louing lookes, then he receiued gracious fauours : which did so encourage him, that the next daye betweene three and fixe hee went to her house, and knocking at the doore, desired to speake with the mistris of the house, who hearing by her maids description what he was, commaunded him to come in, where she interteined him with all curtesie.

“ The youth that neuer before had giuen the attempt to couet a ladye, began his exordium with a blushe ; and yet went forward so well, that hee discourst vnto her howe hee loued her, and that if it might please her so to accept of his seruice, as of a freende euer vowde in all duetye to bee at her commaunde, the care of her honour should bee deerer to him then his life, and hee would bee ready to prise her discontent with his bloud at all times.

“ The gentlewoman was a little coye, but before they part they concluded that the next day at foure of the clock hee should come thither and eate a pound of cherries, which was resolued on with a succado des labres ; and so with a loath to depart they tooke their leaues. Lionello, as ioyfull a man as might be, hyed him to the church to meete his olde doctor, where hee found him in his olde walke. What newes, syr, quoth Mutio ? How haue you sped ? Even as I can wishe, quoth Lionello ; for I haue been with my mistresse, and haue found her so tractable, that I hope to make the olde peasant her husband looke broad-headed by a paire of brow-antlers. How deepe this strooke into Mutios hart, let them imagine that can conjecture what ielousie is ; inso-much that the olde doctor askte, when should be the time : marry, quoth Lionello, to morrow at foure of the clocke in the afternoone ;
and

and then maister doctor, quoth hee, will I dub the olde squire knight of the forked order.

“ Thus they past on in chat, till it grew late ; and then Lyonello went home to his lodging, and Mutio to his house, couering all his sorrowes with a merrye countenance, with full resolution to reuenge them both the next day with extremetie. He past the night as patiently as he could, and the next day after dinner awaye hee went, watching when it should bee four of the clocke. At the houre iustly came Lyonello, and was entertained with all curtesie : but scarfe had they kist, ere the maide cried out to her mistresse that her maister was at the doore ; for he hasted, knowing that a horne was but a litle while in grafting. Margaret at this alarum was amazed, and yet for a shifte chopt Lyonello into a great driefatte full of feathers, and sat her downe close to her woorke : by that came Mutio in blowing ; and as though hee came to looke somewhat in haste, called for the keyes of his chambers, and looked in euerye place, searching so narrowlye in euerye corner of the house, that he left not the very priuie vnsearcht. Seeing he could not finde him, hee saide nothing, but fayning himselfe not well at ease, stayde at home, so that poore Lionello was faine to staye in the driefatte till the olde churle was in bed with his wife : and then the maide let him out at a backe doore, who went home with a flea in his eare to his lodging.

“ Well, the next daye he went againe to meete his doctor, whome hee found in his woonted walke. What news, quoth Mutio ? How haue you sped * ? A poxe of the olde slaue, quoth Lionello, I was no sooner in, and had giuen my mistresse one kisse, but the iealous asse was at the door ; the maide spied him, and, cryed, *her maister* : so that the poore gentlewoman for verye shifte, was faine to put me in a driefatte of feathers that stoode in an olde chamber, and there I was faine to tarrie while he was in bed and asleepe, and then the maide let me out, and I departed.

“ But it is no matter ; ’twas but a chaunce ; and I hope to crye quittance with him ere it be long. As how, quoth Mutio ? Marry thus, quoth Lionello : she sent me woord by her maide this daye, that upon Thursday next the old churle suppeth with a patient of his a mile out of Pisa, and then I feare not but to quitte him for all. It is well, quoth Mutio ; fortune bee your freende. I thank you, quoth Lionello ; and so after a litle more prattle they departed.

“ To be shorte, Thursday came ; and about fixe of the clocke soorth goes Mutio, no further than a freendes house of his, from whence hee might descrye who went into his house. Straight hee sawe Lionello enter in ; and after goes hee, insomuche that hee was scarfelye sitten downe, before the mayde cryed out againe, *my maister comes*. The good wife that before had provided for afterclaps, had found out a priuie place between two feelings of a plauncher, and there she thrust Lionello ; and her husband came sweting. What news, quoth shee, driues you home

* See *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, p. 268.

againſe ſo ſoone, husband? Marrye, sweete wife, (quoth he) a fearefull dreame that I had this night, which came to my remembrance; & that was this: Methought there was a villeine that came secretly into my house with a naked poinard in his hand, and hid himselfe; but I could not finde the place: with that mine nose bled, and I came backe; and by the grace of God I will seeke eury corner in the house for the quiet of my minde. Marry I pray you doo, husband, quoth she. Wish that he lockt in all the doors, and began to search eury chamber, eury hole, eury chest, eury tub, the very well; he stabd eury fetherbed through, and made hauocke, like a mad man, which made him thinke all was in vaine, and hee began to blame his eies that thought they saw that which they did not. Upon this he reste halfe lunaticke, and all night he was very wakefull; that towards the morning he fell into a dead sleepe, and then was Lionello conueighed away.

“ In the morning when Mutio wakened, hee thought how by no meanes hee should be able to take Lyonello tardy: yet he laid in his head a most dangerous plot, and that was this. Wife, quoth he, I must the next Monday ride to Vycensa to visit an olde patient of mine; till my returne, which will be some ten dayes, I will haue thee stay at our little graunge house in the countrey. Marry very well content, husband, quoth she: with that he kist her, and was verie pleasant, as though he had suspected nothing, and away hee flinges to the church, where hee meetes Lionello. What sir, quoth he, what newes? Is your mistresse yours in possession? No, a plague of the old slaue, quoth he: I think he is either a witch, or els woorkes by magick: for I can no sooner enter in the doors, but he is at my backe, and so he was againe yesternight; for I was not warm in my seat before the maide cried, *my maiſter comes*; and then was the poore soule faine to conueigh me between two feelings of a chamber in a fit place for the purpose: wher I laught hartely to myself, to see how he sought eury corner, ranſackt eury tub, and stabd eury featherbed,—but in vaine; I was safe enough till the morning, and then when he was fast asleepe, I lept out. Fortune frowns on you, quoth Mutio: Ay, but I hope, quoth Lionello, this is the last time, and now shee will begin to smile; for on Monday next he rides to Vicenza, and his wife lyes at a grange house a little of the towne, and there in his absence I will reuenge all forepassed misfortunes. God send it be so, quoth Mutio; and took his leaue. These two louers longed for Monday, and at last it came. Early in the morning Mutio horst himselfe, and his wife, his maide, and a man, and no more, and away he rides to his grange house; where after he had brok his fast he took his leaue, and away towards Vicenza. He rode not far ere by a false way he returned into a thicket, and there with a company of cuntry peasants lay in an ambuscade to take the young gentleman. In the afternoon comes Lionello gallopping; and as soon as he came within sight of the house, he sent back his horse by his boy, & went easily afoot, & there at the very entry was entertained by Margaret, who led him vp ye staires, and conuaid him into her bedchamber, saying he was wel-

come into so mean a cottage : but quoth she, now I hope fortune shal not enuy the purity of our loues. Alas, alas, mistris, (cried the maid,) heer is my maister, and 100 men with him, with bills and staues. We are betraid, quoth Lionel, and I am but a dead man. Feare not, quoth she, but follow me ; and straight she carried him downe into a lowe parlor, where stood an old rotten chest full of writings. She put him into that, and couered him with old papers and euidences, and went to the gate to meet her husband. Why signior Mutio, what means this hurly burly, quoth she ? Vile & shamelesse strumpet as thou art, thou shalt know by and by, quoth he. Where is thy loue ? All we haue watcht him, & seen him enter in : now quoth he, shal neither thy tub of feathers nor thy feeling serue, for perish he shall with fire, or els fall into my hands. Doo thy worst, iealous foole, quoth she ; I ask thee no fauour. With that in a rage he beset the house round, and then set fire on it. Oh ! in what a perplexitie was poore Lionello, that was shut in a chest, and the fire about his eares ? And how was Margaret passionat, that knew her loue in such danger ? Yet she made light of the matter, and as one in a rage called her maid to her and said : Come on, wench ; seeing thy maister mad with ielousie hath set the house and al my liuing on fire, I will be reuenged vpon him ; help me heer to lift this old chest where all his writings and deeds are ; let that burne first ; and as soon as I see that on fire, I will walk towards my freends : for the old foole will be beggard, and I will refuse him. Mutio that knew al his obligations and statutes lay there, puld her back, and bad two of his men carry the chest into the feeld, and see it were safe ; himself standing by and seeing his house burnd downe, sticke and stone. Then quieted in his minde he went home with his wife, and began to flatter her, thinking assuredly y^t he had burnd her paramour ; causing his chest to be carried in a cart to his house at Pifa. Margaret impatient went to her mothers, and complained to her and to her brethren of the iealousie of her husband ; who maintained her it be true, and desired but a daies respite to prove it. Wel, hee was bidden to supper the next night at her mothers, she thinking to make her daughter and him freends againe, In the meane time he to his woonted walk in the church, & there *præter expectationem* he found Lionello walking. Wondring at this, he straight enquires, what news ? What newes, maister doctor, quoth he, and he fell in a great laughing : in faith yesterday I scapt a scowring ; for, syrrah, I went to the grange house, where I was appointed to come, and I was no sooner gotten vp the chamber, but the magicall villeine her husband beset the house with bills & staues, and that he might be sure no feeling nor corner should shrowde me, he set the house on fire, and so burnt it to the ground. Why, quoth Mutio, and how did you escape ? Alas, quoth he, wel fare a womans wit ! She conueighed me into an old chest ful of writings, which she knew her husband durst not burne ; and so was I saued and brought to Pifa, and yesternight by her maide let home to my lodging. This, quoth he, is the pleasantest iest that euer I heard ; and vpon this I haue a sute to you, I am this
night

night bidden forth to supper; you shall be my guest; onely I will eralue so much favour, as after supper for a pleasant sporte to make relation what successe you haue had in your loues. For that I will not sticke, quoth he; and so he carried Lionello to his mother-in-lawes house with him, and discouered to his wiues brethren who he was, and how at supper he would disclose the whole matter: for quoth he, he knowes not that I am Margarets husband. At this all the brethren bad him welcome, & so did the mother too; and Margaret she was kept out of sight. Supper-time being come, they fell to their victuals, & Lionello was carrowst vnto by Mutio, who was very pleasant, to draw him to a merry humor, that he might to the full discourse the effect & fortunes of his loue. Supper being ended, Mutio requested him to tel to the gentlemen what had hapned between him & his mistresse. Lionello with a smiling countenance began to describe his mistresse, the house and street where she dwelt, how he fell in loue with her, and how he vsed the counsell of this doctor, who in al his affaires was his secretarie. Margaret heard all this with a great feare; & when he came at the last point she caused a cup of wine to be given him by one of her sisters wherein was a ring that he had giuen Margaret. As he had told how he escaped burning, and was ready to confirm all for a troth, the gentlewoman drunke to him; who taking the cup, and seeing the ring, hauing a quick wit and a reaching head, spide the fetch, and perceiued that all this while this was his louers husband, to whome hee had reuealed these escapes. At this drinking ye wine, and swallowing the ring into his mouth, he went forward: Gentlemen, quoth he, how like you of my loues and my fortunes? Wel, quoth the gentlemen; I pray you is it true? As true, quoth he, as if I would be so simple as to reueal what I did to Margarets husband: for know you, gentlemen, that I knew this Mutio to be her husband whom I notified to be my louer; and for yt he was generally known through Pifa to be a iealous fool, therefore with these tales I brought him into this paradise, which indeed are follies of mine owne braine: for trust me, by the faith of a gentleman, I neuer spake to the woman, was neuer in her companye, neither doo I know her if I see her. At this they all fell in a laughing at Mutio, who was ashamde that Lionello had so scoft him: but all was well,—they were made friends; but the iest went so to his hart, that he shortly after died, and Lionello enioyed the ladye: and for that they two were the death of the old man, now are they plagued in purgatory, and he whips them with nettles."

It is observable that in the foregoing novel (which, I believe, Shakspeare had read,) there is no trace of the buck-basket.—In the first tale of *The Fortunate, the Deceived, and Unfortunate Lovers*, (of which I have an edition printed in 1684, but the novels it contains had probably appeared in English in our author's time,) a young student of Bologna is taught by an old doctor how to make love; and his first essay is practised on his instructor's wife. The jealous husband having tracked his pupil to his house, enters unexpectedly, fully persuaded

suaded that he should detect the lady and her lover together; but the gallant is protected from his fury by being concealed *under a heap of linen half-dried*; and afterwards informs him, (not knowing that his tutor was likewise his mistress's husband,) what a lucky escape he had. It is therefore, I think, highly probable that Shakspeare had read both stories. MALONE.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

